

HITLER'S SPEECHES

*An English translation of representative
passages arranged under subjects and
edited by*

NORMAN H. BAYNES

VOLUME I

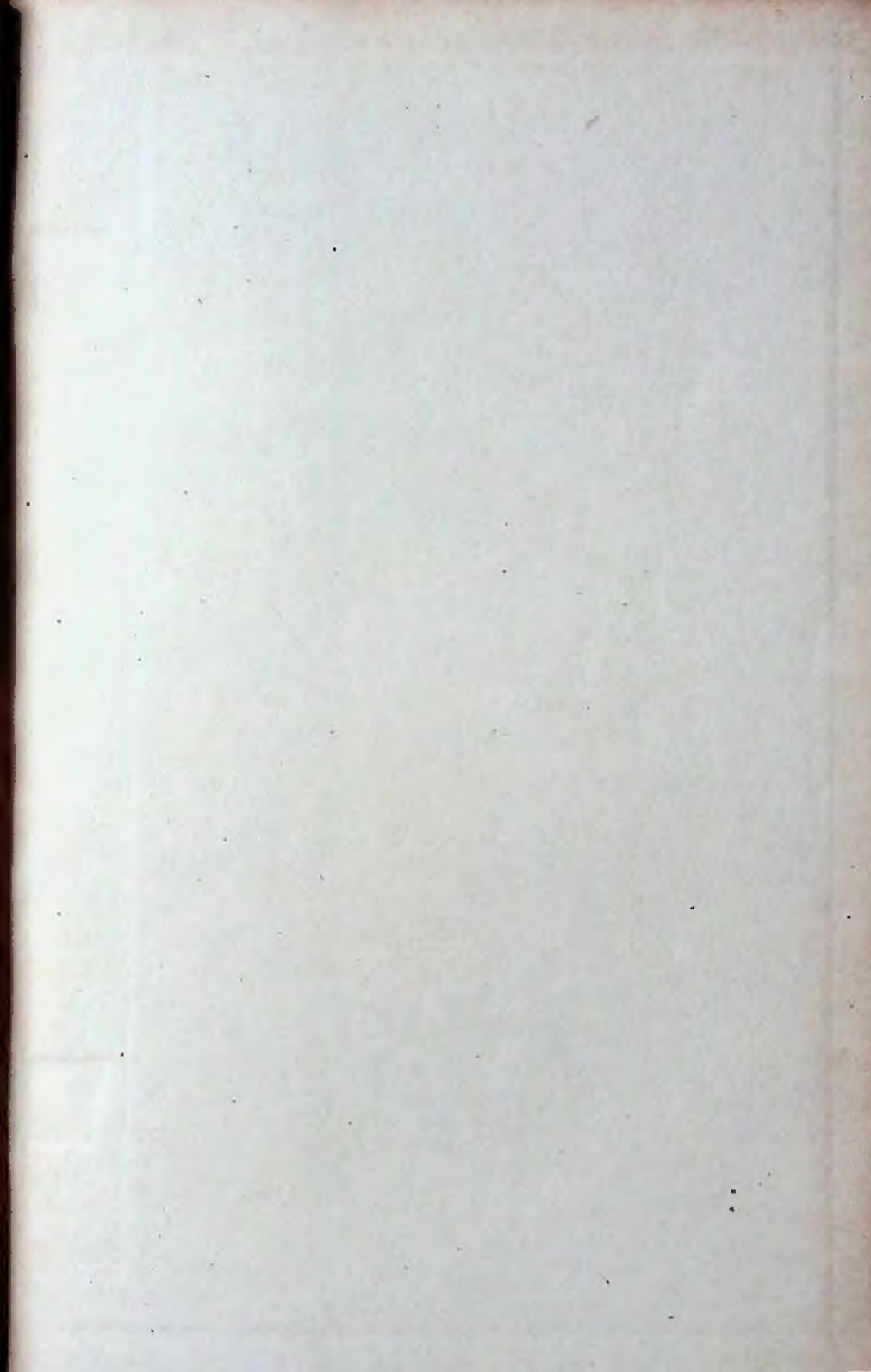


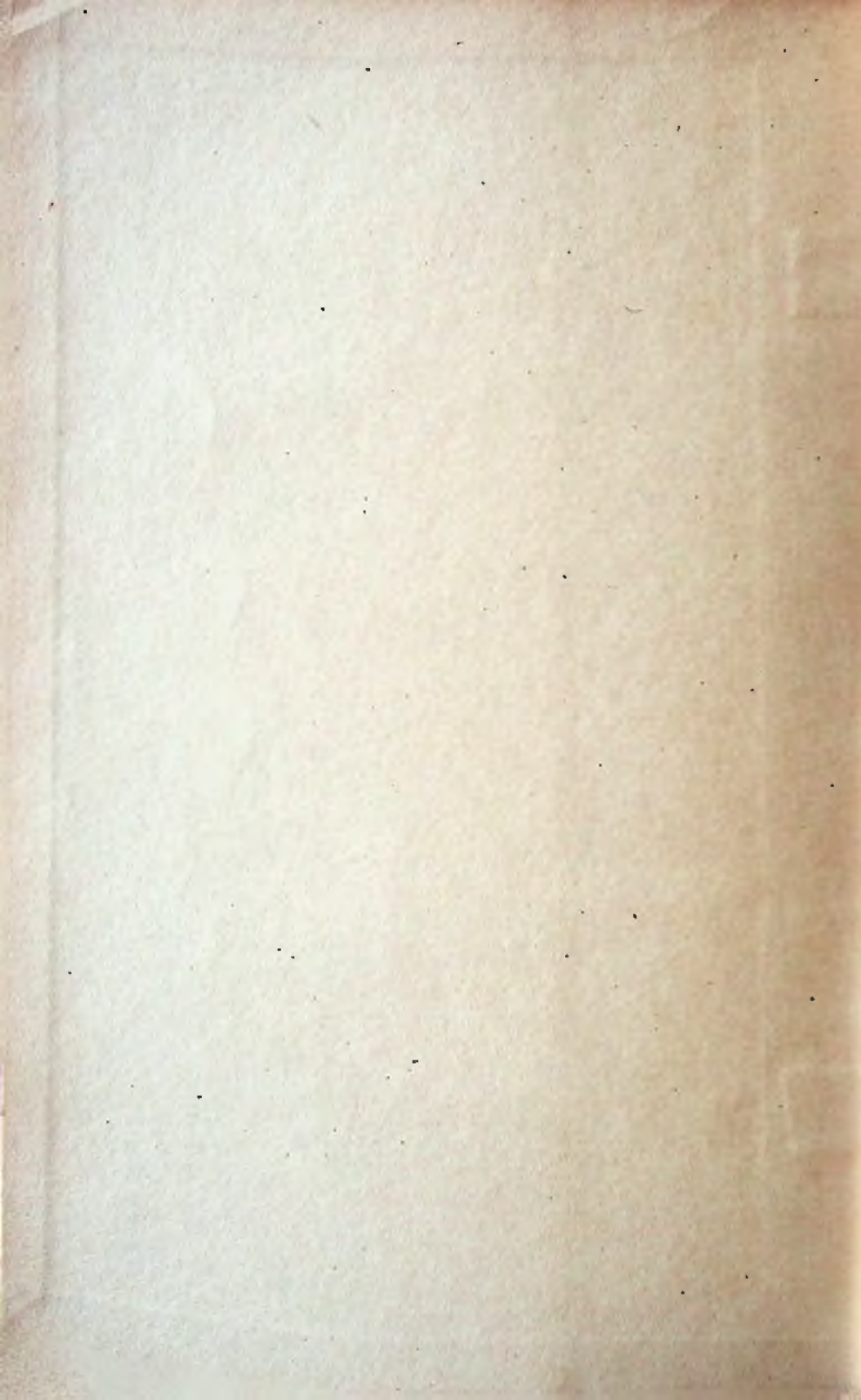
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THESE VOLUMES were planned and the printing of them begun in the early months of the war, but the completion and publication of the work have inevitably been slow, owing to the magnitude of the task. The aim of the volumes is to render accessible to English readers the substance of Hitler's published speeches delivered between April 1922 and August 1939. From a mass of repetition and verbiage Professor Baynes has selected the passages which contain the most characteristic statement of Hitler's views, and of those passages he has given us a close, accurate, and at the same time eminently readable translation. The volumes bear the stamp of objectivity, and should become a standard work for students of the policy which led to the second World War, and should remain of service to those who hope to avoid a third World War through the elimination of the moral poison which Hitler has injected into the minds of the German people

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the two volumes





The SPEECHES *of*
ADOLF HITLER

April 1922–August 1939

AN
ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF
REPRESENTATIVE PASSAGES ARRANGED
UNDER SUBJECTS AND
EDITED BY
NORMAN H. BAYNES

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FOREWORD

SINCE 1933 the speeches of Adolf Hitler have been the staple diet of the German people. It must never be forgotten that Germany under National Socialism has been a marooned area. By a propaganda based upon a recognition of the subtle and compelling force of the constant repetition of a few simple ideas Hitler, as orator, has sought to constrain the German people to fuse its will with his. It is well that those who detest the system should yet realize with what persuasiveness National Socialism can be presented, for the strength of the system lies in the fact that it has turned to base uses ideas and ideals which do but await reinterpretation to serve as building-stones in the reconstruction for which we hope.

This book may give to the English student, in some measure, material on which to form a conception of Hitler's thought and methods. From this he will learn what it is that we are fighting, especially when he remembers the extent of the deception practised by Hitler. If it should succeed in doing this, its purpose will have been fulfilled.

The Council is very deeply indebted to Professor Baynes for undertaking the onerous task of translating and compiling the material for this work. Professor Baynes's meticulous scholarship is well known, and the Institute is indeed fortunate in being able to reap the fruits of two years of exhaustive study by a scholar of such eminence.

ASTOR

Chairman of the Council.

CHATHAM HOUSE, LONDON

October 1941

PREFACE

THIS book speaks for itself. I have tried to illustrate what Hitler has told the German people in speeches published before the outbreak of the present war. It has been obviously impossible for me to reproduce what he may have said in confidential discourses delivered before officials of the Party. In the published speeches certain themes constantly recur. The repetitions in these translated extracts are thus intentional; I have sought to bring into clear relief those ideas which through recent years have been hammered repeatedly into the minds of Germans.

The speeches of Hitler are not easily translated into tolerable English; I have throughout tried primarily to give a faithful verbal translation of the text. When in doubt concerning Hitler's meaning or when reduced to a version which was in fact a paraphrase I have put the German text into a footnote. When owing to extreme diffuseness in the text of the speech I have resorted to an analysis, I believe that I have inserted no word or idea which is not to be found in the original text. I have sought scrupulously to avoid either addition or suppression. In some cases where the speech is only summarized in the published report I have translated that summary even though I cannot be certain that Hitler's precise wording is reproduced.

Many of the National Socialist key-words do not really admit of any satisfactory English rendering; words have their own atmosphere, and that atmosphere is lost by a transference to another language. The difficulty is at times increased by the conscious archaism of National Socialist terminology which is often drawn from the vocabulary of German Romanticism or of the

PREFACE

early nationalist movement associated with the name of Jahn. Such words as *Volkstum*, *völkisch*, and the like baffle a translator. How shall he render *Gleichschaltung*, *Volksgemeinschaft*, *Gau*, or even the ubiquitous *Weltanschauung*? Any version, I fully realize, must be an inadequate makeshift. I have done what I could.

Where interviews with Hitler have been reported in French journals I have cited the French text; it appeared to be unnecessary in this case to translate the reports into English.

Footnotes I have sought to reduce to a minimum: I was anxious not to distract the reader's attention. The notes at the end of the book are intended to provide supplementary material which may be of service to the student.

In the bibliographies (save where it is otherwise expressly stated) I have included only such books and articles as I have either read or consulted. War conditions have made many books inaccessible which I should otherwise have wished to include. The bibliographies are therefore of necessity somewhat arbitrary, but I hope that even so these references may save the time of the student of National Socialism. It would at least have been idle to insert works known to me only by their titles, on the character of which it would have been impossible for me to form any judgement. It will be realized that the bibliographies are intended to illustrate the translated extracts, and this fact explains the exclusion from them of subjects which might otherwise have been included.

Where an authorized English version of a speech has been published in Germany I have thought it prudent, despite the peculiarities of the language, in general to quote this translation. Otherwise it might be thought that I had some ulterior motive in making my own

PREFACE

version of the speech. For such authorized English versions of speeches delivered in 1933 see in particular *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, Berlin, Liebhheit & Thiesen (no date). There are also authorized translations of separate speeches issued in pamphlet form: Speech in Reichstag 30 January 1934, Speech in Reichstag 21 May 1935, Speech in Reichstag 7 March 1936, Speech in Reichstag 30 January 1937, Speech in Reichstag 20 February 1938, Speech in Reichstag 28 April 1939. A pamphlet entitled *Liberty, Art, Nationhood*, Berlin, Müller (no date), contains a translation of three addresses delivered by Hitler at the Seventh National Socialist Congress, Nuremberg, 1935.

Many friends and colleagues have readily helped me when I was in difficulties: for that help I would express my warm thanks. Mr. H. St. L. B. Moss translated some of the extracts included in this book; his translations were revised by me and I am therefore solely responsible for any errors in these versions. I am particularly grateful for his long-suffering co-operation.

N. H. B.

OXFORD
October 1941.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AO. *Auslands-Organisation*. The Party organization for German citizens abroad.
- BDM. *Bund deutscher Mädel*. "The Union of German Maidens"—the Girls' organization in the Hitler Youth.
- BGB. *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*. The German Civil Law Code.
- DAF. *Deutsche Arbeitsfront*. "The German Labour Front" or perhaps better "Work Front", since the organization includes both employers and employed.
- DJ. *Deutsches Jungvolk*. The young boys' section of the Hitler Youth.
- Gestapo. *Geheime Staats-Polizei*. The Secret Police.
- HJ. *Hitler Jugend*. The Hitler Youth.
- KdF. *Kraft durch Freude*. "Strength through Joy." The organization for leisure recreations of the DAF.
- MK. *Mein Kampf*.
- NSBO. *Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellen-Organisation*. The Shop-Cell Organization of the National Socialist Party.
- NSDAP. *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*. The German National Socialist Workers' Party.
- NSHAGO. *Nationalsozialistische Handels- und Gewerbe-Organisation*. The National Socialist Trade and Industry Organization.
- NSKK. *Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps*. The Motorized Organization of the Party (since December 1934 separated from the SA. and placed immediately under Hitler's orders).
- NSV. *Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt*. The National Socialist Welfare Organization.
- RAD. *Reichsarbeitsdienst*. The Labour Service Organization of the Reich.
- RDP. *Reichsverband der deutschen Presse*. The Reich Union of the German Press.
- RGB. *Reichsgesetzblatt*. The official publication for the text of laws and decrees.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- RJF. *Reichsjugendführung*. The Reich Organization for the whole of the National Socialist Youth Movement.
- SA. *Sturmabteilungen*. The "Storm-Sections" of the Party—the brown-uniformed storm-troopers.
- SS. *Schutzstaffel*. The black-uniformed Special Guards of the Party.
- VDA. *Volksbund* (formerly *Verein*) *für das Deutschtum im Ausland*. The Union for Germans abroad.
- WHW. *Winterhilfswerk*. The Winter Help Organization.

ABBREVIATIONS OF TITLES OF NEWSPAPERS CITED IN THIS BOOK

- F.Z. *Frankfurter Zeitung*.
- M.G. *Manchester Guardian*.
- V.B. *Völkischer Beobachter* (edited by Alfred Rosenberg).

I. EARLY SPEECHES, 1922-1924

Note

The early speeches delivered in Munich in the years 1922 and 1923 are of special interest since they form the background to *Mein Kampf* and illustrate the form in which National Socialist propaganda was first presented to the German people. Since none of these have been translated into English and would seem to have been but little studied, I have sought to give a representative selection of extracts in an English version.¹

For the background of this section and for the study of *Mein Kampf*, a brief chronological outline of the early history of the Party may be of service.

The early days of the National Socialist Party

1918. 14 Oct. Hitler gassed near Montagne.

21 Oct.-13 Nov. Hitler in hospital at Pasewalk.

9 Nov. "The November Revolution."

1919. Until Mar. Hitler in camp at Traunstein.

6 Apr. Establishment of the *Räterepublik* in Munich. *Mein Kampf* is silent on Hitler's action during this period: the official annals record that on 27 Apr. Hitler "through personal bravery escapes imprisonment by the 'Red' guards".

2 May. The *Räterepublik* overthrown. Hitler acting under the orders of the Commission of Inquiry of the Second Infantry Regiment.

Hitler "political education officer" of the First Bavarian Schützenregiment in Munich and also speaks elsewhere, e.g. in Passau.

June. Hitler for the first time hears the engineer Gottfried Feder talk on "Loan Capital".

Sept. Hitler is commissioned to attend a meeting of the

¹ With these speeches it is interesting to compare Moeller van den Bruck, *Das dritte Reich* (Hamburg, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt), originally published early in 1923; 3rd edn. 1931. There is an English (condensed) translation by E. O. Lorimer, *Germany's Third Empire*, London, Allen and Unwin, 1934.

EARLY SPEECHES

- German Workers' Party in Sterneckerbräu at which Feder speaks. The Party originally founded on 5 Jan. 1919 by Karl Harrer and Anton Drexler. The poet Dietrich Eckart (born 23 Mar. 1868) offers his services to the Party (first lectured for the Party 15 Aug. 1919). Since 7 Dec. 1918 Eckart had published the weekly paper *Auf gut deutsch* (directed against the "November criminals", the Jews, and "interest slavery") together with Feder and Alfred Rosenberg.
- 16 Sept. Hitler becomes a member of the German Workers' Party.
- From 16 Oct. Hitler undertakes propaganda for the Party.
1920. 1 Jan. The first office acquired for the Party in the Sterneckerbräu. Rudolf Schüssler appointed as first business manager. (64 enrolled members.)
- 5 Jan. Harrer retires from Presidency and is succeeded by Drexler.
- 24 Feb. First Mass Meeting of the Party in the Festsaal of the Hofbräuhaus in Munich. Hitler explains the twenty-five Points of the Programme of the Party: the adoption of the Programme of the German Workers' Party. Emil Maurice forms a small *Ordnertruppe*—a body to suppress opposition at meetings.
- 1 Apr. Hitler leaves the army.
- 18 Apr. Formation in Rosenheim of the first *Ortsgruppe*—local group—of the Party outside Munich.
- 7 8 Aug. Meeting of National Socialist Parties in Salzburg. The Party changes its name to Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP.).
- 17 Dec. The Party acquires the *Völkischer Beobachter*. It appears twice a week under the editorship of Hermann Esser.
1921. 21 Jan. Re-election of officers of the Party, which now numbers nearly 3,000 members.
- 3 Feb. The first Mass Meeting in the Circus Krone.
- 29 July. After much disagreement within the Party, at an extraordinary general meeting Hitler overthrows Harrer: Drexler becomes Honorary President, Hitler becomes President with full powers. The Leader Principle of personal authority adopted: system of committees and majority voting abandoned.

EARLY SPEECHES

- 1 Aug. Max Amann appointed business manager of the Party.
- 11 Aug. Dietrich Eckart becomes editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter* and discontinues his own paper *Auf gut deutsch*.
- 11 Oct. At Zwickau foundation of the first *Ortsgruppe* of the Party outside Bavaria.
- 1 Nov. Larger offices for the Party acquired at 12 Corneliusstrasse, Munich. Central Card Index of membership established.
- 4 Nov. The famous meeting of the Party in the Hofbräuhaus in Munich: the *Saalschlacht*: "the fight of the 46 members of the SA. against 800 Marxists". From this battle official introduction of the title *Sturmabteilungen*.
- 1922. 29-30 Jan. *Parteitag* and General Meeting of the members of the Party in Munich (representation of *Ortsgruppen*): some 6,000 registered members.
- 8 Mar. Hitler founds the *Jugendbund*—the Youth League—of the Party.
- Apr. Amann undertakes the business management of the *Völkischer Beobachter*.
- 24 June-27 July. Hitler in prison for the violent breaking-up of a meeting of the *Bayernbund* of the engineer Ballerstedt.
- 14-15 Oct. The German Day in Coburg. The triumph of "naked force".
- 30 Nov. Five Mass Meetings of the Party in Munich.
- 13 Dec. Ten Mass Meetings of the Party in Munich.
- 1923. 11 Jan. French occupation of the Ruhr.
- 27-29 Jan. First *Reichsparteitag* of the NSDAP.
- early Feb. Roehm brings about the union of the various national Fighting Associations under the military leadership of Hermann Kriebel.
- 8 Feb. The *Völkischer Beobachter* begins to appear daily.
- 10 Mar. Alfred Rosenberg becomes principal editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*.
- 1 May. The armed march of the united Fighting Associations to the Oberwiesenfeld. (No account of this in *Mein Kampf*: cf. Otto Strasser, *Hitler et Moi*, Paris, Grasset, 1940, pp. 39-45.)
- 1-2 Sept. The "German Day" in Nuremberg: Formation of the German Fighting Alliance (*Kampfbund*) = NSDAP., *Reichsflagge* under Heiss, *Bund Oberland* under Weber.

EARLY SPEECHES

- 25 Sept. Hitler political leader of the *Kampfbund*.
26 Sept. The Bavarian Government appoints von Kahr General State Commissar. "A State of Emergency" declared in Bavaria. von Kahr refuses to acknowledge the validity of the Law for the Protection of the Republic passed by the Reich Government after the murder of Rathenau.
19-20 Oct. Conflict between the Reich and Bavaria (continues until 18 Feb. 1924).
von Lossow appointed commander of the Bavarian forces.
7 Oct. The *Reichsflagge* separates from the *Kampfbund*.
11-12 Oct. Roehm forms the *Reichskriegsflagge* for Hitler.
8-9 Nov. The "Putsch".
1924. 26 Feb. The Trial of those concerned in the "Putsch" begins.
1 Apr. Hitler sentenced.
1 Apr.-20 Dec. Hitler in Landsberg in fortress detention. Hitler writes the first part of *Mein Kampf* (title as originally planned "Four and a half years Fight against Lying, Stupidity, and Cowardice"). This first part was published on 18 July 1925; the second part on 10 Dec. 1926.

In the printed editions of Hitler's speeches the first speech is that of 12 April 1922 at the time of the Conference held in Genoa: Hitler said that people had begun long since to doubt whether the formation of the German Republic represented an achievement or a collapse. After the War production had begun again and it was thought that better times were coming. Frederick the Great after the Seven Years War had as the result of superhuman efforts left Prussia without a penny of debt: at the end of the World War Germany was burdened with her own debt of some 7 or 8 milliards of marks and beyond that was faced with the debts of "the rest of the world"—"the so-called reparations". The product of Germany's work thus belonged not to the nation, but to her foreign creditors: "it was carried endlessly in trains for territories beyond our frontiers". Every worker had to

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support another worker, the product of whose labour was commandeered by the foreigner. "The German people after twenty-five or thirty years, in consequence of the fact that it will never be able to pay all that is demanded of it, will have so gigantic a sum still owing that practically it will be forced to produce more than it does to-day." What will the end be? and the answer to that question is "Pledging of our land, enslavement of our labour-strength. Therefore in the economic sphere November 1918 was in truth no achievement, but it was the beginning of our collapse." And in the political sphere we lost first our military prerogatives, and with that loss went the real sovereignty of our State, and then our financial independence, for there remained always the Reparations Commission so that "practically we have no longer a politically independent German Reich, we are already a colony of the outside world (*des Auslandes*).¹ We have contributed to this because so far as possible we humiliated ourselves morally, we positively destroyed our own honour and helped to be foul, to besmirch, and to deny everything which we previously held as sacred." If it be objected that the Revolution has won for us gains in social life: "they must be extraordinarily secret, these social gains—so secret that one never sees them in practical life—they must just run like a fluid through our German atmosphere. Some-one may say 'Well, there is the Eight-Hour Day!' And was a collapse necessary to gain that? And will the Eight-Hour Day be rendered any more secure through our becoming practically the bailiff and the drudge of the other peoples?" One of these days France will say: 'You cannot meet your obligations, you must work more.' "So this achievement of the

¹ Cf. p. 18 *infra*; *MK.*, pp. 369, 640 (German); pp. 281, 467 (English).

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Revolution is put in question first of all by the Revolution."

"Then someone has said: 'Since the Revolution the people has gained "Rights". The people governs!' Strange! The people has now been ruling three years and no one has in practice once asked its opinion. Treaties were signed which will hold us down for centuries: and who has signed the treaties? The people? No! Governments which one fine day presented themselves as Governments. And at their election the people had nothing to do save to consider the question: there they are already, whether I elect them or not. If we elect them, then they are there through our election. But since we are a self-governing people, we must elect the folk in order that they may be elected to govern us."

"Then it was said, 'Freedom has come to us through the Revolution'. Another of those things that one cannot see very easily! It is of course true that one can walk down the street, the individual can go into his workshop and he can go out again: here and there he can go to a meeting. In a word, the individual has liberties. But in general, if he is wise, he will keep his mouth shut. For if in former times extraordinary care was taken that no one should let slip anything which could be treated as *lèse-majesté*, now a man must take much greater care that he doesn't say anything which might represent an insult to the majesty of a member of Parliament."

And if we ask who was responsible for our misfortune, then we must inquire who profited by our collapse. And the answer to that question is that "Banks and Stock Exchanges are more flourishing than ever before". We were told that capitalism would be destroyed, and when we ventured to remind one or other of these "famous statesmen" and said "Don't forget that Jews too have capital", then the answer was: "What are you worrying

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about? Capitalism as a whole will now be destroyed, the whole people will now be free. We are not fighting Jewish or Christian capitalism, we are fighting every capitalism: we are making the people completely free."

"Christian capitalism" is already as good as destroyed, the international Jewish Stock Exchange capital gains in proportion as the other loses ground. It is only the international Stock Exchange and loan-capital, the so-called "supra-state (*überstaatliche*) capital", which has profited from the collapse of our economic life, "the capital which receives its character from the single supra-state nation which is itself national to the core, which fancies itself to be above all other nations, which places itself above other nations and which already rules over them".

"The international Stock Exchange capital would be unthinkable, it would never have come, without its founders the supra-national, because intensely national, Jews."

The million workmen who were in Berlin in 1914 have remained what they were—they are workmen still, only thinner, worse clad, poor; but the 100,000 Jews from the East who entered Germany in the early years of the War—they arrived in poverty and they are now "made men" riding in their motor-cars: they have used the body of the people (*Volkskörper*) merely as a forcing-ground for their own prosperity. "The Jew has not grown poorer: he gradually gets bloated, and, if you don't believe me, I would ask you to go to one of our health-resorts; there you will find two sorts of visitors: the German who goes there, perhaps for the first time for a long while, to breathe a little fresh air and to recover his health, and the Jew who goes there to lose his fat. And if you go out to our mountains, whom do you find there in fine brand-new yellow boots with splendid rucksacks in which there is generally nothing that would really be of any use? And why are

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they there? They go up to the hotel, usually no farther than the train can take them: where the train stops, they stop too. And then they sit about somewhere within a mile from the hotel, like blow-flies round a corpse."

"These are not, you may be sure, our working classes: neither those working with the mind, nor with the body. With their worn clothes they leave the hotel on one side and go on climbing: they would not feel comfortable coming into this perfumed atmosphere in suits which date from 1913 or 1914. No, assuredly the Jew has suffered no privations!"

There were Jews who in politics took the side of the Right: they were there to see to it that people did not have their eyes opened for fear they should ruthlessly intervene and put an end with lightning rapidity to the entire pigsty. This was their only object for joining the Right; for the most part they acted as "leaders of the proletariat" for the working classes: in this capacity you might see "the millionaire, the typical representative of capitalist exploitation, in a culture of the utmost purity". "My dear fellow countrymen, no one can deny that with us, as in Russia, the Revolution was made, we may perhaps say, by a quite definite 'Confession'. It is remarkable, there are very few things in which one finds only Catholics or only Protestants. But here one did precisely find only adherents of one definite so-called 'Religious Society', and the most remarkable thing about it is that, as is well known, one can smell this religion,¹ so that it is perfectly clear to anyone from externals alone. One can't tell if you meet a man whether he is a Catholic, a Protestant, a Baptist, or a Lutheran, but in this 'Religious Community' one can tell the faithful from afar. A marvellous 'Religion'."

The guilt of the Jews lies in the fact that they have

¹ For the smell of the Jews: *MK.*, p. 61 (German), p. 60 (English).

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"agitated"¹ the masses into this November madness. When we look at the parties we see on the Left lying and deceit on the part of the leaders, blind faith on the part of the led and all alike in the service of a single aim: to destroy this State, to rob this people of its freedom, to enslave its labour-strength. On the Right we see that the masses in part recognize the true position, but amongst the leaders there is limitless incapacity. There are but two alternatives: either "Remain quiet and become slaves", or Resistance. And if you decide for resistance who will lead you? "The Left? First: it does not wish to do so; and secondly, it cannot do so. For your leaders of the Left are still the same as those who scourged you into this misery (cries of 'Down with them, the traitors!' 'Hang them up!'). The same Jew who, whether as majority Socialist or Independent, led you then leads you still: whether as Independent or as Communist, whatever he calls himself, he is still the same. And just as then in the last resort it was not your interests which he championed, but the interests of capital which supported him, the interests of his race, so now he will never lead you in an attack on his race, an attack on capital. On the contrary he will prevent you from waging war against those who are really exploiting you: never, never will he help to liberate you, for *he* is not enslaved."

"While now in Soviet Russia the millions are ruined and are dying, Chicherin—and with him a staff of over 200 Soviet Jews—travels by express train through Europe, visits the cabarets, watches naked dancers perform for his pleasure, lives in the finest hotels, and does himself better than the millions whom once you thought you must fight as 'Bourgeois'. The 400 Soviet Commissars of Jewish nationality—they do not suffer, the thousands

¹ The word is *hineingehetzt*, "a word", adds Hitler, "which to-day suffices to bring other folk into prison".

EARLY SPEECHES

upon thousands of Sub-Commissars—they do not suffer. No! all the treasures which the 'Proletarian' in his madness took from the 'Bourgeoisie' in order to fight so-called capitalism—they have all gone into their hands. Once the worker appropriated the purse of the landed-proprietor who gave him work, he took the rings, the diamonds and rejoiced that he had now got the treasures which before only the 'Bourgeoisie' possessed. But in his hands they are dead things—they are veritable death-gold. They are no profit to him. He is banished into his wilderness and one cannot feed oneself on diamonds. For a morsel of bread he gives millions in objects of value. But the bread is in the hands of the State Central Organization and this is in the hands of the Jews: so everything, everything that the common man thought that he was winning for himself, flows back again to his seducers."

"And now, my dear fellow-countrymen, do you believe that these men, who with us are going the same way, will end the Revolution? They do not wish the end of the Revolution, for they do not need it. For them the Revolution is milk and honey."

"And further they cannot end the Revolution. For if one or another amongst the leaders were really not seducer but seduced, and to-day, driven by the inner voice of horror at his crime, were to step before the masses and make his declaration: 'We have all deceived ourselves: we believed that we could lead you out of misery, but we have in fact led you into a misery which your children and your children's children must still bear'—he cannot say that, he dare not say that, he would on the public square or in the public meeting be torn in pieces."

But amongst the masses there begins to flow a new stream—a stream of opposition. "It is the recognition of the facts which is already in pursuit of this system, it already is hunting the system down: it will one day

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scourge the masses into action and carry the masses along with it. And these leaders, they see that behind them the Anti-Semitic wave grows and grows: and when the masses once recognize the facts, that is the end of these leaders."

And thus the Left is forced more and more to turn to Bolshevism. "In Bolshevism they see to-day the sole, the last possibility of preserving the present state of affairs. They realize quite accurately that the people is beaten so long as Brain and Hand' can be kept apart. For alone neither Brain nor Hand can really oppose them. So long therefore as the Socialist idea is coined only by men who see in it a means for disintegrating a nation, so long can they rest in peace."

"But it will be a sorry day for them when this Socialist idea is grasped by a Movement which unites it with the highest Nationalist pride, with Nationalist defiance, and thus places the Nation's Brain, its intellectual workers, on this ground. Then this system will break up, and there would remain only one single means of salvation for its supporters: viz. to bring the catastrophe upon us before their own ruin, to destroy the Nation's Brain, to bring it to the scaffold—to introduce Bolshevism."

"So the Left neither can nor will help. On the contrary, their first lie compels them constantly to resort to new lies. There remains then the Right. And this party of the Right meant well, but it cannot do what it would because up to the present time it has failed to recognize a whole series of elementary principles."

"In the first place the Right still fails to recognize the danger. These gentlemen still persist in believing that it is a question of being elected to a Landtag or of posts as ministers or secretaries. They think that the decision of a people's destiny would mean at worst nothing more

¹ Hitler's phrase is "Head and Fist"—*Kopf und Faust*.

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than some damage to their so-called *bourgeois*-economic existence. They have never grasped the fact that this decision threatens their heads. They have never yet understood that it is not necessary to be an enemy of the Jew for him to drag you one day on the Russian model to the scaffold. They do not see that it is quite enough to have a head on your shoulders and *not to be a Jew*: that will secure the scaffold for you."

"In consequence their whole action to-day is so petty, so limited, so hesitating and pusillanimous. They would like to—but they can never decide on any great deed, because they fail to realize the greatness of the whole period."

"And then there is another fundamental error: they have never got it clear in their own minds that there is a difference or how great a difference there is between the conception 'National' and the word 'dynastic' or 'monarchistic'. They do not understand that to-day it is more than ever necessary in our thought as Nationalists to avoid anything which might perhaps cause the individual to think that the National Idea was identical with petty everyday political views. They ought day by day to din into the ears of the masses: 'We want to bury all the petty differences and to bring out into the light the big things, the things we have in common which bind us to one another. That should weld and fuse together those who have still a German heart and a love for their people in the fight against the common hereditary foe of all Aryans. How afterwards we divide up this State, friends—we have no wish to dispute over that! The form of a State results from the essential character of a people, results from necessities which are so elementary and powerful that in time every individual will realize them without any disputation when once all Germany is united and free'."

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"And finally they all fail to understand that we must on principle free ourselves from any class standpoint. It is of course very easy to call out to those on the Left, 'You must not be Proletarians, leave your class-madness', while you yourselves continue to call yourself 'Bourgeois' (*Bürger*). They should learn that in a single State there is only one supreme Citizen-right (*Bürgerrecht*), one supreme Citizen-honour (*Bürgerehre*), and that is the right and the honour of honest work. They should further learn that the social idea must be the essential foundation for any State, otherwise no State can permanently endure."

"Certainly a Government needs power, it needs strength. It must, I might almost say, with brutal ruthlessness press through the ideas which it has recognized to be right, trusting to the actual authority of its strength in the State. But even with the most ruthless brutality it can ultimately prevail only if what it seeks to restore does truly correspond to the welfare of a whole people."

"That the so-called enlightened absolutism of a Frederick the Great was possible depended solely on the fact that, though this man could undoubtedly have decided 'arbitrarily' the destiny—for good or ill—of his so-called 'subjects', he did not do so, but made his decisions influenced and supported by one thought alone, the welfare of his Prussian people. It was this fact only that led the people to tolerate willingly, nay joyfully, the dictatorship of the great king."

"And the Right has further completely forgotten that Democracy is fundamentally not German: it is Jewish.¹ It has completely forgotten that this Jewish democracy with its majority decisions has always been without exception only a means towards the destruction of any existing Aryan leadership. The Right does not understand that

¹ Cf. *MK.*, p. 99 (German), p. 88 (English).

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directly every small question of profit or loss is regularly put before so-called 'public opinion', he who knows how most skilfully to make this 'public opinion' serve his own interests becomes forthwith master in the State. And that can be achieved by the man who can lie most artfully, most infamously: and in the last resort he is not the German, he is, in Schopenhauer's words, 'the great master in the art of lying'—the Jew."¹

"And finally it has been forgotten that the condition which must precede every act is the will and the courage to speak the truth—and that we do not see to-day either in the Right or in the Left."

"There are only two possibilities in Germany: do not imagine that the people will for ever go with the middle party, the party of compromises: one day it will turn to those who have most consistently foretold the coming ruin and have sought to dissociate themselves from it. And that party is either the Left: and then God help us! for it will lead us to complete destruction—to Bolshevism, or else it is a party of the Right which at the last, when the people is in utter despair, when it has lost all its spirit and has no longer any faith in anything, is determined for its part ruthlessly to seize the reins of power—that is the beginning of resistance of which I spoke a few minutes ago. Here, too, there can be no compromise: . . . there are only two possibilities: either victory of the Aryan or annihilation of the Aryan and the victory of the Jew."

"It is from the recognition of this fact, from recognizing it, I would say, in utter, dead earnestness, that there resulted the formation of our Movement. There are two principles which, when we founded the Movement, we engraved upon our hearts: firstly, to base it on the most sober recognition of the facts and secondly to proclaim these facts with the most ruthless sincerity."

¹ Cf. *MK.*, pp. 253, 335 (German); pp. 199, 256 (English).

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"And this recognition of the facts discloses at once a whole series of the most important fundamental principles which must guide this young Movement which, we hope, is destined one day for greatness":

"1. 'National' and 'social' are two identical conceptions. It was only the Jew who succeeded, through falsifying the social idea and turning it into Marxism, not only in divorcing the social idea from the national, but in actually representing them as utterly contradictory. That aim he has in fact achieved. At the founding of this Movement we formed the decision that we would give expression to this idea of ours of the identity of the two conceptions: despite all warnings, on the basis of what we had come to believe, on the basis of the sincerity of our will, we christened it 'National Socialist'.¹ We said to ourselves that to be 'national' means above everything to act with a boundless and all-embracing love for the people and, if necessary, even to die for it. And similarly to be 'social' means so to build up the State and the community of the people that every individual acts in the interest of the community of the people and must be to such an extent convinced of the goodness, of the honourable straightforwardness of this community of the people as to be ready to die for it."

"2. And then we said to ourselves: there are no such

¹. Hitler did not, of course, invent the word "National Socialism". Friedrich Naumann founded the Nationalsozialer Verein on 23 Nov. 1896. In Bohemia in 1909 the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei for Austria was founded, and at the Vienna *Parteitag* of 5-6 May 1918 its name was changed into "Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei Oesterreichs". After the break-up of the Austrian State the Party was divided into two branches: the "Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei in den Sudetenländern" under Hans Knirsch and Rudolf Jung, and the "Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei Oesterreichs" under Dr. Walter Riehl. Cf. Alois Hudal, *Die Grundlagen des Nationalsozialismus*, Leipzig and Vienna, Günther, 5th edn. 1937, pp. 21 sqq.

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things as classes: they cannot be. Class means caste and caste means race. If there are castes in India, well and good; there it is possible, for there there were formerly Aryans and dark aborigines. So it was in Egypt and in Rome. But with us in Germany where everyone who is a German at all has the same blood, has the same eyes and speaks the same language, here there can be no class, here there can be only a single people and beyond that nothing else. Certainly we recognize, just as anyone must recognize, that there are different 'occupations' and 'professions' (*Stände*)—there is the *Stand* of the watchmakers, the *Stand* of the navvies, the *Stand* of the painters or technicians, the *Stand* of the engineers, officials, &c. *Stände* there can be. But in the struggles which these *Stände* have amongst themselves for the equalization of their economic conditions the conflict and the division must never be so great as to sunder the ties of race."

"And if you say 'But there must after all be a difference between the honest creators and those who do nothing at all'—certainly there must! That is the difference which lies in the performance of the conscientious work of the individual. Work must be the great connecting link, but at the same time the great factor which separates one man from another. The drone is the foe of us all. But the creators—it matters not whether they are brain-workers or workers with the hand!—they are the nobility of our State, they are the German people!"

"We understand under the term 'work' exclusively that activity which not only profits the individual but in no way harms the community, nay rather which contributes to form the community."

"3. And in the third place it was clear to us that this particular view is based on an impulse which springs

¹ German: "fist".

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from our race and from our blood. We said to ourselves that race differs from race and, further, that each race in accordance with its fundamental demands shows externally certain specific tendencies, and these tendencies can perhaps be most clearly traced in their relation to the conception of work. The Aryan regards work as the foundation for the maintenance of the community of the people amongst its members, the Jew regards work as the means to the exploitation of other peoples. The Jew never works as a productive creator without the great aim of becoming the master. He works unproductively, using and enjoying other people's work.¹ And thus we understand the iron sentence which Mommsen once uttered: 'The Jew is the ferment of decomposition in peoples',² that means that the Jew destroys and must destroy because he completely lacks the conception of an activity which builds up the life of the community. And therefore it is beside the point whether the individual Jew is 'decent' or not. In himself he carries those characteristics which Nature has given him, and he cannot ever rid himself of those characteristics. And to us he is harmful. Whether he harms us consciously or unconsciously, that is not our affair. We have consciously to concern ourselves for the welfare of our own people."

"4. And fourthly we were further persuaded that economic prosperity is inseparable from political freedom and that therefore that house of lies, 'Internationalism', must immediately collapse. We recognized that freedom can eternally be only a consequence of power and that the source of power is the will. Consequently the will to

¹ For the Aryan and the Jewish conception of work cf. *MK.*, pp. 326, 331 (German); pp. 249, 253 (English).

² *Der Jude ist das Ferment der Dekomposition der Völker.* A favourite quotation which Hitler frequently cites; *Fermente der Zersetzung*, *MK.*, p. 361, but *Ferment der Dekomposition*, *MK.*, pp. 498 and 743 (German). See Notes at the end of Part II.

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power must be strengthened in a people with passionate ardour. And thus we realized fifthly that"

"5. We as National Socialists and members of the German Workers Party—a Party pledged to work—must be on principle the most fanatical Nationalists. We realized that the State can be for our people a paradise only if the people can hold sway therein freely as in a paradise: we realized that a Slave-State will never be a paradise, but only—always and for all time—a hell or a colony."¹

"6. And then sixthly we grasped the fact that power in the last resort is possible only where there is strength, and that strength lies not in the dead weight of numbers but solely in energy. Even the smallest minority can achieve a mighty result if it is inspired by the most fiery, the most passionate will to act. World-history has always been made by minorities. And lastly"

"7. If one has realized a truth, that truth is valueless so long as there is lacking the indomitable will to turn this realization into action!"

"These were the foundations of our Movement—the truths on which it was based and which demonstrated its necessity."

"For three years we have sought to realize these fundamental ideas. And of course a fight is and remains a fight. Stroking in very truth will not carry one far. To-day the German people has been beaten by a quite other world, while in its domestic life it has lost all spirit; no longer has it any faith. But how will you give this people once more firm ground beneath its feet save by the passionate insistence on one definite, great, clear goal?"

"Thus we were the first to declare that this Peace Treaty was a crime. Then folk abused us as 'agitators'. We were the first to protest against the failure to present

¹ Cf. pp. 5, 33, 63, 64, 84, *infra*.

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this Treaty to the people before it was signed. Again we were called 'agitators'. We were the first to summon men to resistance against being reduced to a continuing state of defencelessness. Once more we were 'agitators'. At that time we called on the masses of the people not to surrender their arms, for the surrender of one's arms would be nothing less than the beginning of enslavement. We were called, no, we were cried down as, 'agitators'. We were the first to say that this meant the loss of Upper Silesia. So it was, and still they called us 'agitators'. We declared at that time that compliance in the question of Upper Silesia *must* have as its consequence the awakening of a passionate greed which would demand the occupation of the Ruhr. We were cried down ceaselessly, again and again. And because we opposed the mad financial policy which to-day will lead to our collapse, what was it that we were called repeatedly once more? 'Agitators'. And to-day?"

"And finally we were also the first to point the people on any large scale to a danger which insinuated itself into our midst—a danger which millions failed to realize and which will none the less lead us all into ruin—the Jewish danger. And to-day people are saying yet again that we were 'agitators'."

"I would like here to appeal to a greater than I, Count Lerchenfeld. He said in the last session of the Landtag that his feeling 'as a man and a Christian' prevented him from being an Anti-Semite. I say: my feeling as a Christian points me to my Lord and Saviour as a fighter. It points me to the man who once in loneliness, surrounded only by a few followers, recognized these Jews for what they were and summoned men to the fight against them and who, God's truth! was greatest not as sufferer but as fighter. In boundless love as a Christian and as a man I read through the passage which tells us how the Lord

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at last rose in His might and seized the scourge to drive out of the Temple the brood of vipers and of adders. How terrific was His fight for the world against the Jewish poison to-day, after two thousand years, with deepest emotion I recognize more profoundly than ever before in the fact that it was for this that He had to shed His blood upon the Cross.¹ As a Christian I have no duty to allow myself to be cheated, but I have the duty to be a fighter for truth and justice. And as a man I have the duty to see to it that human society does not suffer the same catastrophic collapse as did the civilization of the ancient world some two thousand years ago—a civilization which was driven to its ruin through this same Jewish people."

"Then indeed when Rome collapsed there were endless streams of new German bands flowing into the Empire from the North; but, if Germany collapses to-day, who is there to come after us? German blood upon this earth is on the way to gradual exhaustion unless we pull ourselves together and make ourselves free!"

"And if there is anything which could demonstrate that we are acting rightly it is the distress which daily grows. For as a Christian I have also a duty to my own people. And when I look on my people I see it work and work and toil and labour, and at the end of the week it has only for its wage wretchedness and misery. When I go out in the morning and see these men standing in their queues and look into their pinched faces, then I believe I would be no Christian, but a very devil if I felt no pity for them, if I did not, as did our Lord two thousand years ago, turn against those by whom to-day this poor people is plundered and exploited."²

¹ Cf. *MK.*, p. 336 (German), p. 257 (English).

² This passage is of interest as illustrating Hitler's conception of "Positive Christianity".

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"And through the distress there is no doubt that the people has been aroused. Externally perhaps apathetic, but within there is ferment. And many may say, 'It is an accursed crime to stir up passions in the people'. And then I say to myself: Passion is already stirred through the rising tide of distress, and one day this passion will break out in one way or another: and now I would ask those who to-day call us 'agitators': 'What then have you to give to the people as a faith to which it might cling?'"

"Nothing at all, for you yourselves have no faith in your own prescriptions."

"That is the mightiest thing which our Movement must create: for these widespread, seeking, and straying masses a new Faith which will not fail them in this hour of confusion, to which they can pledge themselves, on which they can build so that they may at least find once again a place which may bring calm to their hearts."¹

After the murder of Rathenau Hitler was imprisoned for four weeks.

On 28 July 1922 he spoke on "Free State or Slavery". Everywhere—in Russia, in Italy, in France, and in England—he saw a vast battle in progress between the ideals of the Nationalists² and those of the supra-State International. "It is a battle which began nearly 120 years ago, at the moment when the Jew was granted citizen rights in the European States. The political emancipation of the Jews was the beginning of an attack of delirium. For thereby there were given full citizen rights and equality to a people which was much more clearly and definitely a race apart than all others, that has always formed and will form a State within the State. That did not happen

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden*, herausgegeben von Dr. Ernst Boepfle, Munich [1933], pp. 6-21.

² German: *Ideale der national-völkisch Gesinnten*.

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perhaps at one blow, but it came about as things come about to-day and always do come about: first a little finger, then a second and a third, and so bit by bit until at last a people that in the eighteenth century still appeared completely alien had won equal citizen-rights with ourselves."

"And it was precisely the same in the economic sphere. The vast process of the industrialization of the peoples meant the confluence of great masses of workmen in the towns. Thus great hordes of people arose, and these, more's the pity, were not properly dealt with by those whose moral duty it was to concern themselves for their welfare. Parallel with this was a gradual 'moneyfication'¹ of the whole of the nation's labour-strength. 'Share-capital' was in the ascendant, and thus bit by bit the Stock Exchange came to control the whole national economy. The directors of these institutions were, and are without exception, Jews. I say "without exception", for the few non-Jews who had a share in them are in the last resort nothing but screens, shop-window Christians, whom one needs in order, for the sake of the masses, to keep up the appearance that these institutions were after all founded as a natural outcome of the needs and the economic life of all peoples alike, and were not, as was the fact, institutions which correspond only with the essential characteristics of the Jewish people and are the outcome of those characteristics."

"Then Europe stood at the parting of the ways. Europe began to divide into two halves, into West Europe and Central and Eastern Europe. At first Western Europe took the lead in the process of industrialization. Especially in England crowds of farm labourers, sons of farmers, or even ruined farmers themselves streamed into the towns and there formed a new fourth estate (*Stand*). But here

¹ German: *ein allmähliches Zugeldmachen*.

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one fact is of more importance than we are accustomed to admit: this England, like France, had relatively few Jews. And the consequence of that was that the great masses, concentrated in the towns, did not come into immediate contact with this alien nation, and thus feelings of aversion which must otherwise necessarily have arisen did not find sufficient nourishment for their development. In the end the fifty or sixty thousand Jews in England—there was hardly that number in England then—with supreme ease were able so to ‘Europeanize’ themselves that they remained hidden from the primitive eye of the ordinary member of the public and as ‘Captains of Industry’, and especially as representatives of capital on a large scale, they could appear no longer as foreigners but themselves became Englishmen. This accounts for the fact that Anti-Semitism in these States could never attain to any native vigour; for the same is true of France. And precisely for this reason in these countries it was possible to introduce the system which we have to represent to ourselves under the concept of ‘Democracy’. There it was possible to create a State-form whose meaning could only be the mastery of the herd over the intelligentsia, the mastery over true energy through the dead weight of massed numbers. In other words: it must be supremely easy for the Jewish intelligentsia, small in numbers and therefore completely hidden in the body of the British people, so to work upon the masses that the latter, quite unconscious of whom they were obeying, in the end did but serve the purposes of this small stratum of society. Through the Press propaganda, through the use of the organs of information, it was possible in England to found the great model parties. Already in those early days they saw to it shrewdly that there were always two or three groups apparently hostile to each other, but in fact all hanging on a gold thread, the whole designed to

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take account of a human characteristic—that the longer a man possesses an object, the more readily he grows tired of it. He craves something new: therefore one needs two parties. The one is in office, the other in opposition. When the one has played itself out, then the Opposition party comes into power, and the party which has had its day is now in its turn the Opposition. After twenty years the new party itself has once more played itself out and the game begins afresh. In truth this is a highly ingenious mill in which the interests of a nation are ground very small. As everyone knows, this system is given some such name as ‘Self-Government of a People’.”

“Besides this we always find two great catchwords, ‘Freedom’ and ‘Democracy’, used, I might say, as sign-boards. ‘Freedom’: under that term is understood, at least amongst those in authority who in fact carry on the Government, the possibility of an unchecked plundering of the masses of the people to which no resistance can be offered. The masses themselves naturally believe that under the term ‘freedom’ they possess the right to a quite peculiar freedom of motion—freedom to move the tongue and to say what they choose, freedom to move about the streets &c. A bitter deception!”

“And the same is true of democracy. In general even in the early days both England and France had already been bound with the fetters of slavery. With, I might say, a brazen security these States are fettered with Jewish chains.”

Hitler then turned to consider the position in Central and Eastern Europe. Here industrialization proceeded more slowly: the stream of immigration into the towns was not so rapid; it took longer for the new centres of industry to develop and for the formation of a fourth estate. But here, both in Eastern Europe and in Germany, the Jews were more numerous and the masses were thus brought

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into continuous contact with them, and thus throughout the whole people, but especially amongst the peasantry, the workmen, and the lower middle classes, the Jew was regarded with an instinctive and profound aversion. On the other hand, the aristocracy and a section of the trading class for which money was everything were very early infected by Jewish influence.¹

In consequence of this widespread aversion it was more difficult for the Jew to spread infection in the political sphere, and especially so since traditionally loyalty was centred in a person: the form of the State was a monarchy, and power did not lie with an irresponsible majority. Thus the Jew saw that here it was possible for an enlightened despotism to arise based upon the army, the bureaucracy, and the masses of the people still unaffected by the Jewish poison. The intelligentsia at that time was almost exclusively German, big business and the new industries were in German hands, while the last reservoir of a people's strength, the peasantry, was throughout healthy. In such conditions if, as industry grew, a fourth estate was formed in the towns, there was the danger that this fourth estate might ally itself with the monarchy, and thus with its support there might arise a popular monarchy (*Volkskönig*) or a popular "Kaisertum" which would be ready and willing to give a mortal blow to those powers of international supra-State finance which were at that time beginning to grow in influence. This was not impossible: in the history of Germany princes had from time to time found themselves forced, as in Brandenburg, to turn against the nobility and seek popular support. "What was the great fight of the Hohenzollerns if it was not a fight to break down the privileged position of headstrong members of

¹ For the whole of this account of the methods of Jewish penetration cf. *MK.*, pp. 337 sqq. (German), pp. 258 sqq. (English).

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the nobility in order to incorporate them into the State and, cost what it might, to force them to take their place within the new order?"

But this possibility constituted a grave danger for Jewry. If the great masses of the new industrialized workmen "had come into Nationalist hands and like a true social leaven had penetrated the whole nation, if the liberation of the different estates (*Stände*) had followed step by step in an organic development and the State had later looked to them for support, then there would have been created what many hoped for in November 1918, viz. a national social State. For Socialism in itself is anything but an international creation. As a noble conception it has indeed grown up exclusively in Aryan hearts: it owes its intellectual glories only to Aryan brains. It is entirely alien to the Jew. The Jew will always be the born champion of private capital in its worst form, that of unchecked exploitation. . . . Voltaire, as well as Rousseau, together with our German Fichte and many another—they are all without exception united in their recognition that the Jew is not only a foreign element differing in his essential character, which is utterly harmful to the nature of the Aryan, but that the Jewish people in itself stands against us as our deadly foe and so will stand against us always and for all time."

The master-stroke of the Jew was to claim the leadership of the fourth estate: he founded the Movement both of the Social Democrats and the Communists. His policy was twofold: he had his "apostles" in both political camps. Amongst the parties of the Right he encouraged those features which were most repugnant to the people—the passion for money, unscrupulous methods in trade which were employed so ruthlessly as to give rise to the proverb "Business, too, marches over corpses". And the Jew attacked the parties of the Right through the blood

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of their members: systematically he bastardized them. More and more Jews wormed their way into the families of the upper classes: it was from the Jews that the latter took their wives. "The result was that in a short time it was precisely the ruling class (*Schicht*) which became in its character completely estranged from its own people."¹

And this fact gave the Jew his opportunity with the parties of the Left. Here he played the part of the common demagogue. Two means enabled him to drive away in disgust the whole intelligentsia of the nation from the leadership of the workers. First: his international attitude, "for the native intelligence of the country is prepared to make sacrifices, it will do anything for the life of the people, but it cannot believe in the mad view that through the denial of that national life, through a refusal to defend the rights of one's own people, through the breaking down of the national resistance to the foreigner, it is possible to raise up a people and make it happy. That it cannot do, and so it remained at a distance. And the Jew's second instrument was the Marxist theory in and for itself. For directly one went on to assert that property as such is theft, directly one deserted the obvious formula that only the natural wealth of a country can and should be common property, but that that which a man creates or gains through his honest labour is his own, immediately the economic intelligentsia with its Nationalist outlook could, here too, no longer co-operate: for this intelligentsia was bound to say to itself that this theory meant the collapse of any human civilization whatever."² Thus the Jew succeeded in isolating this new movement of the workers from all the Nationalist elements. And further, through an ingenious exploitation of the influence of the Press the

¹ On bastardization of Germans by Jews cf. *MK.*, pp. 629-30 (German), pp. 459-60 (English).

² Cf. pp. 808, 844, 896 *infra*.

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Jew was able so to influence the masses that he persuaded those of the Right that the faults of the Left were the faults of the German workman, and similarly he made it appear to those of the Left that the faults of the Right were simply the faults of the so-called 'Bourgeois', and neither side noticed that on both sides the faults were the result of a scheme planned by alien, devilish agitators. And only so is it possible to explain how this dirty joke of world-history could come to be that Stock Exchange Jews should become the leaders of a Workers' Movement. It is a gigantic fraud: world-history has seldom seen its like."

"And then we must ask ourselves: what are the final aims of this development?"

So soon as millions of men have had it hammered into them that they are so oppressed and enslaved that it matters not what their personal attitude may be to their people, their State, or economic life, then a kind of passive resistance must result which sooner or later will do fatal damage to the national economy. Through the preaching of the Marxist economic theory the national economy must go to ruin. We see the results in Russia: the end of the whole economic life of the State: the handing over of the community to the international world of finance. And the process is furthered through the organization of the "political strike". Often there are no adequate economic grounds for a strike, but there are always political grounds and plenty of them. And to this must be added the practical political sabotage of the State, since the thought of the individual is concentrated on the idea of international solidarity. It is clear that a nation's economic life depends upon the strength of a national State: it does not live on such phrases as "Appeasement of the Peoples" or "Freedom of the Peoples". "At the moment when no people supports the economic life of a nation,

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ready to give it its protection, at that moment economic life collapses. The breaking in pieces of a nation's strength is the end of a nation's prosperity, the national existence must cease altogether."

And one can see constantly how wonderfully the Stock Exchange Jew and the leader of the workers, how the Stock Exchange organ and the journal of the workers, co-operate. They both pursue one common policy and a single aim. Moses Kohn on the one side encourages his association to refuse the workers' demands, while his brother Isaac in the factory incites the masses and shouts, 'Look at them! they only want to oppress you! Shake off your fetters. . . .' His brother takes care that the fetters are well and truly forged. The Stock Exchange organ seeks without intermission to encourage fevered speculation and unparalleled corners in grain and in the food of the people, while the workmen's newspaper lets off all its guns on the masses, telling them that bread is dearer and this, that, and the other is dearer: up Proletarians! endure it no longer—down with . . . (*a gesture showed that Hitler referred to the Jews*).

How long can this process last? It means the utter destruction not only of economic life, but of the people. It is clear that all these apostles who talk their tongues out of their heads, but who spend the night in the Hotel Excelsior, travel in express trains, and spend their leave for their health in Nice—these people do not exert their energies for love of the people. No, the people is not to profit, it shall merely be brought into dependence on these men. The backbone of its independence, its own economic life, is to be destroyed, that it may the more surely relapse into the golden fetters of the perpetual interest-slavery of the Jewish race. And this process will end when suddenly out of the masses someone arises who seizes the leadership, finds other com-

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rades, and fans into flame the passions which have been held in check and looses them against the deceivers. "That is the lurking danger, and the Jew can meet it in one way only—by destroying the hostile national intelligentsia. That is the inevitable ultimate goal of the Jew in his revolution. And this aim he must pursue; he knows well enough his economics brings no blessing: his is no master-people: he is an exploiter: the Jews are a people of robbers. He has never founded any civilization, though he has destroyed civilizations by the hundred. He possesses nothing of his own creation to which he can point. Everything that he has is stolen. Foreign peoples, foreign workmen build him his temples, it is foreigners who create and work for him: it is foreigners who shed their blood for him. He knows no 'people's army': he has only hired mercenaries who are ready to go to death on his behalf. He has no art of his own: bit by bit he has stolen it all from the other peoples or has watched them at work and then made his copy.¹ He does not even know how merely to preserve the precious things which others have created: as he turns the treasures over in his hand they are transformed into dirt and dung. He knows that he cannot maintain any State for long. That is one of the differences between him and the Aryan. True, the Aryan also has dominated other peoples. But how? He entered on the land, he cleared the forests; out of wildernesses he has created civilizations, and he has not used the others for his own interests, he has, so far as their capacities permitted, incorporated them into his State and through him art and science were brought to flower. In the last resort it was the Aryan and the Aryan alone who could form States and could set them on their path to future greatness."

¹ Cf. p. 68 *infra*.

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"All that the Jew cannot do. And because he cannot do it, therefore all his revolutions must be 'international'. They must spread as a pestilence spreads. He can build no State and say 'See here! Here stands the State, a model for all. Now copy us!' He must take care that the plague does not die, that it is not limited to one place, or else in a short time this plague-hearth would burn itself out. So he is forced to bring every mortal thing to an international expansion. For how long? Until the whole world sinks in ruins and brings him down with it in the midst of the ruins."

"That process to-day in Russia is practically complete. The whole of present-day Russia has nothing to show beyond a ruined civilization, a colony ripe for development through alien capital, and even this capital in order to supply resources in labour for its practical work must introduce Aryan intellects, since for this again the Jew is useless. Here, too, he is all rapacity, never satisfied. He knows no ordered economy, he knows no ordered body of administrators. Over there in Russia he is laying his hands on everything. They take the noble's diamonds to help 'the People'. The diamonds then stray into foreign societies and are no more seen. He seizes to himself the treasures of the churches, but not to feed the people: oh no! Everything wanders away and leaves not a trace behind. In his greed he has become quite senseless: he can keep hold of nothing: he has only within him the instinct for destruction, and so he himself collapses with the treasure that he has destroyed."

It is a tragic fate: we have often grown excited over the death of a criminal: if an anarchist is shot in Spain we raise a mighty howl over "the sacrifice of valuable human blood . . . , and here in the East thirty million human beings are being slowly martyred—done to death,

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some on the scaffold, some by machine guns . . . millions upon millions through starvation. . . . A whole people is dying, and now we can perhaps understand how it was possible that formerly all the civilizations of Mesopotamia disappeared without a trace so that one can only with difficulty find in the desert sand the remains of these cities. We see how in our own day whole countries die out under this scourge of God, and we see how this scourge is threatening Germany, too, and how with us our own people in mad infatuation is contributing to bring upon itself the same yoke, the same misery."

"We know that this Revolution which began in 1918 has covered perhaps but the first third of its course. Two things, however, there are which must scourge it forward upon its way: economic causes and political causes." On the economic side, the ever-growing distress, and in the political sphere, "are not nearly all Germans in their hearts—let each one admit it—in despair when they consider the situation which leaves us quite defenceless in face of a Europe which is so hostile to Germany? And why is Europe hostile? We see how over there in this other Europe it is not the peoples which agitate against us, it is the secret power of the organized Press which ceaselessly pours new poison into the hearts of these peoples."

"And who are then these bandits of the Press? The brothers and the relatives of the publishers of our own newspapers. And the capital source which provides the energy which here—and there—drives them forward is the Jewish dream of World-Supremacy."¹

¹ The German text is, *Eine Kapitalsquelle ist es, die sie hier wie dort vorwärts treibt: Der jüdische Weltherrschaftstraum*. My rendering is, I admit, a paraphrase, but I find it difficult to translate the sentence more literally. The Jewish dream of world-supremacy frequently recurs in *MK.*, cf. e.g. pp. 343, 352, 703, 738, 751 (German); pp. 262, 269, 507-8, 530, 538 (English); cf. p. 61 *infra*.

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To-day the idea of international solidarity has lost its force: one can still bring men out of the factories, but only by means of terrorism. If you ask for an honest answer the worker will confess that he no longer believes in this international solidarity. And the belief in the so-called reasonableness of the other peoples has gone too. "How often have we been told that reason will lead them not to be too hard with us: true, reason should have moved them thus, but what did move them had nothing to do with reason. For here there is no question of the thought of reasonable peoples: it is the thought of a wild beast, tearing, raging in its unreason, that drives all of them to the same ruin as that to which we ourselves are driven."

"So the masses of the people in Germany are becoming, in the political sphere, completely lost. Yet here and there people are beginning to get some practice in criticism.¹ Slowly, cautiously, and yet with a certain accuracy the finger is being placed on the real wound of our people. And thus one comes to realize: if only this development goes on for a time, it might be possible that from Germany the light should come which is destined to light both Germany and the world to their salvation. And at that point the everlasting lie begins to work against us with every means in its power."

But who really are the people who are the foes of this Republic? Is it those who do not wish this people to dishonour itself utterly in the eyes of foreign countries? Is it those who desire to do away with corruption, who wish that the German shall not befoul the few great men in German history on whose model he might reform himself?—"is it, in a word, those who wish that this German Republic should be a German State and not a colony of foreign Jewry and of the world's Stock Ex-

¹ Cf. pp. 34, 37, *infra*.

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change?¹ Is it not these criminals, this Jewry, who are the real foes of the Republic, these men who from the day of its birth burdened it with the lie that this people was guilty of the World War?² And have they not undermined the Republic who thereby gave to the foreign Powers those spiritual arms with which these Powers for the last three years shower blows upon us and oppress us and say to us 'You deserve it, for you yourselves have confessed your guilt!' And have not they opposed the Republic who have so reduced all power of resistance that to-day every Hottentot State is in a position to lord it over Germany? And do they not ceaselessly oppose Germany who have brought us, once the people of honour, so low that we have a reputation for the meanest economic corruption and the most debased political outlook?"

"It is said, if one criticizes the state of affairs to which we have been brought to-day, that one is a reactionary, a Monarchist, a Pan-German. I ask you what would probably have been the state of Germany to-day if during these three years there had been no criticism at all? I believe that in fact there has been far, far too little criticism. Our people unfortunately is much too uncritical, or otherwise it would long ago have not only seen through many things, but would have swept them away with its fist! The crisis is developing towards its culmination. The day is not far distant when, for the reasons which I have stated, the German Revolution must be carried forward another step. The leaders know all too well that things cannot always go on as they are going to-day. One may raise prices ten times by 100 per cent., but it is doubtful if in the end even a German will accept a milliard of marks for his day's wage if in the last resort with his milliard-wage he must still starve.

¹ Cf. p. 18 *supra*.

² Cf. p. 53 *infra*.

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It is a question whether one will be able to keep up this great fraud upon the nation. There will come a day when this must stop—and therefore one must build for that day, before it comes.”

“And so now Germany is reaching that stage which Russia has drunk to the lees. Now in one last stupendous assault they will finally crush all criticism, all opposition, no, rather whatever honesty is still left to us, and that they will do the more rapidly the more clearly they see that the masses are beginning to understand one thing—National Socialist teaching.”

“Whether for the moment it comes to them under that name or under another, the fact is that everywhere more and more it is making headway. To-day all these folk cannot yet belong to a single party, but, wherever you go, in Germany, yes almost in the whole world, you find already millions of thinking men who know that a State can be built only on a social foundation and they know also that the deadly foe of every social conception is the international Jew.”

“Every truly national idea is in the last resort social, i.e. he who is prepared so completely to adopt the cause of his people that he really knows no higher ideal than the prosperity of this—his own—people, he who has so taken to heart the meaning of our great song ‘Deutschland, Deutschland über alles’,¹ that nothing in this world stands for him higher than this Germany, people and land, land and people, he is a Socialist! And he who in this people sympathizes with the poorest of its citizens, who in this people sees in every individual a valuable member of the whole community, and who recognizes that this community can flourish only when it is formed not of rulers and oppressed but when all according to their capacities fulfil their duty to their Fatherland and

¹ Cf. p. 609.

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the community of the people and are valued accordingly, he who seeks to preserve the native vigour, the strength, and the youthful energy of the millions of working men, and who above all is concerned that our precious possession, our youth, should not before its time be used up in unhealthy, harmful work—he is not merely a Socialist, but he is also National in the highest sense of that word.”

“It is the teaching of these facts which appears to the Jews as leaders of the Revolution to-day to constitute a threatening danger. And it is precisely this which more than anything else makes the Jew wish to get in his blow as soon as possible. For one thing he knows quite well: in the last resort there is only one danger which he has to fear—and that danger is this young Movement.”

“He knows the old parties. They are easily satisfied. Only endow them with a few seats as ministers or with similar posts and they are ready to go along with you. And in especial he knows one thing: they are so innocently stupid. In their case the truth of the old saying is proved afresh every day: ‘Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first strike with blindness.’ They have been struck with blindness: therefore it follows that the gods wish to destroy them. Only look at these parties and their leaders, Stresemann and the rest of them. They are indeed not dangerous. They never go to the roots of the evil: they all still think that with forbearance, with humanity, with accommodation they can fight a battle which has not its equal in this world. Through gentleness they think that they must demonstrate to the enemy of the Left that they are ready for appeasement so as to stay the deadly cancerous ulcer through a policy of moderation.”

“No! A thousand times No! Here there are only two possibilities: either victory or defeat!”

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"What to-day is the meaning of these great preparations for the decisive battle on the part of Bolshevist Judaism?—"

"To make the nation defenceless in arms and to make the people defenceless in spirit."

"Two great aims!"

"Abroad Germany is already humiliated. The State trembles before every French negro-captain, the nation is no longer dangerous. And within Germany they have seen to it that arms should be taken away from the decent elements of the people and that in their stead Russian-Jewish-Bolshevist bands should be armed. Only one thing remains still to do: viz. the muzzling of the spirit, above all the arrest of the evil 'agitators'—that is the name they give to those who dare to tell the people the truth. Not only are their organizations to be known to all, but the masses are to be incited against their persons. Just as the Jew could once incite the mob of Jerusalem against Christ, so to-day he must succeed in inciting folk who have been duped into madness to attack those who, God's truth! seek to deal with this people in utter honesty and sincerity. And so he begins to intimidate them, and he knows that this pressure in itself is enough to shut the mouths of hundreds, yes, of thousands. For they think, if I only hold my tongue, then I shall be safe in case they come into power. No, my friend. The only difference will be that I may hang perhaps still talking, while you will hang—in silence. Here, too, Russia can give us countless examples, and with us it will be the same story."

"We know that the so-called 'Law for the Protection of the Republic' (*Schutzgesetz*) which comes from Berlin to-day is nothing else than a means for reducing all criticism to silence. We know, too, that no effort will be spared so that the last outstanding personalities (*Köpfe*)

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—those who within Germany foresee the coming of disaster—shall in good time—disappear. And to that end the population of North Germany will be scourged into opposition to Bavaria with every lie and every misrepresentation that comes to hand. Up there they have the feeling that in one corner of the Reich the spirit of the German people is not yet broken. And that is the point to which we National Socialists have to grapple ourselves. We National Socialists are, God's truth! perhaps the most loyal, the most devoted of all men to our German Fatherland. For three years we have waged a war, often against death and devil, but always only for our German Fatherland. We got so far that at the last, as crown of all our labours, we had to land in prison. But in spite of everything there is one thing we would say: We do make a distinction between a Government and the German Fatherland. When to-day here in the Landtag or in the Reichstag at Berlin some lousy half-Asiatic youth casts in our teeth the charge that we have no loyalty to the Reich, I beg you do not distress yourselves. The Bavarian people has sealed its loyalty to the Reich with its countless regiments which fought for the Reich and often sank under the earth two or three times. We are convinced, and that in the last resort is our one great faith, that out of this bitterest distress and this utter misery the German Reich will rise again, but not as now, not as the offspring of wretchedness and misery—we shall possess once again a true German Reich of freedom and of honour, a real Fatherland of the whole German people and not an asylum for alien swindlers. There is to-day constant talk about 'Federalism', &c. I beg you not to abuse the Prussians while at the same time you grovel before the Jews, but show yourselves stiff-necked against the folk of Berlin. And if you do that, then you will have on your

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side in the whole of Germany millions and millions of Germans, whether they be Prussians or men of Baden, Württembergers, men of Saxony, or Germans of Austria. Now is the hour to stand stiff-necked and resist to the last!"

"We National Socialists who for three years have done nothing but preach—abused and insulted by all, by some mocked and scorned, by others traduced and slandered—we cannot retreat! For us there is only one path which leads straight ahead. We know that the fight which now is blazing will be a hard struggle. It will not be fought out in the court of the Reich at Leipzig, it will not be fought out in a cabinet at Berlin, it will be fought out through those factors which in their hard reality have ever up to the present time made world-history. I heard recently in the speech of a minister that the rights of a State cannot be set aside through simple majority decisions, but only through treaties. Bismarck once used different language on this subject: he thought that the destinies of peoples could be determined neither through majority decisions nor through treaties, but only through blood and iron."

"On one point there should be no doubt: we will not let the Jews slit our gullets and not defend ourselves. To-day in Berlin they may already be arranging their festival-dinners with the Jewish hangmen of Soviet-Russia—that they will never do here. They may to-day begin to set up the Cheka—the Extraordinary Commission—in Germany, they may give it free scope, we surrender to such a Jewish Commission never! We have the conviction, firm as a rock, that, if in this State seven million men are determined to stand by their 'No' to the very last, the evil spectre will collapse into nothingness in the rest of the Reich. For what Germany needs to-day,

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what Germany longs for ardently, is a symbol of power, and strength."

"So as I come to the end of my speech I want to ask something of those among you who are young. And for that there is a very special reason. The old parties train their youth in the gift of the gab, we prefer to train them to use their bodily strength. For I tell you: the young man who does not find his way to the place where in the last resort the destiny of his people is most truly represented, only studies philosophy and in a time like this buries himself behind his books or sits at home by the fire, he is no German youth! I call upon you! Join our Storm-Divisions! And however many insults and slanders you may hear if you do join, you all know that the Storm-Divisions have been formed for our protection, for your protection, and at the same time not merely for the protection of the Movement, but for the protection of a Germany that is to be. If you are reviled and insulted, good luck to you, my boys! You have the good fortune already at 18 or 19 years of age to be hated by the greatest of scoundrels. What others can win only after a lifetime of toil, this highest gift of distinguishing between the honest man and the brigand, falls as a piece of luck into your lap while you are but youths. You can be assured that the more they revile you, the more we respect you. We know that if you were not there, none of us would make another speech. We know, we see clearly that our Movement would be cudgelled down if you did not protect it! You are the defence of a Movement that is called one day to remodel Germany in revolutionary fashion from its very foundations in order that there may come to birth what perhaps so many expected on the 9th of November: a German Reich and a Germanic and, so far as in us lies, a German Republic."

"Every battle must be fought to the end—better that

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it come early than late. And he ever stands most securely who from the first goes to the fight with the greatest confidence. And this highest confidence we can carry with us in our hearts. For he who on our side is to-day the leader of the German people, God's truth! he has nothing to win but perhaps only everything to lose. He who to-day fights on our side cannot win great laurels, far less can he win great material goods—it is more likely that he will end up in jail. He who to-day is leader must be an idealist, if only for the reason that he leads those against whom it would seem that everything has conspired."

"But in that very fact there lies an inexhaustible source of strength. The conviction that our Movement is not sustained by money or the lust for gold, but only by our love for the people, that must ever give us fresh heart, that must ever fill us with courage for the fray."

"And as my last word, take with you this assurance: if this battle should not come, never would Germany win peace. Germany would decay and at the best would sink to ruin like a rotting corpse. But that is not our destiny. We do not believe that this misfortune which to-day our God sends over Germany has no meaning:¹ it is surely the scourge which should and shall drive us to a new greatness, to a new power and glory, to a Germany which for the first time shall fulfil that which in their hearts millions of the best of our fellow-countrymen have hoped for through the centuries and the millennia, to the Germany of the German people!"²

¹ The German text is: *Wir glauben nicht an das Unheil, das heute unser Herrgott über Deutschland schickt, die Geißel ist, die uns aufpeitschen soll.* . . . I cannot translate this: I have attempted a paraphrase which must, I think, represent Hitler's meaning.

² *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 21-36.

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*On 18 September 1922 Hitler spoke on "The Stock Exchange Revolution of 1918". At the close of the speech he formulated certain fundamental demands of the Movement (see p. 107 for a translation of this passage). A few sentences may be translated from this speech:*¹

"Economics is a secondary matter. World-history teaches us that no people became great through economics: it was economics that brought them to their ruin. A people died when its race was disintegrated. Germany, too, did not become great through economics."

"A people that in its own life (*völkisch*) has lost honour becomes politically defenceless, and then becomes enslaved also in the economic sphere."

"Internationalization to-day means only Judaization. We in Germany have come to this: that a sixty-million people sees its destiny to lie at the will of a few dozen Jewish bankers. This was possible only because our civilization had first been Judaized. The undermining of the German conception of personality by catchwords had begun long before. Ideas such as 'Democracy', 'Majority', 'Conscience of the World', 'World-solidarity', 'World-peace', 'Internationality of Art', &c., disintegrate our race-consciousness, breed cowardice, and so to-day we are bound to say that the simple Turk is more man than we are."

"No salvation is possible until the bearer of disunion, the Jew, has been rendered powerless to harm."

After the occupation of the Ruhr by the French Hitler delivered eight speeches in rapid succession in Munich.

He began a speech on 10 April 1923 with the words:

"In the Bible we find the text, 'That which is neither hot nor cold will I spue out of my mouth'.² This

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 36-9.

² Revelation iii. 16.

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utterance of the great Nazarene has kept its profound validity until the present day. He who would pursue the golden mean must surrender the hope of achieving the great and the greatest aims. Until the present day the half-hearted (*das Halbe*) and the lukewarm have remained the curse of Germany." . . .

"To the half-heartedness and weakness of the parties in Parliament was added the half-heartedness of Governments. . . . Everything stood under the sign of half-heartedness and lukewarmness, even the fight for existence in the World War and still more the conclusion of peace. And now the continuation of the half-hearted policy of those days holds the field. The people, inwardly united in the hard struggle—in the trenches there were neither parties nor Confessions—has been torn asunder through the economics of profiteers and knaves. Appeasement and the settlement of differences would certainly soon be there if only one were to hang the whole crew. But profiteers and knaves are, of course, 'Citizens of the State', and what is more important still, they are adherents of the religion which is hallowed by the Talmud."

"Even to-day," *he continued*, "we are the least loved people on earth. A world of foes is ranged against us and the German must still to-day make up his mind whether he intends to be a free soldier or a white slave. The only possible conditions under which a German State can develop at all must therefore be: the unification of all Germans in Europe, education towards a national consciousness, and readiness to place the whole national strength without exception in the service of the nation." . . .

"No economic policy is possible without a sword, no industrialization without power. To-day we have no longer any sword grasped in our fist—how can we have

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a successful economic policy? England has fully recognized this primary maxim in the healthy life of States; for centuries England has acted on the principle of converting economic strength into political power, while conversely political power in its turn must protect economic life. The instinct of self-preservation can build up economics, but we sought to preserve World-Peace instead of the interests of the nation, instead of defending the economic life of the nation with the sword and of ruthlessly championing those conditions which were essential for the life of the people."

"Three years ago I declared in this same room that the collapse of the German national consciousness must carry with it into the abyss the economic life of Germany as well. For liberation something more is necessary than an economic policy, something more than industry: if a people is to become free it needs pride and will-power, defiance, hate, hate, and once again hate." . . .

"The spirit comes not down from above, that spirit which is to purify Germany, which with its iron besom is to purify the great sty of democracy. To do that is the task of our Movement. The Movement must not rust away in Parliament, it must not spend itself in superfluous battles of words, but the banner with the white circle and the black swastika will be hoisted over the whole of Germany on the day which shall mark the liberation of our whole people."¹

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

In his speech delivered in Munich on 13 April 1923 Hitler said:

"In our view the times when there was no 'League of Nations' were far more honourable and more humane.

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 40-2.

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... We ask: Must there be wars? The pacifist answers 'No!' He proceeds to explain that disputes in the life of peoples are only the expression of the fact that a class has been oppressed by the ruling *bourgeoisie*. When there are in fact differences of opinion between peoples, then these should be brought before a 'Peace-Court' (*Friedensgericht*) for its decision. But he does not answer the question whether the judges of this court of arbitration would have the power to bring the parties before the bar of the court. I believe that an accused ordinarily only appears 'voluntarily' before a court because, if he did not, he would be fetched there. I should like to see the nation which in the case of a disagreement would allow itself to be brought before this League of Nations Court without external force. In the life of nations, what in the last resort decides questions is a kind of Judgement Court of God. It may even happen that in case of a dispute between two peoples—both may be in the right. Thus Austria, a people of fifty millions, had most certainly the right to an outlet to the sea. But since in the strip of territory in question the Italian element of the population was in the majority, Italy claimed for herself the 'right of self-determination'. Who yields voluntarily? No one! So the strength which each people possesses decides the day. Always before God and the world the stronger has the right to carry through what he wills. History proves: He who has not the strength—him the 'right in itself' profits not a whit. A world-court without a world-police would be a joke. And from what nations of the present League of Nations would then this force be recruited? Perhaps from the ranks of the old German army? The whole world of Nature is a mighty struggle between strength and weakness—an eternal victory of the strong over the weak. There would be nothing but decay in the whole

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of Nature if this were not so. States which should offend against the elementary law would fall into decay. You need not seek for long to find an example of such mortal decay; you can see it in the Reich of to-day."¹

*In his speech delivered in Munich on 13 April 1923 Hitler explained the part which the Jew had played in moulding the policies of the European States: the good relations between Germany and Russia were destroyed because the Jew wanted Germany to overthrow the Czarist régime in Russia in order to put an end to the limitations (Beschränkungen) imposed upon the activity of the Jews in Russia; "limitations" not "persecutions": there have been no persecutions of the Jews for 200 years, only a continuous persecution of the Christians. The Jew thus exploited the differences between Austria and Russia, between Austria and Italy, "in order with mathematical certainty to bring on the War". Germany was led with sentimental phrases to support Austria—a fatal policy, for thus "instead of breaking up the impossible construction, Austria, which was utterly lacking in the spirit of internal unity and in the determination to maintain itself as a State, instead of joining German-Austria to itself, and letting the remainder of Austria go, Germany was driven to follow the destiny of this lost member."*²

Between Germany and France there were fundamental differences: "before the War the two States had to live side by side but only under arms. It is true that the War of 1870-1 meant for Germany the close of an enmity which had endured for centuries, but in France a passionate hatred against Germany was fostered by

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 43-4.

² This theme was elaborated at length in *MK*. Cf. *MK*., pp. 139 sqq. (German), pp. 118 sqq. (English).

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every means—by propaganda in the Press, in school text-books, in theatres, in the cinemas.”¹ . . . All the Jewish papers throughout France agitated against Berlin. “Here again to seek and to exploit grounds for a conflict is the clearly recognizable effort of world-Jewry.”

“The conflict of interests between Germany and England lay in the economic sphere. Up till 1850 England’s position as a World-Power was undisputed. British engineers, British trade conquer the world. Germany, owing to greater industry and increased capacity, begins to be a dangerous rival. In a short time those firms which in Germany were in English hands pass into the possession of German industrialists. German industry expands vastly and the products of that industry even in the London market drive out British goods. The protective measure, the stamp ‘Made in Germany’, has the opposite effect from that desired: this ‘protective stamp’ becomes a highly effective advertisement. The German economic success was not created in Essen alone but by a man who knew that behind economics must stand power, for power alone makes an economic position secure. This power was born upon the battle-fields of 1870–1, not in the atmosphere of parliamentary chatter. Forty thousand dead have rendered possible the life of forty millions. When England, in the face of such a Germany as this, bid fair to be brought to her knees, then she bethought herself of the last weapon in the armoury of international rivalry—violence. A Press propaganda on an imposing scale was started as a preparatory measure. But who is the chief of the whole British Press concerned with world-trade? One name crystallizes itself out of the rest: Northcliffe—a Jew! Every week he sends out into the world thirty

¹ For France as the implacable enemy of Germany cf. e.g. *MK.*, p. 699 (German), p. 505 (English), and cf. p. 85 *infra*.

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million newspapers. And 99 per cent. of the Press of England is in Jewish hands. 'Every new-born German child costs the life of a Briton!'—'There is no Briton who would not profit from the overthrow of Germany!' So with the most despicable catch-phrases the appeal is made to man's lowest instincts. A campaign of provocation is carried on with assertions, libels, and promises such as only a Jew can devise, such as only Jewish newspapers would have the effrontery to put before an Aryan people. And then at last 1914: they egg people on: 'Ah, poor violated Belgium! Up! To the rescue of the small nations—for the honour of humanity!' The same lies, the same provocation throughout the entire world! And the success of that provocation the German people can trace grievously enough!"

"What cause finally had America to enter the War against Germany? With the outbreak of the World War, which Judah had desired so passionately and so long, all the large Jewish firms of the United States began supplying ammunitions. They supplied the European 'war-market' to an extent which perhaps even they themselves had never dreamed of—a gigantic harvest! Yet nothing satisfied the insatiable greed of the Jew. And so the venal Press which depended upon the Stock Exchange kings began an unparalleled propaganda campaign. A gigantic organization for newspaper lying was built up. And once more it is a Jewish concern, the Hearst Press, which set the tone of the agitation against Germany. The hatred of these 'Americans' was not directed solely against commercial Germany or against military Germany. It was directed specially against social Germany, because this Germany had up to that time kept itself outside of the principles which governed the world-trusts. The old Reich had at least made an honourable attempt to be socially minded (*sozial*). We

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had to show for ourselves such an initiative in social institutions as no other country in the wide world could boast. In the building of houses and of factories attention was generally paid to hygiene, to places for washing, to light and air—in contrast with the November-Republic whose 'Housing-Offices' crowd people together in dog-kennels. Formerly the suburban tramways took the worker out into garden-cities for 10 pfennigs—those garden-cities which under the 'care' of the November-Republic he must either give up or allow to go to rack and ruin, because either the tramways are completely out of action or the fares are exorbitant. The old Reich built schools, hospitals, and scientific institutes which aroused the wonder and envy of the whole world. In the November-Republic such homes of culture as these are daily being destroyed. That the old Reich was in this sense 'social', that it did not allow itself to regard its people merely as numbers—this it was which constituted its greatest danger to the supporters of the World Stock Exchange. This explains why, even in Germany itself, the 'comrades' under Jewish leadership fought against their own vital interests. This explains the agitation carried on throughout the world under the same watchword. For this reason the Jewish-democratic Press of America had to accomplish its masterpiece—that is to say, it had to drive into the most horrible of all wars a great peace-loving people which was as little concerned in European struggles as it was in the North Pole: America was to intervene 'in defence of civilization', and the Americans were persuaded so to do by an atrocity propaganda conducted in the name of civilization which from A to Z was a scandalous invention the like of which has never yet been seen—a far-rago of lies and forgeries. Because this last State in the world where social aims were being realized had to be

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destroyed, therefore twenty-six peoples were incited one against the other by this Press which is exclusively in the possession of one and the same world-people, of one and the same race, and that race on principle the deadly foe of all national States."

Who could have prevented the World War? Not the *Kultursolidarität*, the "solidarity of civilization", in whose name the Jews carried on their propaganda: not the so-called World-Pacifism—again an exclusively Jewish invention. Could the so-called "Solidarity of the Proletariat?" "All the wheels stand silent, still, If that be your strong arm's will." "The German wheel on 9 November 1918 was indeed brought to a standstill. The Social Democratic Party in its principal organ, *Vorwärts*, declared in so many words that it was not in the interest of the workers that Germany should win the War. I ask you on the contrary, you German worker, is it in your interest to-day that you have become a slave? That you yourself struggle and groan a thousand-fold worse off than before in a servitude which permits you no prospect, no hope for the future, while your leaders without exception . . . but who after all are the leaders of the Proletariat? Jews again!"

"Could the Freemasons perhaps stop the War?—this most noble of philanthropic institutions which foretold the good fortune of the people louder than anyone and which at the same time was the principal leader in promoting the War. Who after all are the Freemasons? You have to distinguish two grades. To the lower grade in Germany belong the ordinary citizens who through the clap-trap which is served up to them can feel themselves to be 'somebodies', but the responsible authorities are those many-sided folk who can stand any climate, those 300 Rathenaus who all know each other, who guide the history of the world over the heads of Kings and

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Presidents, those who will undertake any office without a scruple, who know how brutally to enslave all peoples—once more the Jews!”

“Why have the Jews been against Germany? That is made quite clear to-day—proved by countless facts. They use the age-old tactics of the hyena—when fighters are tired out, then go for them! Then make your harvest! In war and revolutions the Jew attained the unattainable. Hundreds of thousands of escaped Orientals became modern ‘Europeans’. Times of unrest produce miracles. Before 1914 how long would it have taken, for instance, in Bavaria before a Galician Jew became—Prime Minister?—Or in Russia before an anarchist from the New York Ghetto, Bronstein (Trotsky), became—Dictator? Only a few wars and revolutions—that was enough to put the Jewish people into possession of the red gold and thereby to make them masters of the world.”¹

“Before 1914 there were two States above all, Germany and Russia, which prevented the Jew from reaching his goal—the mastery of the world. Here not everything which they already possessed in the Western democracies had fallen to the Jews. Here they were not the sole lords alike in the intellectual and economic life. Here, too, the Parliaments were not yet exclusively instruments of Jewish capital and of the will of the Jew. The German and the genuine Russian had still preserved a certain aloofness from the Jew. In both peoples there still lived the healthy instinct of scorn for the Jew, and there was a real danger that in these monarchies there might one day arise a Frederick the Great, a William I, and that democracy and a parliamentary régime might be sent to the devil. So the Jews became revolutionaries! The Republic should bring them to wealth and to power. This aim they disguised: they cried ‘Down with the

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 32; *infra*, p. 61.

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monarchies!' 'Enthroned the "sovereign" people!' I do not know whether to-day one could venture to call the German or the Russian people 'sovereign'. At least one cannot see any trace of it! What the German people can trace, however, what every day stands in the most crass form before its eyes, is debauchery, gluttony, speculation ruling unchecked, the open mockery of the Jew. The so-called German Free State (*Freistaat*) has become the free station (*Freistätte*) for the Jew, a refuge where this vermin can enrich himself without restraint."

"So Russia and Germany had to be overthrown in order that the ancient prophecy might be fulfilled. So the whole world was lashed into fury. So every lie and propaganda agency was brutally set in action against the State of the last—the German—idealists! And thus it was that Judah won the World-War. Or would you wish to maintain that the French, the English, or the American "people" won the War? They, one and all, victors and vanquished are alike defeated: one thing raises itself above them all: the World Stock Exchange which has become the master of the people."

"What guilt had Germany herself for the outbreak of the War? Her guilt consisted in this: that at the moment when the ring closed about her existence Germany neglected to organize her defence with such vigour that through this demonstration of her power either the others, despite their abominable purposes, would have been robbed of their will to strike or else the victory of the Reich would have been assured. The guilt of the German people lies in this: that when in 1912 a criminal Reichstag in its unfathomable baseness and folly had refused to allow the raising of three army corps the people did not create for itself those army corps in the Reichstag's despite. With these additional 120,000 men the Battle of the Marne would have been won and the

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issue of the War decided. Two million fewer German heroes would have sunk into their graves. Who was it who in 1912 as in 1918 struck its weapons from the hands of the German people? Who was it that in 1912, as in the last year of the War, infatuated the German people with his theory that if Germany throws down her arms the whole world will follow her example—who?—the democratic-Marxist Jew who at the same hour incited and still to-day incites the others to—arm and to subjugate 'barbarous' Germany."

"But someone may perhaps yet raise the question whether it is expedient to-day to talk about the guilt for the War.¹ Most assuredly we have the duty to talk about it! For the murderers of our Fatherland who all the years through have betrayed and sold Germany, they are the same men who, as the November criminals, have plunged us into the depths of misfortune. We have the duty to speak since in the near future, when we have gained power, we shall have the further duty of taking these creators of ruin, these clouts, these traitors to their State and of hanging them on the gallows to which they belong. Only let no one think that in them there has come a change of heart. On the contrary, these November scoundrels who still are free to go as they will in our midst, they are, even to-day, going against us. From the recognition of the facts comes the will to rise again. Two millions have remained on the field of battle. They, too, have their rights and not we, the survivors, alone. There are millions of orphans, of cripples, of widows in our midst. They, too, have rights. For the Germany of to-day not one of them died, not one of them became a cripple, an orphan, or a widow. We owe it to these millions that we build a new Germany!"²

¹ Cf. the next translated extract, and p. 34 *supra*.

² *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 43-50. "But some-

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WAR GUILT

In a speech delivered at Munich on 13 April 1923 Hitler said:

"In the winter of the year 1919-20 we National Socialists publicly for the first time put to the German people the question, whose is the guilt for the War? . . . And we received pat from all sides the stereotyped answer of despicable self-humiliation: 'We confess it: the guilt for the War is ours!' . . . Yes, the whole Revolution was made artificially on the basis of this truly monstrous lie. For if it had not been possible to bring this lie into the field as a propaganda formula against the old Reich, what sense could one give at all to the November treason? They needed this slander of the existing system in order to justify before the people their own deed of shame. The masses, under the influence of a criminal incitement, were prepared without any hesitation to believe whatever the men of the new Government told them."¹

In his speech delivered in Munich on 17 April 1923 Hitler discussed "The Peace Treaty of Versailles as the perpetual curse of the November-Republic." Who, he asked, were the real rulers of Germany in 1914 to whom war guilt might be attributed: not the Kaiser, not the Pan-Germans, but Messrs. Ballin, Bleichröder, Mendelssohn, &c., a whole brood of Hebrews who formed the unofficial Government. And in 1914 the real ruler of

one . . . going against us"—one of the passages which caused the confiscation of the first edition of the book: omitted in the edition of 1925.

¹ "Yes the whole Revolution" to the end: one of the passages which caused the confiscation of the first edition of the book: the passage is omitted in the edition of 1925. *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), p. 43.

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the Reich was Herr Bethmann-Hollweg, "a descendant of a Jewish family of Frankfurt—the genuine article,¹ and in his every act the Yiddish philosopher all over. Those were the leaders of the State, not the Pan-Germans." *Hitler then considered the mistakes of Germany in the Great War:* even on 3 August 1914 it was thought that England would remain neutral, and what enormous damage Germany suffered from that mistake! Ludendorff already in 1912 had pointed out "Italy was of no value at all as an ally".² "The third failure of judgement was in the estimate of Austria-Hungary.³ Austria was valued as a military factor, but it was forgotten that the military strength of a State is dependent on its power of political resistance. It was not seen that this conglomeration of peoples must fall apart as soon as the pressure of compulsion failed. Then there was the illusion about Russia: it was said that Russia was a corrupt State and was in no position to wage a war. With such nurses' fairy-tales were the nations fed. Czarism was represented as a rotten but bloodthirsty institution: one blow and it would immediately collapse and—the German workman is the liberator of an enslaved humanity."

Despite all these miscalculations Germany achieved her triumphs through her internal strength—her honour and the consciousness that the world regarded her as an honourable people, above all through the possession of an army on account of which she was decried as a militarist State. "And yet this army had secured to Germany her freedom and had allowed her to do her work undisturbed. Through this military power of Germany Europe enjoyed fifty years of peace. Had France pos-

¹ German *waschecht*: "however much you washed him the colour would not run."

² German text: *daß Italien überhaupt nicht als Bundesfaktor zu werten sei.*

³ Cf. p. 46 *supra*.

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sessed this army, Europe would not have had fifty years of calm. Thus it was her honour, her strength, and her determination which enabled Germany to enter upon the hardest contest in her history." *After discussing the mistakes of German politicians during the course of the War Hitler continued:*

"With the armistice begins the humiliation of Germany. If the Republic on the day of its foundation had appealed to the country: 'Germans, stand together! Up and resist the foe! The Fatherland, the Republic expects of you that you fight to your last breath', then millions who are now the enemies of the Republic would be fanatical Republicans. To-day they are the foes of the Republic not because it is a Republic but because this Republic was founded at the moment when Germany was humiliated, because it so discredited the new flag that men's eyes must turn regretfully towards the old flag."

"It was no Treaty of Peace which was signed, but a betrayal of Peace."

"The Treaty was signed which demanded from Germany that she should perform what was for ever impossible of performance. But that was not the worst: after all that was only a question of material values. This was not the end: Commissions of Control were formed! For the first time in the history of the modern world there were planted on a State agents of foreign Powers to act as hangmen, and German soldiers were set to serve the foreigner. And if one of these Commissions was 'insulted', a company of the German army (*Reichswehr*) had to defile before the French flag. We no longer feel the humiliation of such an act; but the outside world says, 'What a people of curs!'"

"So long as this Treaty stands there can be no resurrection of the German people: no social reform of any

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kind is possible! The Treaty was made in order to bring 20 million Germans to their deaths and to ruin the German nation. But those who made the Treaty cannot set it aside. At its foundation our Movement formulated three demands:

1. Setting aside of the Peace Treaty.
2. Unification of all Germans.
3. Land and soil (*Grund und Boden*) to feed our nation.

Our Movement could formulate these demands, since it was not our Movement which caused the War, it has not made the Republic, it did not sign the Peace-Treaty."

"There is thus one thing which is the first task of this Movement: it desires to make the German once more National, that his Fatherland shall stand for him above everything else. It desires to teach our people to understand afresh the truth of the old saying: He who will not be a hammer must be an anvil. An anvil are we to-day, and that anvil will be beaten until out of the anvil we fashion once more a hammer, a German sword!"¹

On 20 April 1923 Hitler spoke on "Politics and Race: why are we Anti-Semites?" He repeated his criticism of the Treaty: "it is", he said, "intolerable: if its economic terms are fulfilled, it necessarily means our political enslavement: if its political terms are fulfilled, that will lead to economic enslavement. Therefore to set aside this Treaty is a necessity, it is the condition which must be fulfilled before any later revival is in any way possible."

During the last four years there had been many prescriptions offered: Economic Reconstruction (*Aufbau*): this is impossible: any recovery in German economic conditions will mean only further extortions from foreign Powers.—"The German people must learn to think

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 50-3.

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politically." But there is no sign of any improvement in the political thought of the nation. The Revolution was made by only a fraction of the population. The great mass of the people wanted peace, but they did not want a pigsty. The Revolution neither could nor would bring peace. While as for the parties of the Left—"their 'political thought' consisted in putting their hopes in others and ceasing to rely on their own strength. Don't they still to-day curse the man who says that Germany will be free only when she makes herself free, that is, bursts her fetters and does not wait for someone else to take them off? Is that the way our people is thinking to-day? No, anyone who dares to say the truth is torn down." . . . "And the masses are suffering from another illusion in their 'political thinking': they have the idea that anyone can govern: any cobbler or tailor is fitted to guide a State. And then people think that through sullyng and disparaging one's own Ego, one's own people, the sympathies of others can be aroused." . . .

"The Proletariat of to-day is Pacifist in foreign policy and at home Terrorist: the *Bourgeois* on the contrary would like to be a Terrorist in foreign policy and is at home a Pacifist. From the man who is on principle a Pacifist in the domestic sphere less is to be expected than from the opposite view. They all only say, 'One must' . . . but the determination to act, really to do something—that is lacking. . . . The 'political thought' of the people is perhaps worse than it was four and a half years ago. The nation, whether on the Left or on the Right—has not yet learnt to think politically."

"And then comes the third great prescription: Moral Renewal: the wish is expressed that our people should become once more religious, homely, simple. But what we actually see is that the people is going the same way as did the peoples of the ancient world: step by step the

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people is passing over into corruption. During the last four and a half years it has grown worse not better."

The German people was once clear thinking and simple; why has it lost these characteristics? Any inner renewal is possible only if one realizes that this is a question of race: America forbids the yellow peoples to settle there, but this is a lesser peril than that which stretches out its hand over the entire world—the Jewish peril. "Many hold that the Jews are not a race, but is there a second people anywhere in the wide world which is so determined to maintain its race?"

"As a matter of fact the Jew can never become a German however often he may affirm that he can. If he wished to become a German, he must surrender the Jew in him. And that is not possible: he cannot, however much he try, become a German at heart, and that for several reasons: first because of his blood, second because of his character, thirdly because of his will, and fourthly because of his actions. His actions remain Jewish: he works for the 'greater idea' of the Jewish people. Because that is so, because it cannot be otherwise, therefore the bare existence of the Jew as part of another State rests upon a monstrous lie. It is a lie when he pretends to the peoples to be a German, a Frenchman, &c."¹

"What then are the specifically Jewish aims?"

"To spread their invisible State as a supreme tyranny over all other States in the whole world. The Jew is therefore a disintegrator of peoples. To realize his rule over the peoples he must work in two directions: in economics he dominates peoples when he subjugates them politically and morally: in politics he dominates them through the propagation of the principles of democracy and the doctrines of Marxism—the creed which makes a Proletarian a Terrorist in the domestic

¹ Cf. *MK.*, p. 335 (German), p. 256 (English).

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sphere and a Pacifist in foreign policy. Ethically the Jew destroys the peoples both in religion and in morals. He who wishes to see that can see it, and him who refuses to see it no one can help."

"The Jew, whether consciously or unconsciously, whether he wishes it or not, undermines the platform on which alone a nation can stand."

"We are now met by the question: Do we wish to restore Germany to freedom and power? If 'yes': then the first thing to do is to rescue it from him who is ruining our country. Admittedly it is a hard fight that must be fought here. We National Socialists on this point occupy an extreme position: but we know only one people: it is for that people we fight and that is our own people. . . . We want to stir up a storm. Men must not sleep: they ought to know that a thunder-storm is coming up. We want to prevent our Germany from suffering, as Another did, the death upon the Cross."

"We may be inhumane,¹ but if we rescue Germany we have achieved the greatest deed in the world! We may work injustice, but if we rescue Germany then we have removed the greatest injustice in the world. We may be immoral, but if our people is rescued we have once more opened up the way for morality!"²

In a speech on "Race and Economics: the German Workman in the National Socialist State", delivered on 24 April 1923 Hitler said:

"I reject the word 'Proletariat'. The Jew who coined the word meant by 'Proletariat', not the oppressed, but those who work with their hands. And those who work with their intellects are stigmatized bluntly as 'Bourgeois'. It is not the character of a man's life which

¹ Cf. p. 76 *infra*.

² *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 53-6.

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forms the basis of this classification, it is simply the occupation—whether a man works with his brain or with his body. And in this turbulent mass of the hand-workers the Jew recognized a new power which might perhaps be his instrument for the gaining of that which is his ultimate goal: World-supremacy, the destruction of the national States.”¹

“And while the Jew ‘organizes’ these masses, he organizes business (*Wirtschaft*), too, at the same time. Business was depersonalized, i.e. Judaized. Business lost the Aryan character of work:² it became an object of speculation. Master and man (*Unternehmer und Arbeiter*) were torn asunder . . . and he who created this class-division was the same person who led the masses in their opposition to this class-division, led them not against his Jewish brethren, but against the last remnants of independent national economic life (*Wirtschaft*).”

“And these remnants, the *bourgeoisie* which also was already Judaized, resisted the great masses who were knocking at the door and demanding better conditions of life. And so the Jewish leaders succeeded in hammering into the minds of the masses the Marxist propaganda: ‘Your deadly foe is the *bourgeois*, if he were not there, you would be free.’ If it had not been for the boundless blindness and stupidity of our *bourgeoisie* the Jew would never have become the leader of the German working-classes. And the ally of this stupidity was the pride of the ‘better stratum’ of society which thought it would degrade itself if it condescended to stoop to the level of the ‘Plebs’. The millions of our German fellow-countrymen would never have been alienated from their people if the leading strata of society had shown any care for their welfare.”

“You must say farewell to the hope that you can

¹ Cf. p. 32, 51 *supra*.

² Cf. p. 17 *supra*.

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expect any action from the parties of the Right on behalf of the freedom of the German people. The most elementary factor is lacking: the will, the courage, the energy. Where then can any strength still be found within the German people? It is to be found, as always, in the great masses: there energy is slumbering and it only awaits the man who will summon it from its present slumber and will hurl it into the great battle for the destiny of the German race."

"The battle which alone can liberate Germany will be fought out with the forces which well up from the great masses. Without the help of the German working-man you will never regain a German Reich. Not in our political salons lies the strength of the nation, but in the hand, in the brain,¹ and in the will of the great masses. Now as ever: Liberation does not come down from above, it will spring up from below. . . . If we to-day make the highest demands upon everyone, that is only in order that we may give back to him and to his child the highest gift: Freedom and the respect of the rest of the world." . . .²

Both those of the Right and those of the Left "must learn that, in the community of the people, only he has a right to live who is prepared to work for the community of the people. Only when everyone takes upon himself his honest share of the duties which he owes to his people will some day once again a single bond of unity embrace all alike."

"They must re-learn mutual respect: the worker with the brain and the worker with the hand.¹ Neither can exist without the other. They both belong together, and from them both there must be crystallized a new man—the man of the German Reich which is to be."²

¹ German *Faust*, fist; *Stirn*, brow.

² *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 56-9.

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THE PARTIES OF THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT

In the same speech Hitler said:

"With prudent foresight the political debt of Germany is now being turned into a purely economic debt. For, if real men were one day to come to power who were not mere weaklings, then the former could be wiped out, but the economic, the mercantile debt, that we can never meet. For that debt we pledge the property of our people, and thus a new gigantic treachery will be wrought upon the German people; the nation will be sold afresh and bargained away."

"The last remnant of the property of the people is squandered. What will happen when the last remnant has vanished? Then things will come to such a pass that we shall be a people working for alien masters. Germany will be a plantation worked at the will of the alien,¹ the victim of alien cupidity, with a Government which has ceased to be a Government at all since it governs no longer; it is but a bailiff carrying out the orders of foreign Powers."

The parties of the Right have lost all energy: they see the flood coming, but their one longing is just for once in their lives to form a Government. "Unspeakably incapable, utterly lacking in energy, cowards all—such are all these *bourgeois* parties and that at the moment when the nation needs heroes—not chatterers."

In the Left there is somewhat more energy, but it is used for the ruin of Germany. "The Communists on principle reject the discipline imposed by the State: in its stead they preach party-discipline: they reject the administration of the State as a bureaucracy, while they fall on their knees before the bureaucracy of their own Movement. There is arising a State within the State

¹ Cf. pp. 5, 18 *supra*, and the next translated extract.

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which stands in deadly enmity against the State which we know, the State of the community of the people. This new State ultimately produces men who reject with fanaticism their own people so that in the end foreign Powers find in them their allies. Such is the result of Marxist teaching."¹

THE PARTY AND ECONOMICS

In the same speech Hitler said:

"What we want is not a State of drones but a State which gives to everyone that to which on the basis of his own activity he has a right. He who refuses to do honest work shall not be a citizen of the State. The State is not a plantation where the interests of foreign capital are supreme. Capital is not the master of the State, but its servant. Therefore the State must not be brought into dependence on international loan capital. And if anyone believes that that cannot be avoided, then do not let him be surprised that no one is ready to give his life for this State. Further, that greatest injustice must be corrected which to-day still weighs heavily upon our people and upon almost all peoples. If in a State only he who does honest work is a citizen, then everyone has the right to demand that in his old age he shall be kept free from care and want. That would mean the realization of the greatest social achievement."²

In his speech (delivered on 27 April 1923) on "The Paradise of the Jew or the State of the German People (deutscher Volksstaat)", Hitler stated the Demands of the National Socialists; he said:

"What we need if we are to have a real People's State is a land-reform. . . . We do not believe that the mere

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 56-9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

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dividing up of the land can by itself bring any alleviation. The conditions of a nation's life can in the last resort be bettered only through the political will to expansion. Therein lies the essential characteristic of a sound reform."¹

"And land (*Grund und Boden*), we must insist, cannot be made an object for speculation. Private property can be only that which a man has gained for himself, has won through his work. A natural product is not private property, that is national property. Land is thus no object for bargaining."²

"Further, there must be a reform in our law. Our present law regards only the rights of the individual. It does not regard the protection of the race, the protection of the community of the people. It permits the befouling of the nation's honour and of the greatness of the nation. A law which is so far removed from the conception of the community of the people is in need of reform."³

"Further, changes are needed in our system of education. We suffer to-day from an excess of culture (*Überbildung*). Only knowledge is valued. But wiseacres are the enemies of action. What we need is instinct and will. Most people have lost both through their 'culture'. We have, it is true, a highly intellectual class (*Schicht*), but it is lacking in energy. If, through our overvaluation of mechanical knowledge, we had not so far removed ourselves from popular sentiment, the Jew would never have found his way to our people so easily as he has done. What we need is the possibility of a continuous succession of intellectual leaders drawn from the people itself."⁴

¹ On the need for winning more territory in Europe, cf. *MK.*, pp. 151-7, 741-2 (German); pp. 126 sqq., 523-4 (English).

² Cf. the Party Programme: Point 17 (see p. 104 *infra*).

³ Cf. the Party Programme: Point 19 (see p. 105 *infra*).

⁴ On education cf. *MK.*, pp. 451 sqq. (German), pp. 341 sqq. (English), and the Party Programme: Point 20 (see p. 105 *infra*).

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"Clear away the Jews! Our own people has genius enough—we need no Hebrews. If we were to put in their place intelligences drawn from the great body of our people, then we should have recovered the bridge which leads to the community of the people."

"Again, we need a reform of the German Press.¹

"A Press which is on principle anti-national cannot be tolerated in Germany. Whoever denies the nation can have no part in it. We must demand that the Press shall become the instrument of the national self-education."

"Finally we need a reform in the sphere of art, literature, and the theatre.² The Government must see to it that its people is not poisoned. There is a higher right which is based on the recognition of that which harms a people, and that which harms a people must be done away with."

"And after this reform we shall come to recognize the duty of self-preservation. A man who says: 'I deny that I have a right to defend my personal life' has thereby denied his right to exist. To be a Pacifist argues a lack of conviction, a lack of character. For the Pacifist is indeed ready enough to claim the help of others, but himself declines to defend himself. It is precisely the same with a people. A people which is not prepared to protect itself is a people without character. We must recover for our people as one of its most elementary principles the recognition of the fact that a man is truly man only if he defends and protects himself, that a people deserves that name only if in case of necessity it is prepared as a people to enter the lists.³ That is not militarism, that is self-preservation."

¹ Cf. *MK.*, pp. 262 sqq. (German), pp. 205 sqq. (English), and the Party Programme: Point 23 (see p. 106 *infra*).

² Cf. *MK.*, pp. 282 sqq. (German), pp. 218 sqq. (English), and the Party Programme: Point 23 s.f. (see p. 106 *infra*).

³ German: *auf die Walstatt zu treten*.

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"Therefore we National Socialists stand for compulsory military service for every man. If a State is not worth that—then away with it! Then you must not complain if you are enslaved. But if you believe that you must be free, then you must learn to recognize that no one gives you freedom save only your own sword. What our people needs is not leaders in Parliament, but those who are determined to carry through what they see to be right before God, before the world, and before their own consciences—and to carry that through, if need be, in the teeth of majorities. And if we succeed in raising such leaders from the body of our people, then around them once again a nation will crystallize itself. . . . It is the pride of our Movement to be the force which shall awake the Germany of fighters which yet shall be."¹

On 1 May 1923 Hitler spoke on "The Great German May Celebration"; this speech is of interest as foreshadowing the annual May-Day Festival in the National Socialist Reich. He said:

"If the 1st of May is to be transferred in accordance with its true meaning from the life of Nature to the life of peoples, then it must symbolize the renewal of the body of a people which has fallen into senility. And in the life of peoples senility means internationalism. What is born of senility? Nothing, nothing at all. Whatever in human civilization has real value, that arose not out of internationalism; it sprang from the soul of a single people.² When peoples have lost their creative vigour, then they become international. Everywhere, wherever

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 59-63. Cf. Point 22 of the Party Programme (see p. 106 *infra*).

² German: *das Volkstum hat es geschaffen*. *Volkstum* can hardly be translated into English.

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intellectual incapacity rules in the life of peoples, there internationalism appears. And it is no chance that the promoter of this cast of thought is a people which itself can boast of no real creative force—the Jewish people. It is the people with the least individual artistic capacity of any. It dominates only the sphere of crafty and speculative economics.¹ The Jew as a race has eminent powers of self-preservation, but as an individual he possesses no cultural gifts. He is the demon of the disintegration of peoples,² he is the symbol of the unceasing destruction of their life.”

“So the 1st of May can be only a glorification of the national creative will over against the conception of international disintegration, of the liberation of the nation’s spirit and of its economic outlook from the infection of internationalism. That is in the last resort the question of the restoration to health of peoples . . . and the question arises: Is the German oak ever destined to see another spring-time? And that is where the mission of our Movement begins. We have the strength to conquer that which the autumn has brought upon us. Our will is to be National Socialists—not National in the current sense of the word—not National by halves. We are National Socialist fanatics, not dancers on the tight-rope of moderation!”

“There are three words which many use without a thought which for us are no catch-phrases: Love, Faith, and Hope. We National Socialists wish to love our Fatherland, we wish to learn to love it, to learn to love it jealously, to love it alone and to suffer no other idol

¹ The Jew no *Kultur* of his own: cf. *MK.*, pp. 330 sqq. (German), p. 253 (English). For the Jew in Germany and his exploitation of internationalist tendencies *MK.*, p. 703 (German), p. 508 (English), and see p. 30 *supra*.

² Cf. p. 17 *supra*.

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to stand by its side. We know only one interest and that is the interest of our people."¹

"We are fanatical in our love for our people, and we are anxious that so-called 'national Governments' should be conscious of that fact. We can go as loyally as a dog with those who share our sincerity, but we will pursue with fanatical hatred the man who believes that he can play tricks with this love of ours. We cannot go with Governments who look two ways at once, who squint both towards the Right and towards the Left. We are straightforward: it must be either love or hate."

"We have faith in the rights (*Recht*) of our people, the rights which have existed time out of mind. We protest against the view that every other nation should have rights—and we have none. We must learn to make our own this blind faith in the rights of our people, in the necessity of devoting ourselves to the service of these rights; we must make our own the faith that gradually victory must be granted us if only we are fanatical enough. And from this love and from this faith there emerges for us the idea of hope. When others doubt and hesitate for the future of Germany—we have no doubts. We have both the hope and the faith that Germany will and must once more become great and mighty."

"We have both the hope and the faith that the day will come on which Germany shall stretch from Königsberg to Strassburg, and from Hamburg to Vienna."

"We have faith that one day Heaven will bring the Germans back into a Reich over which there shall be no Soviet star, no Jewish star of David, but above that Reich there shall be the symbol of German labour—the

¹ "We do not want to have any other God—only Germany."
See p. 367 *infra*.

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Swastika.¹ And that will mean that the 1st of May has truly come."²

FRANCE AND REARMAMENT

In his speech on 4 May 1923 on "The Morass of Parliament or the Fight for Freedom" Hitler said:

"The German people has to meet demands which are greater than the whole of its national wealth. These demands must therefore have a quite definite purpose which lies beyond purely economic considerations. France does not desire reparations, she desires the annihilation of Germany: it means for her the fulfilment of a very old dream—the hegemony of France over Europe."³

"'Reparations' are nothing else than a 'legal instrument' by which under the appearance of legality one can ruin a State, one can break up the internal unity of a people, and in the place of the single State can establish a conglomeration of small States, each exhausting the energies of the other."

"For this reason the Government could satisfy France only through the liquidation of the German Reich, through the dissolution of the State. To satisfy France is therefore not an economic question, it is a political question". . . .

"And that fact determines the lines on which alone the reconstruction of Germany is possible. First of all the question of the self-defence of the nation must be solved: and that is primarily not a technical question: it is a question of the spirit, of the will. And it will not be solved until the German people understands that one can conduct politics only when one has the support of power—and again power. Only so is reconstruction

¹ For Swastika as Aryan symbol of work, *MK.*, p. 557 (German), p. 411 (English).

² *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 63-4.

³ Cf. *MK.*, vol. ii, ch. 13 *passim*.

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possible. So long as our people and our Government fail to understand that, so long is any talk of reconstruction nothing but idle chatter. . . . The main task of the nation is twofold: there must first be the armament of the spirit, and—after that—the technical problem of material armament. The armament of the spirit is the nation's will, which must be educated to self-defence, to the championship and to the realization of its own rights. How can that will be strengthened? By breaking down that which opposes the people's will. The question is thus: National, or on the other side Anti-National or International. The great question of the solution of the problem National or International is the condition for solving the problem of the nation's armament of the spirit."

"And the further question of the technical transformation of this will into material armaments, the exploitation of this will—that is an easy matter. . . . If sixty million men had only one will—to be fanatically Nationalist in their outlook—the arms would spring out of men's fists. France would never venture then to treat Germany as she does to-day." . . .

"It is not an economic question which now faces the German people: it is a political question: how shall the nation's resolution be recovered?" . . .

"If to-day in Germany one and a half millions could be united on a single platform, all prepared, if necessary, to sacrifice themselves for their Fatherland, then Germany would be saved."

"But to-day the German parliamentary system spells the destruction and the end of the German nation. It cannot recognize the creative force of personality. . . . If to-day a Fridericus Rex were to appear, presumably they would pass a special law—an *Ausnahmegesetz*—against him! . . . Even the republics of the ancient world,

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when men's loyalty to the State was hard as steel, in times of distress resorted to a dictatorship. When the life of peoples is at hazard then popular representative bodies, whether Parliaments or Landtags, are of no avail—then only giants can save the situation. . . . Nothing can stay the development; the German parliamentary system is digging its own grave. At the most our part will only be to bury it." . . .

"But in the end the fire of German youth will conquer: Youth will have to support the State which it creates for itself. . . . What can save Germany is the dictatorship of the national will and of the national resolution."

"And if it be asked: 'Is there a fitting personality to act as leader?'—it is not our task to look for such a person. He is either given by Heaven or he is not given. Our task is to fashion the sword for his use when he appears. Our task is to give to the dictator when he comes a people that is ripe for him. German people, awake! It draws near to day!"¹

The speeches of the period of the occupation of the Ruhr by the French, which were delivered on 1 August, 21 August, 5 September, and 12 September 1923, are more violent than ever and many passages were suppressed (after the confiscation of the first edition of the speeches) in the edition of 1925: they reappear in the edition of 1933. It is not necessary now to translate these abusive tirades against Cuno and Stresemann, and the speeches do not add much of present interest to those of the spring. I have therefore attempted a version of only a few passages.

It was the height of the inflation period and of the manufacture of paper money: "Germany is a people of children; a grown-up people would say: 'We don't care a fig for your paper-money. Give us something of value—gold!

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 64-7.

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What have you after all to give us? Nothing? Thus have you defrauded us, you rogues and swindlers! An awakened people with its last thirty marks—all that is left of the millions of its glory—would buy a rope and with it string up 10,000 of its defrauders!"¹ Even the farmer will no longer sell his produce. "When you offer him your million scraps of paper with which he can cover the walls of his closet on his dung-heap, can you wonder that he says, 'Keep your millions and I will keep my corn and my butter'."² "The individual and the nation are delivered over to the international capital of the banks; despair seizes the whole people. We are on the eve of a second revolution. Some are setting their hopes on the star of the Soviet: that is the symbol of those who began the Revolution, to whom the Revolution has brought untold wealth, who have exploited it until to-day. It is the star of David, the sign of the Synagogue. The symbol of the race high over the world, of a lordship which stretches from Vladivostok to the West—the lordship of Jewry. The golden star which for the Jew means the glittering gold."³

"And when the people in its horror sees that one can starve though one may have milliards of marks, then it will perforce make up its mind and say: 'We will bow down no longer before an institution which is founded on the delusory majority principle, we want a dictatorship.' Already the Jew has a premonition of things to come: . . . he is saying to himself: If there must be a dictatorship, then it shall be a dictatorship of Cohen or Levi."⁴

"We stand at the beginning of the second revolution

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), p. 70. Speech of 1 Aug. 1923.

² *Ibid.*, p. 79. Speech of 21 Aug. 1923.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 71. Speech of 1 Aug. 1923.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 79. Speech of 21 Aug. 1923.

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in Germany. Just as after the Kerensky Government in Russia, so after the lemonade Ebert Revolution the real Soviet dictatorship will be set up. Do not consider that as an unimportant matter. There is many a one in Germany to-day, who still laughs at the Soviet Dictatorship, whose head will roll on to the sand.¹ The human *canaille* is the same in all lands. And the political collapse of Germany only a miraculous deed can avert. And Herr Stresemann will never work a miracle."²

"That is the mission of our Movement: Swastika or Soviet star: the despotism of the International or the Holy Empire of German Nationality."³

"And we have for the new Germany of the future created the foundations for its army of liberation."⁴

"A Reichstag which for four and a half years has failed us, which twenty years ago contributed to the destruction of the Reich of Bismarck, such a Reichstag has no longer the confidence of the German people."⁵

To-day "the last decisive struggle rests between the Swastika and the Star of the Soviet. . . . Between them Parliament is collapsing: it must and will be crushed. The members of the Reichstag really ought one day to go out on the steps of the Reichstag and call aloud: 'Let yourselves be shot dead on our behalf': they would have the surprise of their lives. The monarchy died when none of the twenty-six monarchs was prepared to accede to Bismarck's demand and to die fighting on the

¹ Cf. p. 191.

² *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), p. 82. Speech of 5 Sept. 1923. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 92. Speech of 12 Sept. 1923. "You have broken the people's political power of resistance and its political will, and therefore you can never free the German people from its economic slavery."

³ German: *das heilige Reich deutscher Nation*. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94. Speech of 12 Sept. 1923.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74. Speech of 21 Aug. 1923.

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steps of the throne. The Republic of to-day will die at the moment when not one of these democratic Republicans, Pacifists, &c., will be prepared to fall on the steps of the Parliament-house. But the Movement which is ready for its ideal to face the last encounter—that will arise! . . . Victory cannot fail us. For our just, our necessary fight against the dictatorship of the international Stock Exchange has as its sole aim the restoration of our passionately-loved German Fatherland.”¹

THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

In the speech delivered in Munich on 1 August 1923 Hitler said:

“There are two things which can unite men: common ideals and common criminality. We have inscribed upon our banner the great Germanic ideal and for that ideal we will fight to the last drop of our blood. We National Socialists have realized that from the international cess-pool of infamy, from the Berlin of to-day, nothing can come to save the Fatherland. We know that two things alone will save us: first, the end of internal corruption, the cleansing out of all those who owe their existence simply to the protection of their party-comrades. Through the most brutal ruthlessness towards all party officials we must restore our finances. It must be proved that the official is not a party-man, but a specialist! The body of German officials must once more become what once it was. But the second and the most important point is that the day must come when a German Government shall summon up the courage to declare to the foreign Powers: ‘The Treaty of Versailles is founded on a monstrous lie. We refuse to carry out its terms any longer. Do what you will! If you wish

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), p. 80. Speech of 21 Aug. 1923.

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for war, go and get it! Then we shall see whether you can turn seventy million Germans into serfs and slaves!" "

"If cowards cry out: 'But we have no arms!' That is neither here nor there! When the whole German people knows one will and one will only—to be free—in that hour we shall have the instrument with which to win our freedom. It matters not whether these weapons of ours are humane:¹ if they gain us our freedom, they are justified before our conscience and before our God. When the eyes of German children look questioning into ours, when we see the suffering and distress of millions of our fellow-countrymen who without any fault of theirs have fallen into this frightful misfortune, then we laugh at the curses of the whole world, if from these curses there issues the freedom of our race."

"But since we know that to-day the German people consists for one-third of heroes, for another third of cowards, while the rest are traitors, as a condition of our freedom in respect of the outside world we would first cleanse our domestic life. The present 'United Front' has failed in that task. The day of another 'United Front' will come. But before that there must be a day of reckoning for those who for four and a half years have led us on their criminal ways. The domestic battle must come before the battle with the world without - the final decision between those who say 'We are Germans and proud of the fact' and those who do not wish to be Germans or who are not Germans at all. Our Movement is opposed with the cry 'The Republic is in danger!' Your Republic of the 9th of November? In very truth it is: the November-Republic is in danger! How long, think you, can you maintain this 'State'? . . . The hour will come when this Republic which denies

¹ Cf. p. 60 *supra*.

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German history, which has disbanded Germany's old army, which has hauled down and insulted Germany's old flag, the Republic which has become a wrestling-ground for foreign interests—this Republic shall be transformed into a true German 'People's State'—to a true community of all Germans! The State will then for the first time be the German Republic, even if an Emperor or a King should stand at its head! We fight for the State that shall have at its head the greatest cleanliness, the greatest honesty, the proudest strength, the greatest energy. Then upon its external form the people shall decide: it is for the sacred content of that external form that we wage our battle to-day. We had too little faith and love! Rather we should have too much of faith and love: we need an excess of national fanaticism. Ours shall be no State where tolerance reigns. No, we would be intolerant against all who do not wish to be German. . . . You, working men, they are for ever lying to you, saying that we are the foes of understanding between peoples. That we are not. Only understanding must not consist in this—that one party gets all the knocks! Two Powers of equal strength can come to an understanding. And precisely because we are nationally minded, for that very reason we have respect for the national feeling of the other peoples. And our national pride does not mean that we scorn other peoples, it means that we respect and love our own people. It is precisely the Internationalists who prevent peoples from coming to understand one another. You are always thrusting yourselves in everywhere and intruding. Thereby you only make yourselves internationally contemptible. One does not beg for a right—one fights for it!"

"Thus our fight for the cleansing of our domestic life is also a fight for the recovery of the world's respect for

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the German nation. That is why we have the firm, the immovable faith that victory must be ours!"¹

"Our Movement was not formed with any election in view, but in order to spring to the rescue of this people as its last help in the hour of greatest need, at the moment when in fear and despair it sees the approach of the Red Monster. The task of our Movement is still to-day not to prepare ourselves for any coming election but to prepare for the coming collapse of the Reich, so that when the old trunk falls the young fir-tree may be already standing. The *Via dolorosa* (*Leidensweg*) of Germany from Wirth, by way of Cuno to Stresemann, will end in the dictatorship of a Jewish lord of finance. Already Germany can trace the activity of an Austrian Jew, Hilferding, as her Minister of Finance. We want to be the supporters of the dictatorship of national reason, of national energy, of national—brutality and resolution. Germany can be saved only through action, when through our talking here the bandage has been torn from the eyes of the last of the befooled. It is from our Movement that redemption will come—that to-day is the feeling of millions. That has become almost a new religious faith! And there will be only two possibilities: either Berlin marches and ends up in Munich, or Munich marches and ends up in Berlin! A Bolshevik North Germany and a Nationalist Bavaria cannot exist side by side, and the greatest influence upon the fortunes of the German Reich will be his who shall restore the Reich. On us in Bavaria falls the task to be the cell whence recovery shall come to the rest of the Reich. You will never bring the Bavarian name to any higher honour than on the day when Bavaria will be associated with the liberation of the German nation from its accursed foes within the Reich and with the revival which only that liberation will

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 72-3.

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render possible. Either Germany sinks, and we through our despicable cowardice sink with it, or else we dare to enter on the fight against death and devil and rise up against the fate that has been planned for us. Then we shall see which is the stronger: the spirit of international Jewry or the will of Germany."¹

THE REPUBLIC

In a speech delivered in Munich on 12 September 1923 Hitler said:

"The Republic was founded to be a milch-cow for its founders—for the whole parliamentary gang. It was never intended to be a State for the German people, but a feeding-ground (*Weide*), as pleasant and as rich a feeding-ground as possible. There was never any thought of giving to the German people a free State: the object was to provide a mob of the lowest scoundrels with an obliging object for their exploitation. The fruit of the honest work of other folk has been stolen by those who themselves have never worked. And if *we* refuse to grasp the facts, the outside world knows better. The outside world despises the representatives of this November-Republic! Neither in society nor in the meetings of diplomats are they regarded as equals, much less as men of character. Think of Lloyd George—this man with the single fanatical idea—that England must be led to victory. There comes up to him one of the 'November men' of whom he knows: 'My people would have been defeated if your people by you had not been——.' How will Lloyd George receive him? Surely with unspeakable contempt! For *he* knows what *we* can only guess how in the War the millions of gold poured into

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 87–8. Speech of 5 Sept. 1923.

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Germany, how they began to take effect, how great associations of traitors were formed through foreign gold—through *his* gold. And now he sees face to face the man to whom before he paid out the Judas-wage. What do you think Lloyd George will do? He can only spit at the sight. Never can any one of the 'November criminals' represent Germany before the world!"¹

The attack upon the Republic recurs throughout the speeches of this period.

The financial policy of the November criminals was hopeless: to the debts of the War they had but added new debts: "The Revolution cleanses the administration from the old so-called corrupt bureaucracy. It pensions off numberless unreliable officials, such, that is, as will not, with complete absence of character, submit themselves to the new holders of power. Thereby still more vast sums of money are thrown away. And in place of the old sterling administration there is installed a gang of folk belonging to the party chosen only for their loyalty to the party."²

"The Reich is no longer the German Reich of German sentiment, it is the Reich of the Parties. . . . They shattered the old Empire because it no longer corresponded with their party principles."³

"The Republic, by God! is worthy of its fathers. For hardly was the first deed of shame committed when there followed the second—one dishonour after another! One

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), p. 90.

² *Ibid.*, p. 69. Speech of 1 Aug. 1923. The National Socialists were not slow to follow the same practice: in the spring of 1937 it was calculated that including party officials, semi-officials, and standing organizations there were eight citizens per civil servant; 30 to 35 per cent. of the people's income of sixty millions was paid out to officialdom. Martin Fuchs, *A Pact with Hitler*, London, 1939, p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 74. Speech of 21 Aug. 1923.

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can scarcely believe any longer that there was once a time when one could speak of the Germans as the first people in the world."

"The essential character of the November-Republic is to be seen in the comings and goings to London, to Spa, to Paris, and to Genoa. Subserviency towards the enemy, surrender of the human dignity of the German, pacifist cowardice, tolerance of every indignity, readiness to agree to everything until nothing more remains. This November-Republic bore the stamp of the men who made it. The name 'November-Criminals' will cling to these folk throughout the centuries."¹

Or again: "How are States founded? Through the personality of brilliant leaders and through a people which deserves to have the crown of laurel bound about its brows. Compare with them the 'heroes' of this Republic! Shirkers, Deserters, and Pacifists: these are its founders and their heroic acts consisted in leaving in the lurch the soldiers at the front, in stopping reinforcements, in withholding from them munitions, while at home against old men and half-starved children they carried through a revolutionary *coup d'état*. They have quite simply got together their November-State by theft!² In the face of the armies returning wearied from the front these thieves have still posed as the saviours of the Fatherland! They declared the Pacifist-Democratic Republic. On the other hand I ask: What can be the only meaning of loyalty to the State? The loyalty of heroes! This Revolution has dishonoured the old heroes on whom the whole earth had looked with wonder; it allowed the scum of the streets to tear off their deco-

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), p. 89. Speech of 12 Sept. 1923.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 85: The foreign Powers have no respect for Germany: "one has no dealings with thieves, with thieves one does not conclude alliances". Speech of 5 Sept. 1923.

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rations and to hurl into the mire all that was sacred to the heroes of the front line. And how does the Republic honour now the new heroes? Schlageter?' By warrants for his arrest."

"Pacifism as the idea of the State, international law instead of power—all means are good enough to unman the people. As a model they hold up to us India and what is called 'passive resistance'.² True, they want to make an India of Germany, a folk of dreams which turns away its face from realities, in order that they can oppress it for all eternity, that they may span it body and soul³ to the yoke of slavery."

"Even if anyone still wished to defend this State, I would ask him, Who rules this State? Are you willing to sacrifice yourself for the supremacy of an alien race? No! No! . . . We see the twilight from the East rising over us. What has been completed in Russia is to be completed here, too. The one question that remains is this: Will this coming storm be Germany's death-struggle or the birth-pangs of a new and better age?"⁴

With these passages may be quoted three others:

"In the economic sphere this Revolution has proved to be an immense misfortune. The districts which were most important for the feeding of our people were lost and districts which are the condition for the feeding of

¹ Albert Leo Schlageter, one of the *Ruhrkämpfer*—those who opposed the occupation of the Ruhr—was shot by the French on the Golzheimer Heide (Düsseldorf) on 26 May 1923. The National Socialists held a Memorial Ceremony for Schlageter on 10 June 1923 at which Abbot Schachleitner gave an address.

² On the National Socialist attitude towards Indian opposition to British rule, see p. 989.

³ German: *mit Haut und Haar*.

⁴ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), p. 93. Speech of 12 Sept. 1923.

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the nation have been treasonably alienated. And what did the Revolution not prophesy for us in the political sphere? One heard of the right of Self-determination of Peoples, of the League of Nations, of Self-Government of the People. And what was the result? A World Peace, but a World Peace over a Germany which was but a field of corpses. Disarmament, but only the disarmament of Germany, with Germany looting its own resources. Self-determination yes, but self-determination for every negro tribe: and Germany does not count as a negro tribe. League of Nations, yes: but a League of Nations which serves only as the guarantor for the fulfilment of the Peace Treaty, not for a better world-order which is to come. And Government by the people—for five years past no one has asked the people what it thinks of the act of November of the year 1918: at the head of the Reich there stands a President who is rejected by the overwhelming majority of the people and who has not been chosen by the people. Seventeen million Germans are in misery under foreign rule. Hardly ever in five years has so much been torn away from the German nation as in these years of the so-called successful Revolution. We have been rendered defenceless: we are without rights: we have become the pariahs of the world. What are our organs of Government to-day but organs for executing the will of foreign tyrants?"¹

"That which most clearly characterizes the Revolution is the fact that it is one single great theft! A theft against our past, a theft against our future, the theft of our present. The theft of what to many is the highest and most sacred of their possessions—their faith that the

¹ Hitler's speech at the trial of 1924. *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), p. 112.

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State is something more than a mere profit-making concern."¹

"We were given a Free State which never deserved the name of 'free'. Then they called it a 'People's State'. But think you that bankers can form a Government which befits a 'People's State'?"

"In fact the Revolution made three changes in our State: it internationalized the German State, the economic life of Germany, and the German people itself. Thereby Germany has been turned into a colony of the outside world.² Those who were fed with the ideal of the International were in fact placed under the "Diktat" of the International. They have their international State: to-day international finance is king." . . .

"While the masses were still told lies about 'socialization', the economic life of Germany was in fact socialized, not by the German people, but by the outside world." . . .

"Through the internationalization of the nation itself in the end a people ceases to be master of its own fate: it becomes the puppet of alien forces."

"Is that, now, a People's Revolution? Is such a construction a People's State? No, it is the Jews' Paradise."³

ENGLAND AND FRANCE

In his closing speech at his trial after the "Putsch" of 1923 Hitler said:

"When did the ruin of Germany begin? You know the watchword of the old German system in its foreign

¹ German: *Erwerbsgesellschaft*. *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), p. 91. Speech of 12 Sept. 1923.

² Cf. p. 18, *supra*.

³ Speech of 27 Apr. 1923. *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 60-1.

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policy: it ran—maintenance of world-peace, economic conquest of the world. With both these principles one cannot govern a people. The maintenance of world-peace cannot be the purpose and aim of the policy of a State. The increase and maintenance of a people—that alone can be the aim. If you are going to conquer the world by an economic policy, other peoples will not fail to see their danger.”

“What is the State? To-day the State is an economic organization, an association of persons, formed, it would seem, for the sole purpose that all should co-operate in securing each other’s daily bread. The State, however, is not an economic organization, it is a ‘volkic’ organism. The purpose, the aim of the State is to provide the people with its food-supply and with the position of power in the world which is its due. Germany occupies in Europe perhaps the most bitter situation of any people. Militarily, politically, and geographically she is surrounded by none but rivals: she can maintain herself only when she places a power-policy (*Machtpolitik*) ruthlessly in the foreground.”

“Two Powers are in a position to determine the future development of Europe: England and France. England’s aim remains eternally the same: to balkanize Europe and to establish a balance of power in Europe so that her position in the world will not be threatened. England is not on principle an enemy of Germany, she is the Power which seeks to gain the first place in Europe. The declared enemy of Germany is France.¹ Just as England needs the balkanization of Europe, so France needs the balkanization of Germany in order to gain hegemony in Europe. After four and a half years of bitter struggle at last through the Revolution the scale of victory turned in favour of the coalition of these two Powers, with the

¹ Cf. p. 47 *supra*.

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following result: France was faced with the question: Was she to realize her eternal war-aim or not? That means: Could France destroy Germany and deprive it of all the sources whereby its people was fed? To-day France watches the ripening to fulfilment of her age-old plan: it matters not what Government will be at the helm in France: the supreme aim will remain—the annihilation of Germany, the extermination of twenty million Germans, and the dissolution of Germany into separate States.”

“Such is the situation of Germany thanks to the deplorable attitude of her Government. . . . We have laid our stress upon the fact that the worth of a people cannot lie in the dead weight of arms, but in the living will. If the will to self-defence is lacking, then no armament in the world is of any service. That we have impressed upon people at a time when folk were grovelling on their bellies before the Entente Commissioners. We have sought to awaken love for the Fatherland and have also on the other hand sowed the seeds of hate.”¹

Hitler ended his closing speech at his trial in 1924 with the words:

“The army which we have formed grows from day to day; from hour to hour it grows more rapidly. Even now I have the proud hope that one day the hour is coming when these untrained (*wilde*) bands will become battalions, when the battalions will become regiments and the regiments divisions, when the old cockade will be raised from the mire, when the old banners will once again wave before us: and then reconciliation will come in that eternal last Court of Judgement—the Court of God—before which we are ready to take our stand. Then from our bones, from our graves will sound the

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), pp. 116–17.

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voice of that tribunal which alone has the right to sit in judgement upon us. For, gentlemen, it is not you who pronounce judgement upon us, it is the eternal Court of History which will make its pronouncement upon the charge which is brought against us. The judgement that you will pass, that I know. But that Court will not ask of us 'Have you committed high treason or not?' That Court will judge us . . . who as Germans have wished the best for their people and their Fatherland, who wished to fight and to die. You may declare us guilty a thousand times, but the Goddess who presides over the Eternal Court of History will with a smile tear in pieces the charge of the Public Prosecutor and the judgement of the Court: for she declares us guiltless."¹

¹ *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), p. 122.

2. THE FORMATION OF THE PARTY: HITLER'S RETROSPECT

I have here translated some retrospective passages from speeches after the National Socialist assumption of power in 1933. They illustrate Hitler's treatment of a theme which constantly recurs in the speeches.

In his election speech to the Sudeten Germans, delivered at Reichenberg on 2 December 1938, Hitler said: "During these days of collapse I was an inmate of a small military hospital in North Germany. I had, of course, before this interested myself in political problems; but it was during this time that it first became clear to me that, failing a complete change in certain of Germany's ideas, the prophecies of our enemies were bound eventually to come true."

"Our collapse was not a military collapse, as people liked to make out for reasons of party politics, neither was it a political collapse: it was, fundamentally, a general collapse of society. The German people found itself in the midst of a process of dissolution. Bismarck once made out of the tribes of Germany the German Reich, but the process of the coming to be of the German people¹ did not, unfortunately, keep pace with the founding of the Reich. On the contrary, at the very time when the Reich seemed externally to be gaining strength, when it was enlarging itself and becoming powerful and rich in a material sense, internally the body of the people (*Volkskörper*) as such began to dissolve."

"I do not refer to all the numerous parties which began at this time to breed dissension in Germany, nor to the Confessional controversy nor to the separatist tendencies which perhaps existed in one or another of

¹ German: *Volkwerdung*.

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our States. I mean rather that general dissolution of society which expressed itself in the two great concepts of 'Bourgeoisie' and 'Proletariat'. On one side stood a world which declared itself *bourgeois* and claimed to represent the idea of the nation—and on the other side a world which called itself Marxist, and laid claim to the Socialist idea."

"Which camp would be victorious over the other it was impossible to foresee, yet this, my fellow-countrymen, was the fateful question for the whole future of Germany! For two worlds cannot exist in one people. Either one must overcome the other, or both must be ruined. Even before the War both parties had become sterile, and each had lost the power to make a really serious onslaught on the other. One cannot maintain for the space of sixty years an outlook on the world (*Weltanschauung*) which claims to be universal if one does not in this period obtain a victory which is also universal. That which after twenty or thirty years has failed to carry the day loses the strength for victory. Thus Marxism had grown old in the form of Social Democracy as we used to know it, while the *bourgeois* world had become stiff and set in the party formations, first of the Conservatives, and later of the Liberals."

"Anyone who still wished to believe in a resurrection of Germany was forced to recognize that the German nation could be saved only by a gigantic effort. A completely new path had to be trodden. Its aim was to raise up a new German community of the people, and thereby to restore a true homogeneous body of the people.¹ For fifteen years I have trodden this path believing it to be right, trusting in the natural instinct, in the strength and the inner worth of my people. In these years I have often caused bitter pain to many,

¹ German: *Volkskörper*.

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since I had to take from them all that which, perhaps, they had hitherto regarded as right, and sometimes even as sacred. During this time I had to ride roughshod over a thousand cherished traditions and destroy them. I had to make all individual symbols give way before one new symbol, which was destined to become henceforth the symbol of the Reich—the symbol of the German nation! Higher than Prussia, higher than Bavaria, higher than Saxony or Württemberg was to stand always and eternally the thought of Germany, the German Reich! But these had their banners, their standards, and their flags. I must then wage war on these banners and standards, regardless of the fact that they had once helped to mould the history of Germany. I must reject the princely houses and all that gathered round them, regardless of what they had once achieved or perhaps hoped yet to achieve. It was quite clear: the nation must tread a new path, and everything that opposed its progress must be brushed aside, without regard for the feelings of the individual."

"And there were the Confessions! They thought that they could still carry on their old controversies and disputes. Quarrelsome priests, quarrelsome bishops had to be taught that the time had gone by in which religion could be turned into a mere political wrestling-ground. We had to put them back into their proper place, remembering always that nothing must rend the German nation asunder—nothing at all!"

"Still more difficult was it to uproot all those trackless and often indefinable feelings and emotions which in human society spring from pride of descent or class consciousness. Yet all these social and personal traditions had to go and the common element in the people's life¹ had to be brought into the foreground."

¹ German: *das volklich Gemeinsame*.

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"I had by that time, in 1918, discovered two ideals which, it seemed, could unquestionably inspire men and bring them under their spell—the Socialist and the National ideals. For these two ideals men at that time were ready if necessary even to die. If an ideal can so inspire a man that he is prepared to give his life for it, then it holds within it a mighty and a kindling force. And I was then resolved to take these two ideals and to fuse them into a single whole. If I succeeded in that, then the nation might be saved. If not, the nation would more and more tear itself to pieces, and would finally go down in impotence and ruin."

"Naturally my opponents said at once: 'Such a union is impossible. Nationalism and Socialism are ideas which can never be fused!' I held the view at that time that those who were interested in keeping these ideas apart were not the best qualified to consider whether such a union was possible, since they actually got their living from maintaining this separation. Who, then, was specially qualified to examine these questions? Those party leaders who during the whole of the World War stayed at home, sat bunched up in Parliament or roamed about in foreign countries? If anyone was qualified to investigate the German problem, it was the German front-line soldier! As for the other party leaders, they have made speeches for ten years; at the time when every decent German did his duty, they sat chattering at home. They did us no service by it. The result of their activities was the downfall of the nation, the ruin of its economic position, and the destruction of all the foundations of social life. At first, for four and a half years, I spoke no word, but like millions of other Germans I simply did my duty. Then, when the War came to an end, and I returned home from the military hospital, as spokesman and representative of the millions out there

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I undertook this examination. It was only natural that I started from other ideas than those of the parliamentarians and party politicians who preceded me in Germany. I saw before me no *bourgeoisie*, no proletariat, no Catholics, no Protestants, not Bavarians, Saxons, or Prussians, I saw before me German fellow-countrymen, who belonged together by birth, blood, and destiny, and who had been set at variance by false education and by false teaching. The task of the future must now be to bring them together again. This question, as the years went on, was not raised theoretically; it was solved practically through the educational work of the National Socialist Party. Slowly there vanish from the field of vision of our youth to-day all the ridiculous prejudices from which many of their fathers, it may be, still suffer. And if one says to me, 'Yes, but there are still some prejudices which survive', my answer is that National Socialism is not at the end of its days, but only at the beginning. If we wait one, two, three, five, or ten generations, there will be nothing left of these fossils of the present time. Then there will stand forth a people strong and healthy, unbroken, united and unconquerable. It will form its life in common, and vindicate its rights against all who seek to take them away. . . . The Party, once so ridiculed, has not only won the control of Germany by legal methods; it has already realized in itself that community of the people which was the far vision of its final goal!"¹

NATIONAL-SOCIALISM

In an article published in the "Sunday Express" 28 September 1930 Hitler gives his definition of "Nationalist":
"One to whom duty to country or community comes before self-interest; in other words, 'One for all', but

¹ *V.B.*, 4 Dec. 1938.

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with justice for the one where interests clash." *He proceeded:*

" 'Socialist' I define from the word 'social' meaning in the main 'social equity'. A Socialist is one who serves the common good without giving up his individuality or personality or the product of his personal efficiency."

"Our adopted term 'Socialist' has nothing to do with Marxian Socialism. Marxism is anti-property; true Socialism is not. Marxism places no value on the individual, or individual effort, or efficiency; true Socialism values the individual and encourages him in individual efficiency, at the same time holding that his interests as an individual must be in consonance with those of the community."

"All great inventions, discoveries, achievements were first the product of an individual brain."

"It is charged against me that I am against property, that I am an atheist."

"Both charges are false."¹

In a speech to the "Old Guard" of the Party at the Anniversary of the Foundation of the Party (24 February 1934) Hitler said that in the early days many came to him and said, "If only you had not adopted the word 'National' we would go with you", and the others said, "If you were not Socialistic we would join you". We adopted both words precisely in order to prevent these folk from going with us. We did not want them, these Apostles of the Past. We were convinced that we could make our Movement great only if we succeeded in the future in keeping at a distance the ferments of disintegration derived from the past. In uniting Nationalism and Socialism we have scared away from us both the bourgeois Nationalists and the international Marxists to

¹ *The Sunday Express*, 28 Sept. 1930.

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find immeasurable new sources of strength in the inexhaustible well-spring of our own people (*Volkstums*).¹

Hitler in his speech at Hamburg on 17 August 1934 said that after the close of the War two views struggled for mastery within the German people: "Millions lived in a world of Socialist conceptions which they might not be able to define in detail but which as a whole appeared to them as fixed and necessary. Over against this world of Socialist conceptions there stood the national idea. Here, too, definitions might vary greatly, but here, too, the word 'National' embraced a sum of ideas which led up to a general conception for which millions were ready to give their all. Now the decisive factor was that the qualified representatives of these two views—or those who regarded themselves as such—maintained on principle that between these two worlds not only was any connecting link lacking but that they must of necessity stand opposed to each other in deadly enmity."

"The Socialist world was mainly inhabited by those who worked with the hand, the national world by those who worked with the brain.² If these divided worlds were not to lead to the annihilation of Germany, one of the two, within a not too distant future, must emerge as victor, for in the long run a nation cannot survive when its brain workers see in the organized workers with the hand³ their deadly enemy and vice versa. The worst therefore which threatened us was thus not a victory of Marxism over *bourgeois* nationalism, but the worst fear was that this state of things should harden into permanency—that the German people should slowly but finally split into two self-sufficing bodies with different

¹ *F.Z.*, 27 Feb. 1934.

² *Arbeiter der Stirn*: "Workers of the brow."

³ *Arbeiterchaft der Faust*: "Workers with the fist."

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outlooks upon the world. The religious division within our people can teach us that such a development is possible."¹

"This, my fellow-countrymen, was the situation which met me and millions of others at the end of the War. That was the picture that the homeland offered to the returning soldiers and which was but more clearly marked in the following months and years. In such circumstances it was not difficult to foresee the future of the German nation. The misfortune of our former religious ruin now, some centuries later, found its continuation. Once more a development which promised success for our people gave place to a mad conflict of theories which could never profit either the *bourgeois* citizen or the worker. Only a tiny clique of international destroyers which favours strife in the world because it lives on strife could welcome such madness. . . . This struggle was bound at last to end in Bolshevist chaos. What that would mean for Germany perhaps even to-day not everyone can completely realize. When I recognized this I could not at that time enter into a world of political parties which I was convinced could lead the nation only to its ruin. These were the considerations which determined my outlook":

"If the Nationalism of our *bourgeois* world and the Socialism of our Marxists could never unite; if, in consequence, the mass of the intelligentsia finally lost all relation to the mass of the people; and if lastly the nation, i.e. the German people, fell in consequence into complete disintegration and weakness, and therefore into economic annihilation, then both these theories could have no value for this people. For theories do not exist to annihilate peoples, but to make them happier. Let the economic laws of our life be what they may,

¹ Cf. *MK.*, p. 633 (German), p. 462 (English).

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ideas and principles which lead to the destruction of economic life are, as laws of life, useless. Parties which represent such ideas one cannot reform: one must destroy them. For, after all, it is better for a few dozen Marxist and *bourgeois* parties to be ruined rather than for a people to suffer that fate. For these parties have maintained their miserable existence at the cost of the nation only for a few decades, but the people has millennia behind it and through its sacrifices and its struggles in the past has a claim to live for millennia in the future."

"Therefore in my eyes there was no sense in joining one of these parties in order perhaps to give them a longer lease of life; political life had some meaning only if one was successful in destroying them."

"Thus, my fellow-countrymen, when I entered political life it was with the burning vow in my heart that I would root out from Germany this world of the political parties—that I would set in its place a community of the German people."

"And from the first day I saw clearly that this goal could not be reached in weeks or months or even in a few years. I realized the immense work which such a decision entails. Just as surely as an examination of the terms Socialism and Nationalism leads to a single definition, so certain is it that the realization of such a definition means unending work in educating the people. One can easily state, so far as the mere understanding of the statement goes, that the highest form of Nationalism finds its expression only in an unconditional devotion of the individual to the people. It will never be denied that the purest form of Socialism means the conscious elevation of the claims of the people, its life and its interests above the interests and the life of the individual.¹ But it is a task of immeasurable difficulty to

¹ Cf. the Programme of the Party: Point 24 (see p. 106 *infra*).

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translate the recognition of these facts from the world of ideals, from the sphere of abstract thought, into the realm of hard actualities."

"Here one was met by a world of prejudices. Descent, education, culture, profession, income, poverty, and wealth have all raised barriers which are apparently insurmountable. They need not be consciously hostile, these folk, and yet they cannot find the way to each other. The course of a long life which now lies behind them has so filled them with traditions that they seem to themselves—as innocent victims perhaps—to be no longer able to recognize that greater common element which should unite them. If in spite of all this I then attacked this great task with faith in my heart, I, an unknown German soldier of the World War, that was precisely because of the stupendous impression produced upon me by that—the greatest of all experiences. For that individual interests—the interests of one's own ego—could be subordinated to the common interest—that the great, heroic struggle of our people had demonstrated in an overwhelming fashion. Millions upon millions then protected the life and the liberty of a people which thus became to them as a whole of more value than the individual life. But if it is possible for millions of men in war-time so to devote themselves to a community as to sacrifice life itself, then it must be possible to maintain in peace-time also this ideal of the community. For the men who were living in 1918, 1919, and 1920, who are living with us to-day, are not different men from those who did their duty in the years 1914 to 1918. It is only the leadership which has changed."

Hitler went on to describe the growth of the Movement and its success: "This kingdom of Heaven could not be conquered by cowards or by the half-hearted. For this struggle only such men and women are fitted who are

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ready to devote themselves to it to the point of the sacrifice of themselves." Such a Mass-Movement can be effective only if it works with great and simple concepts (*Gesichtspunkten*). "The creed of such a Movement can embrace only a few lapidary principles." "The decisive factor is that the right principles of our struggle should be represented with a spirit that nothing can turn aside, with resolution and with courage." "All those who, to a less degree in Germany than in the rest of the world, are revolted by the harshness (*Härte*) of the National Socialist revolution I would ask to consider that the National Socialist Movement—solely during the period of its legal fight for power—had to lament nearly 400 dead and more than 43,000 wounded. It was here again only the will to maintain the community of the German people which gave us all after the victory self-mastery and restraint. It was not our wish to shed blood, we wished to wreak no vengeance, but we now wished more earnestly than ever before to capture and win men for the new community."

"We know that for many the way to this new conception is difficult. We know, too, that the Movement in proclaiming its ideals must use earthly agents who themselves may all too easily give way to human shortcomings. But I would ask everyone to consider that the building up of an army demands two or three hundred years, that religions spend two thousand and more years on the education of their priesthood, and yet one can never quite overcome human weakness. Who will dare to pass a judgement upon a Movement which fifteen years ago was begun with nothing and from nothing, and to-day has to lead a whole nation? I know that it will take many decades before the leadership has at its command personalities even approximately corresponding to the greatness of our task. . . . Fate gave me the men and as

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they were I had to make use of them. That which is bad amongst us cannot be better, but what can be bettered will be replaced by better material. But always I would remind the nation of the greatness of the tasks which were set us and the shortness of the time we had for their consideration."¹

*In his wireless message to Danzig on 27 May 1933 Hitler once more described the conditions in which the National Socialist Party arose;*² he said that the latent hostility between the proletariat and the *bourgeoisie* must have led in the course of decades to the complete dissolution of the body of the German people. Both Marxism and the *bourgeois* parties were internationally minded: in political life one is responsible for what in fact results from one's action: the *bourgeois* parties never grew out of a narrow point of view based on class: they never succeeded in extending the term "national" to include the whole nation. The hopelessness of their political work was shown by the fact that through long decades they continually lost ground amongst the masses of the German people. They had good material to work upon: "the German workman, like the German peasant, was pious, honest, industrious, and loyal: the task of the *bourgeois* democracy was thus to win the soul of these masses, to educate them and to build them as a valuable factor into their democratic State." In that task they failed. Even before the War the Social Democrats were the strongest party and every new election only strengthened their position. "Thus the Marxist assailant is not alone responsible for the German collapse; the *bourgeois* defender is just as responsible. The *bourgeois*

¹ *F.Z.*, 19 Aug. 1934.

² An analysis entirely in Hitler's words, only abbreviating a long report.

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parties had received a valuable treasure and they could not keep it." The worst feature of all, however, was that both *bourgeois* nationalism and international Marxism became more and more sterile. Communism with its youthful vigour renewed the Marxist party.

"In 1918 a resurrection of the German nation was conceivable only if one of the contending parties had conquered the other and had thus given to the German people a unity of spirit and will." "Any method which might lead to this end was then justified. The opinion that this struggle might be waged only with weapons of the spirit—or with what then in the *bourgeois* camp was called a weapon of the spirit—was ludicrous. History is perhaps interested in methods, but she puts to the test success alone and not methods. Inasmuch as the old *bourgeois* and the Marxist worlds, both alike, remained stuck in the contemplation of methods, they had lost the strength for action." Therefore the question of the resurrection of the German nation became the question of how to remove both parties. I have the right to speak and form a judgement on these problems because I, more clearly than others, discerned the causes of this unavoidable downfall and foresaw the way to master the crisis. "I saw that the old parties must go: of course it would have been easier to have joined one of these existing formations, but any attempt to remove the distress of Germany through these parties was bound to fail. They were too heavily burdened with the tradition of their false thought-world." The course of events has proved that I was right. Their failure to raise the German people could be explained only on two grounds: either the leaders of the old parties did not desire such a rise or they were in their essential character powerless to effect it. Both are true: the leaders of the old parties did not want it, because they were not aiming at the

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destruction of Marxism: they were choked by their eternal cowardly compromises: and they could not effect it, because they lacked the force of an aggressive outlook on the world which could have dominated their action. In 1918 and 1919 the two ideals of Nationalism and Socialism stood opposed to each other: they declared themselves to be mutually incompatible and therefore enemies for all time. Could one of them emerge victorious?

"I then held the view that one must define afresh the two conceptions: one must unite the two apparent extremes and thus awake an unparalleled strength on behalf of the nation, of the whole people." . . . "It seemed to me possible to approach these two ideals without preconceptions, to scrutinize them from a higher standpoint and this scrutiny led me to the happy recognition that fundamentally both conceptions were one and the same. Thus a new idea for the people (*Volks-gedanke*) was born: through the intimate marriage of Nationalism and Socialism there was developed a force at which formerly the old parties scoffed, but before which to-day they have surrendered." Thus were created forces which have led to the formation in our people of a new political will.

"Within Germany the frontiers of tribes and States, of parties, classes, and professions have been broken down; in the same way through the power of this idea working in the hearts of the people will the external frontiers dividing the German people be broken down. Just as former Governments in Germany by means of their external force could not break the strength of soul, the inner union of National Socialists, so will every external force fail in breaking that unity."¹

¹ *V.B.*, 30 May 1933.

3. THE PROGRAMME OF THE PARTY

The German Workers' Party (as it was then called) adopted a Programme with twenty-five Points at a meeting held in the Hofbräuhaus at Munich on 24 February 1920. Of that meeting Hitler has given an account in *MK.*, pp. 401-6 (German), pp. 305-9 (English). With this account cf. Konrad Heiden, *A History of National Socialism*, London, Methuen, 1934, pp. 10-16 (where the significance of the Programme is discussed); F. L. Schuman, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, 2nd edn., New York, Knopf, 1936, pp. 19-22. Gottfried Feder was appointed by Hitler as the authorized exponent of the policy of the Party, and his book which has been translated into English: *Hitler's Official Programme and its Fundamental Ideas*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1934, forms the essential commentary upon the views of the Movement. I have taken from it the translation of the Programme here printed: there is another translation in Konrad Heiden's book (*loc. cit.*). Of Feder's book there have been many editions in Germany: *Das Programm der NSDAP. und seine weltanschaulichen Grundgedanken* (— Nationalsozialistische Bibliothek, ed. G. Feder, Heft 1). I have a copy before me of the "326-350 Thousand" edition published in 1932: for the German text of the Programme see pp. 19-22.—"After full discussion at the General Meeting of members [of the Party] 22 May 1926 it was resolved that 'This Programme is unalterable'. This does not imply that every word must stand unchanged nor that any efforts to extend or develop the Programme are to be prohibited, but it does imply that the principles and the basic ideas contained in it are not to be tampered with." (Feder, English translation, p. 44. I have corrected the year from 1920 to 1926.) For the "interpretation" of Point 17, given by Hitler on 13 April 1928, cf. F. L. Schuman, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 sqq.; for the questions on the Party's policy upon agricultural land raised by the Brandenburg Landbund in 1930 cf. Feder, English translation, pp. 115 sqq.; for the Party manifesto on Agriculture of 6 March 1930 see the second volume of this work.

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THE Programme of the German Workers' Party is limited as to period. The leaders have no intention,

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once the aims announced in it have been achieved, of setting up fresh ones, in order to ensure the continued existence of the Party by the artificially increased discontent of the masses.

1. We demand the union of all Germans, on the basis of the right of the self-determination of peoples, to form a Great Germany.

2. We demand equality of rights for the German People in its dealings with other nations, and abolition of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain.

3. We demand land and territory (colonies) for the nourishment of our people and for settling our surplus population.

4. None but members of the nation may be citizens of the State. None but those of German blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation. No Jew, therefore, may be a member of the nation.

5. Anyone who is not a citizen of the State may live in Germany only as a guest and must be regarded as being subject to the Alien laws.

6. The right of voting on the leadership and legislation is to be enjoyed by the citizens of the State alone. We demand, therefore, that all official appointments, of whatever kind, whether in the Reich, the provinces, or the small communities, shall be granted to citizens of the State alone.

We oppose the corrupt Parliamentary custom of the State of filling posts merely with a view to Party considerations, and without reference to character or capacity.

7. We demand that the State shall make it its first duty to promote the industry and livelihood of the citizens of the State. If it is not possible to nourish the entire population of the State, foreign nationals (non-citizens of the State) must be excluded from the Reich.

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8. All further non-German immigration must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who entered Germany subsequently to August 2, 1914, shall be required forthwith to depart from the Reich.

9. All citizens of the State shall possess equal rights and duties.

10. It must be the first duty of every citizen of the State to perform mental or physical work. The activities of the individual must not clash with the interests of the whole, but must proceed within the framework of the community and must be for the general good.

We demand therefore:

11. Abolition of incomes unearned by work. Abolition of the thralldom of interest.

12. In view of the enormous sacrifice of life and property demanded of a nation by every war, personal enrichment through war must be regarded as a crime against the nation. We demand therefore the ruthless confiscation of all war profits.

13. We demand the nationalization of all businesses which have (hitherto) been amalgamated (into Trusts).

14. We demand that there shall be profit-sharing in the great industries.

15. We demand a generous development of provision for old age.

16. We demand the creation and maintenance of a healthy middle class, immediate communalization of wholesale warehouses, and their lease at a low rate to small traders, and that the most careful consideration shall be shown to all small purveyors to the State, the provinces, or smaller communities.

17. We demand a land-reform suitable to our national requirements, the passing of a law for the confiscation without compensation of land for communal purposes,

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the abolition of interest on mortgages, and prohibition of all speculation in land.

On 13 April 1928, Adolf Hitler made the following declaration:

"It is necessary to reply to the false interpretation on the part of our opponents of Point 17 of the Programme of the NSDAP.

"Since the NSDAP admits the principle of private property, it is obvious that the expression 'confiscation without compensation' refers merely to the creation of possible legal means of confiscating, when necessary, land illegally acquired, or not administered in accordance with the national welfare. It is therefore directed in the first instance against the Jewish companies which speculate in land."

"(Signed) ADOLF HITLER."

"Munich, April 13, 1928."

18. We demand ruthless war upon all those whose activities are injurious to the common interest. Common criminals against the nation, usurers, profiteers, &c., must be punished with death, whatever their creed or race.

19. We demand that the Roman Law, which serves the materialistic world order, shall be replaced by a German common law.

20. With the aim of opening to every capable and industrious German the possibility of higher education and consequent advancement to leading positions the State must consider a thorough reconstruction of our national system of education. The curriculum of all educational establishments must be brought into line with the requirements of practical life. Directly the mind begins to develop the schools must aim at teaching the pupil to understand the idea of the State (State

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sociology). We demand the education of specially gifted children of poor parents, whatever their class or occupation, at the expense of the State.

21. The State must apply itself to raising the standard of health in the nation by protecting mothers and infants, prohibiting child labour, and increasing bodily efficiency by legally obligatory gymnastics and sports, and by extensive support of clubs engaged in the physical training of the young.

22. We demand the abolition of mercenary troops and the formation of a national army.

23. We demand legal warfare against conscious political lies and their dissemination in the Press. In order to facilitate the creation of a German national Press we demand:

(a) that all editors and contributors to newspapers employing the German language must be members of the nation;

(b) That special permission from the State shall be necessary before non-German newspapers may appear. These need not necessarily be printed in the German language;

(c) That non-Germans shall be prohibited by law from participating financially in or influencing German newspapers, and that the penalty for contravention of the law shall be suppression of any such newspaper, and immediate deportation of the non-German involved.

It must be forbidden to publish newspapers which do not conduce to the national welfare. We demand the legal prosecution of all tendencies in art and literature of a kind likely to disintegrate our life as a nation, and the suppression of institutions which militate against the above-mentioned requirements.

24. We demand liberty for all religious denominations in the State, so far as they are not a danger to it and do

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not militate against the morality and moral sense of the German race.

The Party, as such, stands for positive Christianity, but does not bind itself in the matter of creed to any particular confession. It combats the Jewish-materialist spirit *within* and *without* us, and is convinced that our nation can achieve permanent health from within only on the principle: the common interest before self-interest.

25. That all the foregoing requirements may be realized we demand the creation of a strong central power of the Reich. Unconditional authority of the politically central Parliament over the entire Reich and its organization in general.

The formation of Diets and vocational Chambers for the purpose of executing the general laws promulgated by the Reich in the various States of the Confederation.

The leaders of the Party swear to proceed regardless of consequences—if necessary at the sacrifice of their lives—towards the fulfilment of the foregoing Points.¹

MUNICH, February 24, 1920.

In a meeting held in the Circus Krone on 18 September 1922 Hitler formulated "some fundamental demands of the Party":

"1. We must call to account the November criminals of 1918. It cannot be that two million Germans should have fallen in vain and that afterwards one should sit down as friends at the same table with traitors. No, we do not pardon, we demand—Vengeance!"

"2. The dishonouring of the nation must cease. For betrayers of their Fatherland and informers the gallows is the proper place. Our streets and squares shall once

¹ G. Feder, *Hitler's Official Programme and its Fundamental Ideas*, London, 1938, pp. 38-43.

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more bear the names of our heroes; they shall not be named after Jews. In the Question of Guilt we must proclaim the truth".

"3. The administration of the State must be cleared of the rabble which is fattened at the stall of the parties".

"4. The present laxity in the fight against usury must be abandoned. Here the fitting punishment is the same as that for the betrayers of their Fatherland".

"5. We must demand a great enlightenment on the subject of the Peace Treaty. With thoughts of love? No! but in holy hatred against those who have ruined us".

"6. The lies which would veil from us our misfortunes must cease. The fraud of the present money-madness must be shown up. That will stiffen the necks of us all".

"7. As foundation for a new currency the property of those who are not of our blood must do service. If families who have lived in Germany for a thousand years are now expropriated, we must do the same to the Jewish usurers".

"8. We demand immediate expulsion of all Jews who have entered Germany since 1914, and of all those, too, who through trickery on the Stock Exchange or through other shady transactions have gained their wealth".

"9. The housing scarcity must be relieved through energetic action; houses must be granted to those who deserve them. Eisner said in 1918 that we had no right to demand the return of our prisoners—he was only saying openly what all Jews were thinking. People who so think must feel how life tastes in a concentration camp!"

"Extremes must be fought by extremes. Against the infection of materialism, against the Jewish pestilence we must hold aloft a flaming ideal. And if others speak of the World and Humanity we say The Fatherland—and only the Fatherland!"¹

¹ *Adolf Hitler's Reden* (edition of 1933), p. 39.

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In a speech delivered at Munich on 27 April 1923 Hitler again stated the demands of the National Socialists (translated above: see p. 64 supra).

At his trial after the "Putsch" of 1923 Hitler said:

"Germany's destiny lies neither in a Republic nor in a Monarchy, but in the content of the Republic or the Monarchy. What I am fighting is not the State-form in itself, but its shameful content. We wanted to create in Germany the conditions which would alone make it possible that we should be freed from the iron fist of our enemies. We wished to bring order into the administration, to drive out the drones, to wage battle against the international Stock Exchange enslavement, against the dominance of the trusts over our whole economic life,¹ against the transformation of our trade unions into political bodies, and above all we wanted to see the re-introduction of the highest duty which we, as Germans, knew—the duty to bear arms—compulsory military service. And I ask you: Is that which we have wished high treason? Lastly we wanted our people to be incited to revolt against the threat of enslavement, we wished that at last the time should come when we should cease to endure like patient sheep one slap in the face after another."²

Hitler, at a meeting of Press representatives, mainly English and American, held in Berlin on 4 December 1931, stated expressly that he did not intend to carry through any expropriation of property in any sphere.³

"My Party is not a Movement of despair but a Movement of hope. When we come to power our watchword

¹ German: *die Vertrustung unserer ganzen Wirtschaft*.

² *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (edition of 1933), p. 120 (1924).

³ *The Times*, 5 Dec. 1931.

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will be to give to the world that which is really due to it and to give to the German people as a sovereign people what it needs for its life. We want nothing else. Our Monroe Doctrine is and will ever be 'Germany for the Germans'.¹

*On the programme which would be put into force when the National Socialists came into power Hitler, in December 1931, would give no details: "I much regret that I cannot give further details of our plan, but why should I, before the publication of our programme, give advice to the present Government?"*²

*In a speech which was to have been directed to America by wireless but which for technical reasons could not be transmitted, but the text of which was subsequently published, Hitler stated that the National Socialist party recognized private property, private contracts, and private debts, but it refused to recognize public debts, the tributes imposed upon Germany in order to keep it in a state of perpetual bankruptcy.*³

*Through a statement given to the United Press in July 1931 Hitler said that the National Socialists did not believe it possible for Germany to fulfil the purely economic obligations which had been forced upon her.*⁴

*In October 1931 Hitler declared his readiness to fulfil "every non-political obligation which we have undertaken as one trader with another."*⁵

¹ From a speech which was to have been transmitted by wireless to America in Dec. 1931. See *Le Temps*, 13 Dec. 1931.

² From an article in the *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* cited in *Le Temps*, 17 Dec. 1931.

³ *Le Temps*, 13 Dec. 1931. Cf. an article by Hitler in the *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny* (Cracow) cited in *Le Temps* for 17 Dec. 1931.

⁴ *F.Z.*, 15 July 1931.

⁵ *F.Z.*, 12 Oct. 1931.

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*Hitler, in his final discussion on Socialism with Otto Strasser (22 May 1930), asked "with what right do the workers demand a share in the possessions of the capitalist, not to speak of a share in control?" Turning to Herr Amann (the Party's Press-chief), "Would you be prepared to stand it if suddenly your typists began to criticize?" The capitalists "have worked their way to the top through their capacity, and on the basis of this selection, which again only proves their higher race, they have a right to lead. Now you want an incapable Government Council or Works Council which has no notion of anything to have a say: no leader in economic life would tolerate it."*¹

In the same talk with Otto Strasser (22 May 1930) Hitler was asked what, if National Socialism came to power, he would then do with the Krupp Co.—would everything remain as it was or not? Hitler replied:

"But of course things would remain as they were. Do you think that I should be so mad as to destroy business life (*Wirtschaft*)? Only if people should fail to act in the interests of the nation, then—and only then—would the State intervene. But for that you do not need any expropriation, you do not need to give the workers the right to have a voice in the conduct of the business: you need only a strong State which alone is in a position to determine its action solely from large considerations without regard to interested parties."

Otto Strasser answered that the Party Programme contained express reference to the "socialization" of businesses; if Hitler intended to maintain the capitalist system he had no right to talk of Socialism.

Hitler replied: "The term Socialism in itself is unfortunate (schlecht), but it is essential to realize that it does

¹ O. Strasser, *Ministersessel oder Revolution?* pp. 22-3.

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not mean that these businesses *must* be socialized, it means only that they *can* be socialized if they offend against the interests of the nation. As long as they do not do that, it would be simply a crime to destroy business life (*Wirtschaft*).” Germany could take as its model the Fascist State.

Otto Strasser objected that Fascism had hitherto simply maintained the supremacy of capital over the workers.

“That is all theorizing,” said Hitler. “In actual fact only one system is possible in business: responsibility proceeding upwards and authority proceeding downwards. I ask of Herr Amann authority towards his subordinates and responsibility to me. Herr Amann asks from his section-chief responsibility to himself and authority in relation to his typists—and so on. That has been so for thousands of years and it can never be otherwise”. . . .

“The only thing which the present system lacks is the ultimate responsibility to the nation. There can never be a system which is based on any other principle, . . . otherwise we should come to anarchistic, Bolshevist conditions. It is the result of the very nature of the process of production which remains always the same and knows nothing of your theoretical distinction between Capitalism and Socialism.” . . .

“This sharing of the workers in possession and control is simply Marxism: I would give the right to exercise such an influence only to the State controlled by a higher class (*dem von einer höheren Schicht geleiteten Staat*).”¹

From the Proclamation by the Government to the German Nation: Berlin, 1 February 1933.

“We are determined, as leaders of the nation, to fulfil as a national Government the task which has been

¹ O. Strasser, *Ministersessel oder Revolution?* pp. 25-9.

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allotted to us, swearing fidelity only to God, our conscience, and the nation."

"The inheritance which has fallen to us is a terrible one. The task with which we are faced is the hardest which has fallen to German statesmen within the memory of man. But we are all filled with unbounded confidence, for we believe in our people and their imperishable virtues. Every class and every individual must help us to found the new Reich."

"The National Government will regard it as their first and foremost duty to revive in the nation the spirit of unity and co-operation. They will preserve and defend those basic principles on which our nation has been built up. They regard Christianity as the foundation of our national morality, and the family as the basis of national life. They are determined, without regard for class and social status, to restore the nation to a consciousness of its political and national unity and of the duties consequent upon this realization. They intend to make respect for our glorious past and pride in our ancient traditions the ground principles for the education of German youth. In this way they will wage a pitiless warfare upon spiritual, political, and cultural Nihilism. Germany must not, Germany shall not go under in the chaos of Communism."

"Turbulent instincts must be replaced by a national discipline as the guiding principle of our national life. All those institutions which are the strongholds of the energy and vitality of our nation will be taken under the especial care of the Government."

"The National Government intends to solve the problem of the reorganization of trade and commerce with two four-year plans:"

"The German farmer must be rescued in order that the nation may be supplied with the necessities of life."

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"A concerted and all-embracing attack must be made on unemployment in order that the German working class may be saved from ruin."

"The November parties have ruined the German peasantry in fourteen years."

"In fourteen years they have created an army of millions of unemployed."

"The National Government will, with iron determination and unshakeable steadfastness of purpose, put through the following plan:"

"Within four years the German peasant must be rescued from the quagmire into which he has fallen."

"Within four years unemployment must be finally overcome. At the same time the conditions necessary for a revival in trade and commerce are provided."

"The National Government will couple with this tremendous task of reorganizing business life a reorganization of the administrative and fiscal systems of the Reich, of the Federal States, and the Communes."

"Only when this has been done can the idea of a continued federal existence of the entire Reich be fully realized."

"Compulsory labour-service and the 'back-to-the-land' policy are two of the basic principles of this programme."

"The securing of the necessities of life will include the performance of social duties to the sick and aged."

"In economical administration, the promotion of employment, the preservation of the farmer, as well as in the exploitation of individual initiative the Government see the best guarantee for the avoidance of any experiments which would endanger the currency."

"As regards their foreign policy the National Government consider their highest mission to be the securing of the right to live and the restoration of freedom to our

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nation. Their determination to bring to an end the chaotic state of affairs in Germany will assist in restoring to the community of nations a State of equal value and, above all, a State which must have equal rights. They are impressed with the importance of their duty to use this nation of equal rights as an instrument for the securing and maintenance of that peace which the world requires to-day more than ever before."

"May the good will of all others assist in the fulfilment of this our earnest wish for the welfare of Europe and of the whole world."

"Great as is our love for our army as the bearer of our arms and the symbol of our great past, we should be happy if the world, by reducing its armaments, would see to it that we need never again increase our own."

The negative side of this programme may be summarized in the two sentences: "Fourteen years of Marxism have ruined Germany: one year of Bolshevism would destroy her." "If, however, Germany is to experience this political and economic revival and conscientiously fulfil her duties towards the other nations, one decisive step is absolutely necessary first: the overcoming of the destroying menace of Communism in Germany."

The Proclamation closes with the prayer that "God Almighty may give our work His blessing, strengthen our purpose and endow us with wisdom and the trust of our people, for we are fighting not for ourselves, but for Germany!"¹

¹ *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 2-6; authorized English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, pp. 6-9. For a rhetorical statement of the National Socialist Programme cf. the speech delivered in the Reichstag by Hitler on 21 Mar. 1933. German text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 22-3; authorized English translation in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, pp. 12-13.

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*In the speech delivered on 10 February 1933 in the Sportpalast, Berlin, Hitler said that "the first point in the Government programme was: our will is not to lie and not to cheat: it is for this reason that I have always refused to come before this people and make cheap promises."*¹

*Contrast the statement made by Hitler in a speech at Königsberg on 4 March 1933 on the work of the "November-politicians": "The beginning of their work was founded upon a lie, upon perjury and breach of faith."*²

"We have been asked to-day to define our programme: for the moment we can say only one thing: You began with a lie and we want to make a fresh beginning with a truth. The lie was beautiful and seductive, and truth, that is always bitter and hard. But one day the lie is unmasked: one day the truth will conquer. It is only natural that a people that has given itself over to madness should be led once more into truth. And the first thought contained in this truth is this: a people must understand that its future lies only in its own strength, in its capacity, its industry, its courage. The world gives no help: the people must help itself. One's own strength is the source of life: that strength is the gift of the Almighty, and it is given that we may use it, that in it and through it we may fight the battle of our life". . . .

"I did not wish to begin like the others with a lie: they promised when they came into power improvement in a few months. When a building is completely ruined one cannot restore it in four or six weeks. The others in the years that are past have not had the blessing of the Almighty in Whose hands at the last, whatever men may do, the final judgement rests. Our prayer is: Lord God, let us never hesitate, let us never play the coward,

¹ *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14 (top).

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let us never forget the duty which we have taken upon us."¹

In a speech at Kiel at a review of the SA. on 7 May 1933 Hitler said:

"The aim of this great uprising is the inner and actual victory over November 1918: . . . the end of the German Revolution must come only with the end of the November criminals, the end of their system, the end of their existence. We will track down these men into their last lurking-places, we will not pause or rest until the last trace of this poison is removed from the body of our people. . . . If the army is the school of the German people in arms, you must form the political school so that one day from these two factors—the formation of the political will and the defence of the Fatherland—there will flow a great addition of strength. One day the time will come when in fact all Germany will march under our banner. We do not wish to be small-minded: we want to offer our hand to anyone who will join us. But at the end of our way there must stand a German people with a single organization of its political will. I would not sink into the grave with the thought that one day later centuries will be able to charge me and with me charge you: 'You, too, have failed to recognize the greatest German task and have not fulfilled it.' We have recognized that task and are resolved to fulfil it."²

In his speech in the Reichstag on 17 May 1933 Hitler thus formulated the three aims of the National Socialist Revolution:

(i) To prevent the threatened Communist revolution, to build up a national State which shall unite the inte-

¹ *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 14-15.

² *V.B.*, 9 May 1933.

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rests of the different classes and castes, and to maintain the idea of property as the basis of our culture.

(ii) To solve the most difficult of social problems by bringing back the millions of our unfortunate unemployed into productive work.

(iii) To re-establish a stable and authoritative Government, supported by the will and confidence of the nation, which shall make our great people an acceptable partner of the other States of the world.¹

In a speech at the dedication of the Deutschlandhalle in Berlin (29 November 1935) Hitler said:

"It has been objected: Why does National Socialism still intend to deliver speeches now that it has won power?"

Hitler replied that he did not wish to let the authority which he had won in fourteen years of struggle go to waste: that authority he wished to maintain. National Socialism came from time to time before the people, but not for discussion or mutual criticism.

Decisions were made by the National Socialist alone, but he was prepared to explain to the people the reason for his action. Everything which had taken place in the years since National Socialism assumed power had been previously prepared in the will and outlook of the people: that had been done systematically whether it had been a question of the destruction of Marxism, of the legislation on race which had been greeted with gratitude and understanding by the overwhelming majority of the people, or again of the ending of the condition of national weakness. Step by step he had really brought about only that which the people, prepared through fourteen years of intensive propaganda,

¹ German text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 96; authorized English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, p. 56.

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had expected of him. The *bourgeois* democracy had achieved nothing because it had not understood how to inoculate the German people with its will.

National Socialism explained to the people only the general principles; as a rule it was silent about tactics—National Socialist speakers dealt with the general line of policy: this was sufficient, for they knew how to distinguish clearly between principles and tactics and they were supported by the people. On the other hand, the people had been so trained (*erzogen*) as to form a force which compelled the Government to follow continuously the path on which they had started. This was the only way in which the political leadership of a nation could maintain stability. This interaction between leaders and people had secured that, particularly in times of anxiety, National Socialists could appeal to the people in order to receive from it their new marching orders. . . .

There would always be difficulties, but he would have no more joy in life if there were no longer any problems to solve. The difficulties of a day served merely as a thermometer to show that a subject must now be tackled: capitulation before a problem there could never be. . . . The greatest of all problems was the individual man, and therefore the greatest task was the education of the German for the new community. Man himself is a creature with a soul; that meant that material problems must be brought into relation with the soul of the people.¹

To this summary "The Times" of 30 November 1935 added the following sentences:

National Socialism and the German people were one. That they had conquered the German people could not

¹ Only a summary of the speech was published: the above is not an analysis of the speech but a translation of selected passages from the summary in *F.Z.*, 1 Dec. 1935.

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be denied, "For otherwise we should not be here—and we are here and here we shall stay."

There was no one to succeed them. No one had the necessary popularity. He himself had become popular because he had the courage to be unpopular. . . . He had opposed the big organizations; he would not stop before the pigmy remains. . . .

Distress would not conquer Germany; the National Socialist Movement would conquer distress. They would solve the raw material difficulty, but it would be easier to do that if the rest of the world were not mad.

In a speech at Regensburg on 6 June 1937 Hitler said:

In 1933 on coming to power National Socialism had set itself four tasks:

- i. To create a single people.
- ii. To secure to this people through work its daily bread.
- iii. To protect this people and its work and to restore to it freedom, honour, and power.
- iv. Within this people to raise a new and higher social community."

In June 1937 he could regard their first task as practically accomplished. "We march under the spell of this purpose, and he who sets himself in our path must not complain if sooner or later the march of a nation passes over him."¹

In 1939, as Hitler looked back on the early programme of the Party, he said:

"And then as an unknown soldier of the World War I took up my position. It was a very short and simple programme: removal of the domestic enemies of the nation, putting an end to the disunion of Germany,

¹ *F.Z.*, 8 June 1937.

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unification of the whole national strength of our people in a new community and the breaking in pieces by one means or another of the Peace Treaty. For so long as this "Diktat" of Versailles lay heavy upon the German people it was, in fact, doomed to perish."¹

In his Proclamation at the opening of the Party Congress at Nuremberg on 6 September 1938 Hitler described the tasks which the Party had to perform. "It had to break up and destroy the other world of parties; it had to declare unrelenting war on the world of class and social prejudices; it had to ensure that without consideration of birth or of origin the German who was strong-willed and capable might find his way upwards. It had to purge Germany of all those parasites for whom the need of their Fatherland and people served as a source of personal enrichment. It had to recognize the eternal values of blood and soil, and to raise the respect paid to those values until they became the supreme laws of our life. It had to begin the struggle against the greatest enemy who threatened to destroy our people—the international Jewish world-enemy!"

"Its task was to cleanse from that influence the life of the German people, our race and culture. It had to put an end to the thoughtlessness of public opinion. It had to take into its hands all means of guiding the people—Press, theatre, films, and all other forms of propaganda—and to direct them towards a single goal. Moreover, it had also to secure the social foundations of the new community of the people, to place its economy at the service of the nation, and, above all, its task was to set up a new central and universal authority. For if one still wished to believe in any salvation for Germany at all, this could never come through any jumble of con-

¹ V.B., 3 Apr. 1939. Speech at Wilhelmshafen, 1 Apr. 1939.

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flicting views, or through the doctrine of *laissez-faire* preached by clamorous know-alls and carping critics! The Party must therefore go on to protect this authority not only from the attacks of individuals but still more from the threat represented by the spiritless attitude of big business circles, and of all those aristocrats and wiseacres for whom the whole meaning of freedom at home is but the licence to live one's own life in the service of one's personal interests, regardless whether the foreign foe may destroy the freedom of all. In these matters it was essential for the Party not to give way before the great common front of *bourgeois* and Marxist unreason. Nor must it bow before attempts to influence it on the part of all those who might hope, perhaps, to see in the new movement a financial or political rehabilitation of their own deficiencies."¹

¹ *V.B.*, 7 Sept. 1938.

4. THE EARLY DAYS OF THE PARTY

Over and over again in his speeches Hitler has told the story of the early days of the National Socialist Movement: no collection of extracts from those speeches could omit a reference to that story which forms so large a part of the capital of National Socialist oratory. Some characteristic examples of those retrospective surveys have therefore been translated.

In his speech in the Hofbräuhaus at Munich (24 February 1935) at the celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the Founding of the Party Hitler said:

"When on the 24th of February 1920 I spoke for the first time in this hall, it was one thing which had brought me here, which gave me the courage to speak before this community (*Gemeinschaft*): faith in Germany, faith in the German people, in its good and imperishable values. And at that time such a faith was essential, for there could not have been a worse time for the founding of such a new movement than in those days". . . .

"No one had faith then in what he did. And yet in this bitterest of times we had faith in Germany. . . . It was the faith in that *other* Germany which then only slept, that lived again, and to-day celebrates its proud resurrection: the faith in the Germany of simple fellow-countrymen, the faith in this people, which in its heart is such an amazingly decent people, which the politicians could not any longer see, because they moved only in their own circle which assuredly had lost all contact with the people. It was the Germany of millions of honest riflemen and grenadiers, of millions of honest women who had gone hungry through the War, who together had all bravely and loyally defended their homeland for four and a half years."

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"It was perhaps fortunate that many of our number never dreamed of the length of time it would take to awake this Germany from her sleep. Many a one perhaps would have lost heart. But as it was we hoped on: from the first month to the second, from the first year to the second, to the third, fourth, fifth, and at last, with this hope and faith came the hour which we had longed for. And it had to come, never forget that!"

"When I then spoke for the first time our programme was the greatest challenge of the century, a challenge against this age, against the spirit of this age. It was a beginning of infinite difficulty. Who were we after all? Only nameless folk! Not one prominent personality amongst us, no politician, no parliamentarian. The dirt of the trenches still hung about us. All those who opposed us hurled their taunts at us: 'What do you want? You have absolutely no qualifications.' Only those who had brought Germany to disaster were 'qualified' in those days."

"Further, we lacked the unction of the politicians of that time. We had no capital. A Movement founded by men who had no name, a party founded without capital appeared like a limited liability company with no one to buy its shares. Someone had obviously to take part in the enterprise who had a name and capital—and we had neither. We had hardly a pfennig to our credit and all those who did really possess capital gave us a wide berth. They said 'Be off! you have not a name amongst you', and those who had a name said 'Away with you!—you have no capital'. And besides that we had no newspaper."

"The question was: How did we intend to become known at all?¹ To come before the public with nothing—without known names, with a programme that attacked

¹ Cf. *MK.*, p. 388 (German), p. 296 (English).

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everyone—it was an extraordinarily difficult decision to take. It needed a tremendous struggle even to bring the Movement to the consciousness of the German people. Folk objected to the harshness of our tone, the brutality of our fighting. They criticized our unpolished speeches. Does anyone think that in any other way we could have got the public to listen to us? We *had* to fight in this way; only so could we find our way to the ear of the nation. Further, in opposition to all the similar movements started at this time in Germany, I held the view that we should not unite with others, but forge our own way through. One did not dare at that time to trust oneself to any false solidarity; one could not say, 'After all they want the same thing as you do'. No, there must be *one* will in Germany, and all other wills must be mastered. For fifteen years we have held to this watchword and at the last that watchword has led us to complete and final victory."

"At that time people said, 'You are but a splinter-party'. It is true, we were then a splinter, but that splinter was of steel and like a magnet it drew to itself the iron out of the nation. Beyond that nothing was of any account. And thus as a splinter-party at first we were hated by everyone. In a few years we were attacked on every side by all the other parties. An Englishman said once, if you want to know whether a man is a genius, you have only to keep your eyes open and see whether the lesser fry do not suddenly band themselves together against him. If they do, this is the sure sign of the coming of a genius. And if you would recognize an important movement you have only to observe how the whole pack of mutually hostile parties suddenly take a hand in the game. If they suddenly unite, although according to their programmes they ought to be fighting each other, then you may be sure

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that they see a common danger approaching. And that is what we were able to notice only a short time after the beginning of our Movement."

*There followed an account of the opposition of the "November-State"—how stupidity and malice stood united against the National Socialists: Hitler drew a picture of the time of the bloody terror and oppression, and of the cowardice of the bourgeoisie (only a summary is given in the Press report). "Then", he continued, "we dared to form our own organizations, organizations of the Party, and as their marching-orders we gave them a word from the Bible, 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth'" . . . and then at length came the hour of victory: "the victory of faith, the triumph of will."*¹

In his speech at Munich on 8 November 1935 at the celebration in memory of the "Putsch" of 1923 Hitler said:

"For the twelfth time we are assembled here and with us, as we know, is the German people. We are met in a Celebration (*Feierstunde*) in memory of the day on which for the first time we sought to change the fate of Germany. The result of that attempt was sixteen dead, more than a hundred severely or slightly wounded, and a further result was the apparent annihilation of our Movement."

"If year by year we have celebrated this day—in the time of persecution not always in the same form—if we are determined in the future and for all time to make this day a Holy Day for the German nation, that is not because on it sixteen men died. Daily thousands die and wars destroy many more in an hour. It is because these sixteen men with a true faith in their hearts suffered a death which helped to raise up once more the German people. These sixteen men even before that had stood

¹ *F.Z.*, 26 Feb. 1935.

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their ground, they had been in the Great War, many of them had been wounded once, twice, several times. They had already often looked death straight in the eyes. But in war it was different! Then the whole German people in arms faced its foes, while on the 9th of November 1923 only a small band arose against the annihilators of the Fatherland and the destroyers of the nation, against those who had sold and betrayed our people. It was much harder to find the resolution for that than formerly to march to the front. That went without saying for all of us; each stood his ground and all respected those who went forth to defend the Fatherland. In 1914 that was not difficult; on the contrary, the decision to go to the War was for millions an unheard-of good fortune.¹ The resolution of spirit which led men to take up the fight against those who were ruining Germany was far harder. In the War everyone knew in which battalion he had to march. These massed formations of the War were lacking in the domestic struggle. But in their place each had a faith which to those who come after may perhaps appear fanatical."

"One thing indeed I know: all decisions have been for me easier than the one which I made on the 8th of November 1923. For the first time one had the conviction that it was not one's personal fate which was at stake, but the fate of the whole German people."

"Our people had been more than heroic in the War. We know that; each one knows the bravery of his comrades. Each one of us who was then at the front knows what the German soldier achieved, and had to achieve. It is comprehensible: in the Great War every man more easily adapted himself to his task; thus for any war it is easier to gain a thousand volunteers than

¹ German: *ein unerhörtes Glück*. Cf. *MK.*, p. 177 (German), p. 145 (English).

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it is in time of peace to find ten men who must be prepared to die. There are only two extremes: either war—and then one knows that life has little value—or peace, and then each man wishes to enjoy peace in his own way. And the wonderful thing is this: that from the German people after that people's downfall at once men arose who refused to capitulate but were ready to set themselves in opposition to those who were ruining Germany, and that not only with the weapons of the spirit, but with their own breasts."

"And thus there came a time when each individual had to decide for himself whether he should enter the Movement. If we wished to reach our goal, that could never be through theoretical expositions and scientific treatises: we could not remain behind closed doors: we must meet our opponents face to face on the street, in the factory, at any other opportunity. Everyone who wished to join us knew what lay before him, and yet at that time a number of German men—each for himself—took the decisive step. That decision was all the harder because their work was not surrounded by any halo of fame. While each man who took the field in 1914 and wore the honourable field-gray uniform could be assured of general respect, he who had put on the arm-band of the National Socialist could be sure that he would be ridiculed and taunted by all. That arm-band was then no sign of honour: it rested with the wearer to make it that."

"So the decision was doubly difficult, since it was not associated with any recognition from those without the Movement, but only with mockery and scorn. The *bourgeoisie* laughed at us and despised us. They were convinced that we were fit occupants for a madhouse, and were completely assured that for the present it was out of anyone's power to help Germany: perhaps the children might one day do something. We of the

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present generation had no other task than to accustom ourselves, with what dignity we could muster, to Germany's downfall and to accept the collapse."

"It was in very truth in the years 1920 and 1921 no easy decision for any National Socialist to resolve to enter a Movement which was so far removed from all else in the Germany of that day. It was at this time that the Movement wrote upon its standard the words: 'Germany must live, even though we die.' The motto of the others was the exact opposite: 'We shall live, even though Germany is destroyed.'"

"We seemed to others to be purblind folk who knew not how to conduct politics, people without names, without property, without lineage. We know how at that time the little band grew, starting from this city. When to-day we let the years pass before our eyes in memory, it is a marvellous story that unfolds itself. We entered upon the fight with the criminals, a fight against a powerful majority, to struggle for our view of the world (*Weltanschauung*), a view of the world which even for ourselves at that time was perhaps rather dimly felt than clearly thought out in all its implications."

"1920: we announced our programme for the first time and held our first larger meeting. Then this hall seemed to me ten times as big as it does to-day. We considered ourselves fortunate when it was sparsely occupied and when half of it was not merely gaping emptiness. Still in the year 1920, we could later hope for well-filled halls and could, for the first time, found a local centre (*Ortsgruppe*) outside Munich. Then came the year "

"1921. We were bolder in our appearances on the streets. When the *bourgeois* did nothing I took the decision—which to myself seemed utterly foolhardy—to summon a meeting to protest against the 'Diktat' of

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Paris, and for that meeting to hire the Circus Krone.¹ And afterwards I had some anxiety—suppose the Circus were not filled, what then? So I hired a lorry, put on it the first twenty members of the Party, gave each of them a flag to carry, and told them to drive with placards through the streets. From the business point of view it was extremely risky. Further, I had 20,000 broadsheets printed and they were distributed through Munich from this 'national-bolshevist' lorry. The *bourgeois* citizens looked on us with divided feelings. They thought of a revival of the Spartacist revolution: they were not able to conceive that there could be wide differences between Red and Red. The Reds, who saw things a little more clearly, were beside themselves with fury at this trespass on their domains. But when the evening came, the Circus was full. That was our first great gathering. And what an effort it needed to get to that point! Still masses of people streamed into the Circus and I had only some fifty or sixty stewards with whom I had to keep order in that gigantic building. However, order was maintained, and, lest the enthusiasm should cool down, I announced that we would shortly hold another meeting in the Circus. So the Party grew and in course of time we could hold two or three meetings in the week. We learned how to dominate the great halls of Munich. Then came"

"1922. But meanwhile there occurred the first great fight in the hall where we were meeting. To-day we can laugh as we think of it, but then the existence of the Party was at stake. The others had intended to trample us underfoot. Perhaps they were smitten with blind-

¹ For the early Mass Demonstrations cf. *MK.*, pp. 557 sqq. (German), pp. 411 sqq. (English). For the first meeting in the Circus Krone on 3 Feb. 1921, pp. 559 sqq. (German), pp. 412 sqq. (English).

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ness. From these battles arose our *Sturmabteilung* (Storm Section—the SA.).”

“With the year 1922 the Movement gradually spread beyond Bavaria.¹ In other towns local centres were founded and whole districts, as our opponents said, were ‘infected’ by us. And one day for the first time we held a demonstration of the National Socialist Freedom-Movement on the present Königsplatz.² For the first time we marched to the Königsplatz; we spoke there; for the first time from Munich we took a special train to Coburg, and there with terrific strength of arm³ we smashed the Red Terror to the horror of the *bourgeoisie* who neither wished to understand nor could understand our action.”

“And then began this ‘cleaning up’ process, place by place, and our Movement grew, became stronger and stronger. It did not grow through men who have taken wisdom on lease, it was the masses who joined us first, the healthy elements in the people. If to-day a Storm-battalion of 1922 were to march through the streets everyone would ask, ‘Where have they been let out from?’ That was the time when the majority came to our meetings without collars; they made a point of coming without collars. It was in this unparliamentary attire that we appeared before the public in those days. And even afterwards we remained very much of the people: and thus gradually—at least here in Munich—we became in fact so much a part of the people that the people could not any longer disown us.”

¹ *MK.*, pp. 601 sqq. (German), pp. 441 sqq. (English).

² *MK.*, p. 613 (German), p. 449 (English).

³ German: *mit brachialer Gewalt*. For the Coburg expedition (Oct. 1922) cf. *MK.*, pp. 614 sqq. (German), pp. 449 sqq. (English). For the account of Gottfried Schmitt, who took part in the affray, cf. H. A. Heinz, *Germany's Hitler*, London, Hurst and Blackett, 1934, pp. 151 sqq.

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"1923. When the year 1923 came it was obvious: *we* were the predominant Movement. In numbers, it is true, the others far surpassed us. But people did not see them. They did not leave their offices and their council-chambers. They possessed vast resources. But those who marched through the streets were either the Reds—or ourselves; and no one else. And we began our marches: the SA. grew larger and larger. And thus the year 1923 ran the course which we all know."

"Already in the summer it was clear to us that on one side or the other in Germany the die must be cast. We felt at that time that we, although perhaps in numbers the weakest of the parties, were worth more than all the others. In the autumn, when events crowded one upon another, it became ever clearer that under the pressure of the occupation of the Ruhr certain unscrupulous scoundrels were trying after all to tear Germany asunder.¹ Then there grew up amongst us, I may say with *me*, the determination that, if it should really come to this pass, then at least twenty-four hours before that step was taken we would seize the initiative² and would not wait until the other side should perhaps discover the courage to make up their minds—and to act. For one thing was clear: he who, in the inflation period, in this time of the collapse of everything and everyone, had the courage to come to a decision—he would have the people behind him. Had another [State] flag been raised, then the foreign Powers would have immediately declared 'We will no longer allow this "development of liberty"—this was the name given to the splitting up of Germany—to be once more checked by the attempt to restore the hegemony of one or other of the federated States.' That we knew. From this compelling consciousness of the

¹ For the "Putsch" cf. pp. 149 sqq. *infra*.

² German: *das Gesetz des Handelns*.

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fateful hour, and from the distress of this hour came with us the determination to act."

"I need not now betray the details. That I will do when I have ceased to live. To-day it is not yet necessary for it to be known how precisely it came about. But I can quite dispassionately say: it was the most desperately daring decision of my life. When I now look back upon it in thought, I grow dizzy. The decision in one spot of Germany to open the attack and at one blow to take prisoner the whole of the enemy's forces—it was a bold decision just because it meant that with the means one had—and they were small enough!—one must have the courage to assume power. Yet this decision was necessary: it could not be escaped. No other action was possible. Someone in this hour *had* to oppose treason, *had* to set against these traitors the national watchword. It mattered not in the last resort *who* did it. We did it; I made the venture."

"But Fate meant well with us; Fate did not allow an action to succeed, which, if it had succeeded, must in the end have suffered shipwreck on the internal unpreparedness of the Movement, on its organization which was then so faulty, on its inadequate spiritual foundations. To-day we know that. Then we played our part only with courage and bravery: it was with wisdom that Providence acted. But this bravery in action has not been in vain; for from it arose at last the great national Movement, that is to say that through this explosion with one blow the whole of Germany had its attention called to the Movement. While our opponents thought that they had destroyed us, in fact the seed of the Movement at a single blow was flung over the whole of Germany."

"When the great prosecution came, then we had the opportunity for the first time of championing our ideals before a vast German and international forum. We

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scorned to say, as did the others, 'That was never our intention'; no, we said: 'Our aim was to destroy those who were betraying Germany. The only misfortune is that we have not succeeded.' At that time we solemnly declared: 'Ours is the responsibility, and that responsibility we accept. We have only one regret: that we have failed.'"¹

"When we stood to meet the charge in the first prosecution and fought our fight to the end, it went without saying—for all of us were leaders in the Movement—that each would admit his action and himself take full responsibility for everything. But one anxiety I did have. After us came some hundred members of the Party, small Shock-Troop men, members of single sections of the SA. They, too, were dragged before the judge. I was myself in prison when these trials began to run their course. And I had only one anxiety—that under the pressure of arrest, questioning, and the whole method of conducting the trial one or the other might perhaps give way, might seek to save himself, and might plead 'I have been guiltless: I have acted under compulsion. I could not help myself.'"

"My heart overflowed with joy when I saw the first report of these trials, when I read in the *Munich Post*—which was sent to us at the time—"The men of the Shock-Troops are just as insolent and shameless as was their lord and master.' Then I knew that Germany was not lost. That spirit would gnaw its way through anything! Such a spirit they can no longer destroy. And out of these Shock-Troop men and these SA. men were later formed the greatest organizations of the German Movement—the SA. and the SS. And the spirit has remained: it has ever and again proved itself ten thousand—a hundred thousand-fold."

¹ Cf. p. 153 *infra*.

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"That is what we owe to these men who died: the example which they gave in Germany in the darkest hour. For when in this city we marched out, we knew already that this was no longer a triumphal march. We went in the conviction that this was the end, in one way or another. I know of one who on the steps as we set out said, 'This is now the finish'. Every one in himself carried with him this conviction."

"And at this moment I must not forget to mention one man who to-day is not with us, whom at that time I begged not to march at our head, General Ludendorff, and who gave me as his answer 'I shall stand at the head' and who placed himself in the first line. That was the spirit which in spite of their presentiment inspired these men of our band. And when this blood had flowed, the first act of the German drama was ended. Nothing more could be done. For now the force of law stood, armed, against the German Movement for Freedom. And now of necessity came the realization that in Germany this way was closed to us: it was a thing of the past. And then comes the second immense service of those who fell. For nine years I had to fight under constitutional forms for power in Germany. Many others had already attempted this before me. But because they preached legality they gained for their movement only the weaklings, only the cowards. The revolutionary spirits, those who were prepared to act, stood outside of their ranks. If I had not in 1923 attempted to carry through this revolution, if I had not made the *coup d'état*, if blood had not then flowed, if so many had not died in the attempt, then it would have been impossible for me to say through all those nine years, 'From henceforth the battle will be fought only within the law'—or at least I should have gained only the half-hearted. It was only this which later gave me the strength resolutely to keep

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to this course which came to be recognized as the only right course to pursue. There were many who opposed me—we know it from the history of the Party—they objected, 'How can one keep within the law?' But I could say to them: 'Gentlemen, what is it you want? Do you want to teach me how to fight? Where were you when we opened our attack? I need no lessons from you on revolution or legality. I have been through all that long ago. You had not spurred up enough courage, so hold your tongues now!'¹

"Thus it was possible for me to build up a Movement composed of *men* who yet were prepared to follow the one, the only possible way. And to that we owe more than I can say. For we do not live alone in the world. About us are powerful States who regard every rise in Germany's fortunes with ill will. We can hold our own in face of them only if we are strong not merely in our own outlook on the world, but also in arms. And one thing was clear: we could not make Germany strong in arms if we destroyed the institution which supplies those arms: that institution, intact in its close-knit unity, must be reconciled with the National Socialist idea and with the realization of this idea, and thus we could found this new alliance which has made it possible for Germany to appear once more in all her strength before the whole world. That I saw at the moment in which the shots rang out here in this city. If you will read again my final speech in the great prosecution you will be in a position to say that as a prophet I foreshadowed the only possible way for progress in the future, that I have publicly declared what that way was and have resolutely followed it for nine years. I could thus follow it only because this action happened first, because previously men had died for this way."

¹ Cf. p. 162 *infra*.

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"When yesterday a new war-flag for the Reich was hoisted, this was a highly significant event. Just think: over a period of some two thousand years we can follow the German people in history, and never in the course of history has this people possessed this single formation both in the conceptions of its thought and in its action which it possesses to-day. For the first time since Germans appeared in the world there is a single Reich, dominated by a single view of the world, protected by a single army and all that united under a single flag. In very truth, the cercloths of these sixteen dead have celebrated a resurrection which is unique in the history of the world. They have become the banners of their people's freedom. The miracle is that from their sacrifice arose this mighty unity in Germany, this victory of a Movement, of an idea, and to this the whole people is pledged. And all that, the whole of our debt, is bound up with these first men. For if at that time I had found no one to step forward to champion the cause of the Reich at the cost of their bodies and their lives, then in after years, too, this would have become impossible. For all those who later sacrificed their blood were inspired by the sacrifice of these first men."¹

"It is for this reason that we raise them high above the darkness of forgetfulness and place them for ever in the great mindfulness of the German people. With these sixteen dead our foes thought that they had killed the National Socialist Movement, while in fact they have but awakened the blood-stream which from that day began to flow with an ever increasing force. To-day this bond, the arm-band of those days, embraces the whole German people, embraces other Germans, too, far beyond the frontiers of the Reich. For to-day, wherever there are Germans—and that is again the wondrous fact

¹ For the Martyrs of the Movement cf. p. 158 *infra*.

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—there men see no other sign of their unity than that sign which you, my fellow-members of the Party and my fellow-countrymen, even in those days bore on your arm.”

“And it is truly a miracle to trace this development of our Movement. To posterity it will appear as a fairy-tale. A people is shattered and then a small company of unknown men arises and begins an Odyssey of wanderings which begins in fanaticism, which in fanaticism pursues its course. Only a few years later and already from these few men, from these unknown, nameless folk, numerous battalions have been formed, and again years later from these battalions regiments and divisions have been created: local centres have become districts (*Kreise*) and shires (*Gaue*). A few more years pass and this Movement sends many delegates into the representative bodies. And resolutely it fights its fight on the streets. Again and again new victims fall out of the ranks. Thousands are wounded, but none the less the stream grows in volume, and the Movement struggles through to power, and then it sets its standard over a whole State. A wonderful journey! History will record it as one of the most wonderful, one of the most remarkable happenings in the history of the world. It will seek for comparisons and analogies, but it will hardly find a parallel—that in so few years, from such a birth a whole people and its State could be completely conquered.”

“This is the miracle which we have wrought. We are the fortunate ones, for we need not to learn the story from books: we have been chosen by Fate to live this miracle in our own experience. We, my comrades in the fight, can be proud that history has called us to such a mission. Many years ago I said to my followers: ‘Perhaps one or another of you asks, “And what after all shall the reward be?” My party-comrade, some time the day

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will come, and when it comes, then you will be specially proud of this arm-band: on it you will inscribe the year in which your illumination came, and you will be happy to be able to say, "I was there since such and such a year". That it is which unites us so closely, which welds us together. Posterity will one day learn the lesson, but we can say, 'We have been there; this is of our making!'

"Other generations—they learn of sagas of heroes, of the expeditions of heroes: we have lived this saga, we have marched together on the expedition. Whether the name of any one of us is preserved to posterity, that matters not. We are all bound together in one single mighty happening. That will remain. That will never more fade away in Germany, and from the sacrifices of the first fighters there will ever come anew the strength for sacrifice. Therefore our gratitude towards those who first sacrificed themselves is imperishable. Imperishable, because the Movement is imperishable, and because the Movement must ever remember to whom it owes everything."¹

In the closing speech at the Nuremberg Parteitag of September 1934 Hitler said:

The Parties by the limited range of their interests could never hope to win the whole country: even parties with a programme apparently founded on a religious basis were in this position. "For instance the Centre Party, however successful its political activity, could never hope to be able to win more adherents than the total number of the Catholics in Germany; that means that the Party, which was bound to definite confessional obligations, was on any human calculation incapable for all time of realizing its particular aims and wishes within

¹ *V.B.*, 11 Nov. 1935.

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the framework of a parliamentary democracy working on the principle of majorities except through the creation of such a majority, i.e. through compromises with other political groups whose programmes and aims must of necessity be opposed to its own and which in fact were partially so opposed. Social Democracy again fought for a programme which from the first in its Marxist-Socialist form contemplated only one section of the nation—the so-called Proletariat—as the object of its professed concern, and thus in exactly the same way was nailed down and fixed as but the representation of a minority. Here, too, so far as one could foresee, political leadership could be won only through the adoption of understandings in the nature of compromises with the other—in this case the *bourgeois*—parties. The firms which carried on a liberal and democratic policy addressed so small a forum of consumptive intellectuals that from the outset any belief that their parties could obtain a sovereign or exclusive power was out of the question. They were by their very nature dependent upon allies, and were prepared through compromise to pay for the help of these allies, as best they might, by sacrificing some part of their own ideal.”

The result of this system was “a parliamentary political truce” (*der parlamentarisch-politische Waffenstillstand*). Hitler then went on to speak of the second group of parties—those which represented particular economic interests. “Industry, commerce, agriculture, the middle class, shareholders, officials, employees, &c., were dragged into the political game of their own parties with the sole object of being able to stay the ruin of these classes which were incontestably necessary for the life of the nation”. . . .

“The character of this our former world of political parties must be understood if one is to comprehend the

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meaning of this parliamentary democracy and vice versa: we can thus state

- (i) that in these formations, despite all their talk, there was hardly a trace of a *Weltanschauung*;
- (ii) that in view of the whole mental content of these parties and their composition they were incapable of ever awakening the interest of the nation for a single great aim or of winning for that aim the nation as a whole;
- (iii) that they had not the least intention, in the interest of securing for the parties any higher idea or aim, to sacrifice those business possibilities which with their capitalistic skill it was not difficult for them to discover in the political divisions of the body of the people."

"It was, in consequence, to be expected that the tie which connected these parties with the people could only be a loose one, and such in fact it always was. Only in times of crisis did they suddenly recall to mind the poor elector and give some thought to him in assemblies gathered together with more or less skill or *naïveté*. For the rest it was the task of the Press to maintain the divisions of the people and to see to it that the wounds caused by these divisions were kept open. For *Parteitage* this mass of humanity was of no use. For at these gatherings there was no word about the party's *Weltanschauung*: it was only party tactics that were discussed, i.e. it was debated and decided how far compromise-transactions could be concluded with the mass of the electors who were already committed to their differing outlooks on the world. So in the party gatherings, with their programmes, of course, carefully determined beforehand, there were frequent moments of tension when amongst the illustrious political leaders no unanimous decision could be reached on the assignment of duties

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or when some felt it prudent to adopt the pretence of opposition in order not to lose those electors who were showing threatening signs of discontent. Nothing but imposture!"

The National Socialist appeal was fundamentally different from that of the Marxist and *bourgeois* parties and so was the Movement itself: "Even when it was only seven members strong it already proclaimed two principles:

- (i) it wanted to be a party with a real *Weltanschauung*, and
- (ii) it aimed at gaining sole power in Germany and that aim was to be realized without compromises. . . ."

" . . . When the National Socialist Party appealed for the first time to the German people it resolutely refused to pledge itself to champion the cause of any separate group which was committed to the support either of religious or economic interests within the nation: its appeal was from the first directed to the heroic instincts of the people. It did not set its hopes upon those who always consider only the advantage of their own business or keep in view the members of the group associated with them; the National Socialist Party looked to those idealists whom others so often mock as visionaries (*Phantasten*) who without regard to their own interests, with faith in their hearts, cling to their people and their Reich and are ready if necessary to sacrifice their own existence to the eternal life of people and of Reich."

"This appeal could not be understood by the 'prominent leaders' of our old parties, because by far the greatest part of them had in their own hearts no trace of such a spirit. And just as they themselves before such a watchword stood without a glimmering of understanding, so they thought that they could safely prophesy

¹ Cf. *MK.*, book ii, ch. 8. See pp. 125 *supra*, 146 *infra*.

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that we should succeed no better with the people. And yet they were completely mistaken! For if the German people as a whole had been composed only of those values which in their own parties they considered for political purposes to be of use and service, then there would never have arisen a German people. For economic groups to be formed in the course of the centuries—in itself the condition for the rise of political parties representing similar interests—it was essential that during thousands of years idealists should have created the foundations for the life of peoples and of States and thereby also created the foundations of economic life. For if it be true that the German people is composed of elements of which a great part cannot be regarded as originally capable of supporting, much less of creating the State, then the significance of that part of the people which out of this conglomerate of different races did in the end create a people which could win successes even in the economic sphere is to be rated all the higher and valued accordingly."

"And this part of the people has by no means disappeared; it lives still in our midst and that, too, in all social strata of the nation. It is not the product of any single stratum of society and certainly not to be identified with any such stratum. Least of all is it confined to that body which has arisen as the result of the economic development—the *bourgeoisie*—but it represents that racial core in which at all times in our people the State-building capacity found its embodiment. It is the factor which maintains a type of character which is at once idealistic and heroic and also practical and ready for vigorous action. Thus often for decades it can pass unobserved in political life; it may appear to be entirely lost, particularly when weaklings and incapables hold the stage. But it once more comes into view as a living

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force directly those notes are struck which awake an echo in its own heart. When therefore the National Socialist Movement first sounded its battle-fanfare, immediately from all strata of the nation's life came the volunteers who were our first fighters". . . .

"Thus a new Party was formed, that is true; its membership was limited, but its leaders and its fighters were not to be measured by any economic standards: they possessed the essential quality of leadership. But the people which before then had grown hesitant, since it had been continuously betrayed by its own parties representing class, economic, and other interests, now turned with a sure instinct to those who, disregarding all economic limitations, simply on the ground of the value of their innermost conviction could rightly raise a claim to general leadership. And not only the people felt this instinctive attraction, but in the end the leaders and heads of this old party-world themselves shared that feeling. Unable to crush us, for half a decade they lived, now in the hope of a miracle, and now in fear of their own destruction. The only lucid intervals in their lives were those in which a dazed recognition of the danger of the National Socialist Party began to dawn upon them. Their artificial scorn of the Movement was but the attempt to stifle with mockery and laughter that recognition which held them by the throat". . . .

"Thus the minority of the National Socialist Movement as a Party cannot be compared with the former minorities of our opponents. . . . As a Party we were compelled to remain in a minority since we were mobilizing the most valuable elements in the nation—the fighters, those who were ready for sacrifice—and these have always formed not the majority, but the minority". . . .

"And because we were racially the most valuable section of the German nation, because we proudly valued

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ourselves as such, because we courageously, boldly demanded that to us should be entrusted the leadership of the Reich and of the people, the people in ever growing numbers joined us and acknowledged our leadership. Its innermost consciousness rightly told it that its better self had found in the National Socialist Party its point of concentration and its expression. Thus it was that our Movement as an 'historic minority' could grasp supremacy in Germany in understanding with and with the will of the overwhelming majority of the German nation. And as soon as the Government of the Reich was finally united with the leadership of the Party then there happened the miracle which most profoundly shattered the illusions of our foes."

"They all calculated, deceived by their own experiences, that after a few months of National Socialist government the German people would be disillusioned and return to its former party divisions. . . . But the German people after a year and a half has continuously devoted itself only the more completely to the Movement in the heart of which it recovered its best self, its best characteristics."¹

In his Speech on the Anniversary of the Foundation of the National Socialist Party delivered in Munich, 24 February 1934—an Address to the Old Guard on the early days of the Movement—Hitler said:

"History is not made by changing names but by changing principles. New principles had to be formulated and only new men could represent these principles: new organizations must grow up from these principles. We were convinced that new forces must be won, forces which were present in the depths of the nation but could

¹ F.Z., 12 Sept. 1934.

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not until then be brought into action. Only one method was possible: to begin in a very small way to form the organizations which should support the new future—which became gradually a State within the State. In the eyes of the *bourgeoisie* what seemed to be our heaviest handicap was that we numbered in our ranks not a single one of the former politicians who had great names. . . . For us and for the young Movement that was precisely our ground for hoping for a great future. The 'great' men of the past—they had for their activity already received their historic discharge; it was essential that the leadership of Germany's fortunes should now be taken in hand by quite different, young men, who were burdened by no past: and something else was necessary—that these men should come from the Front, from those who for four and a half years had represented German life at its bravest; not out of the stagnant swamp of our old parties could salvation come for Germany: it could come only from that part of the nation which had decently done its duty." Thus was formed the new Party, and from the first the decision was taken that there were to be no compromises and coalitions with the old parties. "The new Party had to be filled with the thought of its exclusiveness: it must be in fact intolerant.¹ From the day of its creation it must formulate a profession of political faith, and it must be filled by the iron principle that it would suffer no political rival to exist in Germany. If the Party were to realize its aim, then it must create a new German people, a new community of the German people. From this conception the Movement must draw a new idealism: . . . it must also bring home to the German people that of which it had given proof as a people of soldiers during four years in the face of the world: for heroism is essential, not

¹ Cf. p. 142 *supra*.

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only on the battle-field but also on the soil of the homeland". . . .

"In a few years we have shown doubters that our people possesses brilliant political organizers and admirable speakers. Some were always saying that the German never could learn how to unite with others; we could point them to the most united organization in the whole of German history. From the very outset it seemed to us essential to turn our backs on the so-called 'Upper Ten Thousand' and instead to appeal to the people. He who seeks loyalty and faith, confidence, fanaticism, and resolute devotion must seek them where such virtues are still to be found. And they are to be found only in the great mass of this people. There, only there, rules this faithful trust, this blind devotion, this loyalty, and this heroic courage in the championship of an ideal.¹ And when someone from the intellectual class objected: 'You have not any "heads", how do you expect to become the masters of Germany's destiny?' then our answer was: It is far better to go without the apparent 'heads' and to have the people on one's side than to possess these 'heads' and to lose the people. He who knows only such 'heads' as these will soon find himself in an airless room. But he who can call a people his own will find that from the people new heads are constantly arising. Thus it is that in the course of a few years our Movement gradually drew from the millions of our people those who fought in the front rank for the new State, gave to unknown men a name, and saw them ripen into supporters of Germany's future, so that to-day,

¹ For the necessity of gaining the masses in support of a revolutionary movement cf. *MK.*, pp. 108-17 (German), pp. 94 sqq. (English). For the uselessness of the supine middle classes as the support of a revolutionary movement cf. *MK.*, pp. 581, 590 (German); pp. 427, 433 (English). The new Party and its appeal to the masses *MK.*, p. 227 (German), p. 180 (English).

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after not quite fifteen years, the Party is able to take in its strong hands¹ the destiny of the people."²

*In his speech at the celebration of the 15th anniversary of the "German Day" in Coburg (15 October 1937) Hitler said: "Our prescription at that time ran: If you will not voluntarily allow us to speak, then we will compel you by force to do so. This fight of the force of reason against the democracy lasted for two days. And after two days this reason, supported by the will of a thousand German men, won the victory. And thus the battle for this town became a milestone in the history of our Movement. Acting on this prescription we cleared the way for the advance of the National Socialist idea throughout the whole Reich and thereby we won Germany."*³

Note

For a good summary of the aims of the Movement see a speech delivered at Stockholm on 14 May 1935 by Hess: *Reden*, Munich, Eher, 1938, pp. 100-19, and for the early days of the Movement cf. *ibid.*, pp. 156 sqq., 214-17.

¹ German: *Faust*: "fist"—a word for which Hitler has a special fondness.

² *F.Z.*, 27 Feb. 1934.

³ *F.Z.*, 17 Oct. 1937.

5. THE "PUTSCH" OF 8-9 NOVEMBER 1923

Note

The accounts of the abortive revolution in Munich of November 1923 are very numerous: it will suffice to refer to the account of Joseph Berchtold (who took part in it) as given in H. A. Heinz, *Germany's Hitler*, London, Hurst & Blackett, 1934, ch. 9; to General Ludendorff, *Auf dem Weg zur Feldherrnhalle. Lebens-erinnerungen an die Zeit des 9. 11. 1923 mit Dokumenten in 5 Anlagen*, Munich, Ludendorffs Verlag, 1937; to Roehm's Memoirs of which the only text accessible to me is *Die Memoiren des Stabschef Röhm*, Saarbrücken, Uranus Verlag [1934]; to Konrad Heiden, *Hitler*, London, Constable, 1936, pp. 139-73 (German original: *Adolf Hitler*, i, Zürich, Europa Verlag, 1936, pp. 146-79); Rudolf Olden, *Hitler the Pawn*, London, Gollancz, 1936, pp. 115-42 (German original: *Hitler*, Amsterdam, Querido Verlag, 1935, pp. 95-119.) There is an interesting pamphlet (lent to me by Dr. Olden): *Veni Vidi, Ludendorff in Bayern oder der Novemberputsch*, Dillingen-Donau, Vedula Verlag, 1924 (written in December 1923).

Documents: Mobilization order to SA., the *Reichsflagge*, and Oberland forming the *Kampfbund*. Proclamation of the Revolutionary Bavarian Government; Proclamation of von Kahr that his participation had been extorted from him at the point of the pistol. Order for dissolution of NSDAP. Richtlinien for the Völkisch-Sozialer Block 1924 (= disguised NSDAP.), &c., reproduced in *Wille und Macht* 5 (1937): Heft 17.

The annual celebration of the unsuccessful "Putsch" of 8-9 November 1923 has become the great day of the commemoration of the Martyrs of the National Socialist Movement. Hitler regularly each year has addressed the Old Guard in the Hall of the Bürgerbräu: these speeches generally have followed a single pattern, though those of 1937 and 1938 were largely devoted to a review of foreign policy. I have compared the speeches of the years 1933 to 1938 and have sought to translate from them the passages of

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special interest; for a translation of the speech made at the Anniversary Celebration of 1935 see p. 126.

Hitler, in his speech at Munich on 9 November 1933, at the unveiling of the Memorial to those killed in the "Putsch" of 1923 said: "Since the Revolution of November 1918 had broken the laws which were formerly in force, it could not be expected of us that we should regard the Revolution as a legal constitution. . . . So in November 1923 we marched, filled with the faith that we should succeed in overthrowing those who were responsible for November 1918, in annihilating the men who were responsible for the untold misfortune of our people. But then Fate decided otherwise; to-day, after ten years, we can consider that time dispassionately. We know that we all stood under this command of Fate, that we were assuredly but the instruments of a Higher Power. It was not right that it should succeed: the time was not yet ripe. That which then pained us most was the division which arose between those forces in whose ranks we, too, once had stood and the forces which the nation needed for its liberation. . . . Ten years have passed, and for me to-day my greatest happiness lies in the fact that the hope of those days is fulfilled and that we now stand side by side—the representatives of our army and the representatives of our people, that we have become one and that this unity in Germany will never break in pieces". . . .

*"Could our dead of the 9th of November rise again they would weep for joy that now the German army and the awakened German people have found their way to unity. . . . Because to-day we are binding into one the whole strength of the nation we can now give to the dead their eternal rest."*¹

¹ *V.B.*, 10 Nov. 1933.

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Or as he expressed it in another speech at the same anniversary celebration:

"We never thought to carry through a revolt against the army (*Wehrmacht*) of our people: it was *with it* that we believed we should succeed."¹

In his speech at the Anniversary Celebration of the year 1934 Hitler said:

"The meaning of 8 and 9 November 1923 lies for us in the fact that then this Movement proved its internal hardness, its power of resistance. . . . How came it that we survived this catastrophe? The Movement at that time fulfilled an historic command, and to those folk of to-day who always know better than other people we have one thing only to say: All of you have failed to read your Clausewitz, or if you have read him you have not understood how to apply him to the present time. Clausewitz writes that even after an heroic collapse a reconstruction is always possible. Only cowards give themselves up, and that cowardice works on and spreads like a drop of poison stealing through the body. And thus one comes to recognize that it is always better if necessary to accept an end with dread than to suffer a dread which has no end", . . .

"Believe me, the decisive question is, firstly, whether one must fight an opponent, and, secondly, whether one can bear to remain even if one is not victorious. One can always bear victories: the question is only how one bears defeats. When distress, when catastrophes come, then, and only then, can one tell whether there are real men at the head. That was then the decisive question for us. Then we had to fight." We wanted as a party to overthrow the November criminals and to build up a new State, but not on a parliamentary foundation.

¹ *V.B.*, 10 Nov. 1933.

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This meant that we must have the best material in our followers: "one cannot make any such attempt with cowards."

"But the best men are won only when they know without a doubt that the battle will be fought for life or death. And one could not merely talk for ever: one day one must act. For in the last resort it is only action that compels men to come beneath its spell." The danger was that others should act first: men were saying, "North Germany is Bolshevist anyhow: we must therefore separate from the North. We must leave the North to burn itself out. Only after that can we join up with the North again. They knew quite well how to cut themselves off from the North, but they troubled themselves very little to consider how they should come together again. And for that reason we were determined to act first. We did not want at that time a *coup d'état*; but on one point my mind was made up: if the other side went so far that I knew they would strike, then I would let fly four days before. If anyone says to me, 'Yes, but the consequences!' then I answer, 'The consequences could not be worse than they would have been if we had not acted.'"

"After our rising there were people who said: 'Well, now the National Socialist bomb has exploded!' Yes, yes, but this bomb was filled with seeds which were then thrown out and spread over the whole of Germany. The really important thing was that we saved the idea. It is not decisive whether one conquers: what is necessary is that one must with heroism and courage make oneself responsible for the consequences. And after the fight we did make ourselves responsible for the consequences."

"When the Kapp 'Putsch'¹ was at an end and those

¹ On the Kapp Putsch cf. R. T. Clark, *The Fall of the German Republic*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1935, pp. 65 sqq., and Ludwig

who were responsible for it were brought before the Republican courts, then each held up his hand¹ and swore that he knew nothing, had intended nothing, wished nothing. That was what destroyed the *bourgeois* world—that they had not the courage to stand by their act, that they had not the courage to step before the judge and say: Yes, that was what we wanted to do: we wanted to destroy this State, we wanted to drive these men away because we wanted to liberate Germany. *This* courage they lacked and therefore they have suffered shipwreck."²

Hitler drew the contrast presented by the National Socialists (cf. the extract translated on p. 134): our courage at that time "saved the idea and the Movement. This will and this faith remained the same even when we sat within prison walls. I can tell my opponents that those thirteen months did them great damage: those thirteen months gave me time for consideration. What they have experienced in the last two years was born then in Landsberg."³

In the speech of 1936 Hitler said: "The 'Putsch' was the fanatical decision of the young Party to build up a new Germany. That was assuredly in the eyes of many an almost insane decision. Certainly at that time there was not a 51 per cent.⁴ probability of success on our side, but there was a 99 per cent. probability in favour of our opponents."

"When in 1923 for the first time we determined to act we had already behind us a long history of prepara-

Schemann, *Wolfgang Kapp und das Märzunternehmen vom Jahre 1920. Ein Wort der Stille*. Munich and Berlin, Lehmann, 1937.

¹ German: *den Schwurfinger*.

² Cf. p. 134 *supra*.

³ *V.B.*, 10 Nov. 1934.

⁴ A reference to von Lossow's remark that he needed a 51 per cent. probability of success before he would strike.

tions for a 'Putsch'. I can confess quite calmly that from 1919 to 1923 I thought of nothing else than a *coup d'état*. . . . And although we were defeated, this attempt to turn the destiny of Germany was an absolute necessity, for one could not talk of revolution for four years and then let the decisive day pass without action, as did the 'National Associations'. The Government of that day had come to power through violence and it was through violence that it had to be destroyed."¹

In the speech of 1937 Hitler said:

"At that time our opponents intended to raise a revolution about the 12th of November, and a Bavarian revolution at that, and to carry it through under the watchword, 'The Burning out of the Bolshevist North and the temporary separation of Bavaria'. As soon as I heard this, I knew that the hour of Germany's destiny was approaching. Then I formed the resolution to strike four days before our opponents and so to seize for our side the initiative."²

"That the attempt failed was perhaps the greatest good fortune of my life and the greatest good fortune for the German nation. . . . The splitting up of Germany was finally prevented, for in order to get rid of us the help of the North of Germany was needed, and thus separation was stopped. And yet we could not be silenced: as though by an explosion our ideas were hurled over the whole of Germany and thus my decision was justified."³

Or as Hitler expressed it in the speech of 1938: "I did not deceive myself! I did not suffer shipwreck. I merely suffered a severe blow, but from this blow the

¹ *V.B.*, 10 Nov. 1936.

² German: *das Gesetz des Handelns*.

³ *V.B.*, 10 Nov. 1937.

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Party and therefore Germany have only emerged the stronger."¹

The significance of the "Putsch" for Hitler himself he expressed in his speech in 1936:

"It was for me a very hard decision—to take the Bavarian Government prisoner and to declare a national revolution in Germany. For the first time one had to decide on a question of life and death on one's own responsibility with no one to give one orders. And I believe that that, too, was a good thing, for during the last three and a half years I have been forced to make many very difficult decisions in matters where often the destiny of the whole nation was at stake. I have never unfortunately had the famous 51 per cent.² of security."

"Often one had a 95 per cent. probability of failure and only a 5 per cent. probability of success. But perhaps this 8 November 1923 made it easier for me to make dangerous decisions."³

But the Putsch of 1923 had its peculiar significance in the fact that its failure led Hitler to insist on a policy of strict legality in the future struggle of the Party (see p. 161 infra.), and he further was led to see the necessity of preparing the way for saving over into the new National Socialist State the existing institutions: this is expressed in Hitler's speech at the commemoration in 1936:

From the failure of the Putsch we drew a great lesson for the future: "We recognized that it is not enough to overthrow the old State, but that the new State must previously have been built up and be practically ready to one's hand.⁴ And so only a few days after the collapse

¹ V.B., 10 Nov. 1938.

² Cf. p. 153 *supra*.

³ V.B., 10 Nov. 1936.

⁴ This is a highly significant passage: with it should be compared

I formed a new decision: that now without any haste the conditions must be created which would exclude the possibility of a second failure. Later you lived through another revolution—the revolution which took place here in Munich on 9 March 1933 and a day earlier elsewhere in the Reich. But what a difference between the two revolutions! In 1933 it was no longer a question of overthrowing a State by an act of violence: meanwhile the new State had been built up and all that there remained to do was to destroy the last remnants of the old State—and that took but a few hours."

Hitler then recurred to his favourite theme of the rashness of the attempt of 1923: how could they have hoped with their small band to build up the new State while even the few who were with them were quite untrained? "But in 1933 I had behind me by far the greatest organization which Germany ever possessed, a Movement which was built up from the smallest cells until it had become an organization embracing the whole Reich. This mighty reconstruction of the Party contributed to create the most important condition for taking over power in the State and maintaining it securely. And this alone made it possible for us to venture for a second time on revolution—and crowned that venture with success". . . .

MK., p. 503 (German), p. 376 (English): the National Socialist Movement must make the principles laid down by Hitler in Book II, ch. iv, of *MK.* its own and must put them to practical application within its own organizations so that one day it may not only give these same principles to be the guide of the new State but that when that day comes it may put at the service of the State the completed body of its own State: "Sondern ihm (i.e. the State) auch bereits den vollendeten Körper ihres eigenen Staates zur Verfügung stellen kann" (Murphy's English translation obscures the point of the passage). See also *MK.*, p. 673 (German), pp. 487-8 (English): "All the future institutions of the State which is to be must grow up out of the Movement itself." Cf. p. 218 *infra*.

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"The experience of the year 1923 produced later the miracle that we could effect a revolution without in the least disturbing domestic order or bringing the life of our people into danger." *Hitler contrasted the violence of the revolution in Spain with the order and discipline of the revolution in Germany.* "We have conquered our State without, I believe, the breaking of a window-pane.¹ That was possible only thanks to thorough preparation and the building up of the Party". . . .

"And the greatest miracle of all: it is perhaps due solely to the experience of 1923 that we were able to sail round the rock which faces any revolution such as ours, viz. the problem of our relation to the existing so-called 'legal instruments of power' of the State. Previously there were perhaps many who said to themselves: 'Yes, but when the Party has won power in the State, what will it do with the army and the police? Will it be able at all to bring these institutions over into the new State?' I have always had the conviction that a new revolution can only be finally successful when it is able not merely to bring with it into the new State these organizations, but also to associate them with the new State for better or for worse. That is certainly a harder task than simply to destroy these instruments as such. It is much harder to effect a revolution and to harness these institutions to the service of the new idea and even to make them stronger than they were before. Perhaps the achievement of which I am personally most proud and which history will one day assuredly value most highly is that I succeeded not only in not breaking up the army but in making of it the *cadre* (*Kader*) for the new army of the German people. . . . As soldiers we began this struggle; we finished it as politicians. But the wonder of this struggle is that we now could give afresh to the

¹ Cf. § 10. The Model Revolution.

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German people its old army. And so, just as formerly the old army fought for the old Reich so, if ever the call should come, will the new army wage war and fight for the new Reich."¹

"But there is one difference: when the old army took the field it was armed against all weapons save only against the propaganda of disintegration. To-day the army carries with it the talisman of political immunity against any attempt at disintegration. Never again will the enemy succeed in disintegrating this army: it is the National Socialist army of the new Reich, and as year by year we send our National Socialist youth into this army it will become ever more closely united with our present-day people and with its spirit."²

In each year Hitler in his speech has glorified the martyrs of the Movement. When the bodies of the sixteen martyrs of the "Putsch" had been removed to the Memorial in Munich, Hitler said in his speech of 1935 that long ago he had determined that if ever he came to power he would take these comrades from the cemeteries where they were buried, would do them honour and show them to the nation. "That determination I have now fulfilled. They now pass into the German immortality. In their own time they could not yet see the Reich of to-day: they could only dimly envisage it. Fate has forbidden to them to experience this Reich. But though they might neither see nor experience this Reich, we will take

¹ Hitler had at an early date realized the importance for a revolutionary movement of securing the support of existing institutions. There is a highly illuminating passage in Hitler's account of Schoenerer's action in Vienna: "Schoenerer was anxious to make use of all those means of power (*Machtmittel*) which were already in existence: he sought to secure the support of powerful institutions in order that from such established sources of strength he might win the greatest possible service for his own movement." *MK.*, p. 109 (German), p. 95 (English). This was, throughout, Hitler's policy.

² *V.B.*, 10 Nov. 1936.

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care that this Reich shall see them. And therefore we have laid them in no crypt and beneath no dome. No, just as once they marched, their breast open to the air, so now shall they lie in wind and weather, in storm and snow, under God's free heaven, a perpetual reminder for the German nation. For us they are not dead: these temples are no crypts: they are an eternal guard-post. Here they stand for Germany and keep guard over our people. Here they lie as true witnesses to our Movement."¹

In his speech in 1934 Hitler said of the Movement's martyrs:

"But they, too, in the spirit are in our ranks: in the other world they will know that their fight was not in vain. The blood which they shed has become for the Reich the water of baptism."²

*With this may be compared the speech made at the celebration of the tenth year of the Gau Gross-Berlin when Hitler said: "On this day I think also of all those who are no longer in your midst who had to give their lives in this city as blood-witnesses for the Movement and thus for the resurrection of the German people. In truth they have not fallen in vain! From their blood there has grown up a new Reich, and from it new life will arise a thousand—yes a millionfold."*³

Hitler's own comment on the "Putsch" made to Mr. G. Ward Price may be quoted:

"I was following Mussolini's example too closely," *the Chancellor told him twelve years after the event.*

¹ V.B., 11 Nov. 1935. Cf. p. 137 *supra*.

² V.B., 10 Nov. 1934. Cf. the taunt of Goebbels to his political opponents in Nov. 1932 that their party had no martyrs. *Signale der neuen Zeit*, 3rd edn., Munich, Eher, 1937, p. 104. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 173, on the Fascist dead.

³ F.Z., 1 Nov. 1936.

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"I had meant the Munich Putsch to be the beginning of a 'March on Berlin' which should carry us straight to power. From its failure I learnt the lesson that each country must evolve its own type and methods of national regeneration."¹

¹ G. Ward Price, *I knew these Dictators*, London, Harrap, 1937, p. 79. Cf. Hitler, writing to Goering after coming to power: "It was hard necessity that made us act as we did, and a wise Providence that withheld success from us" (*ibid.*).

6. LEGALITY

The "Putsch" was the turning-point in the method pursued by the Movement; henceforth Hitler was determined to proceed by legal means. In his speech in 1934 Hitler said:

"It gave me the opportunity to lay down the new tactics of the Party and to pledge it to legality."

"After the Putsch I could say to all those in the Party what otherwise it would never have been possible for me to say. My answer to my critics was: Now the battle will be waged as I wish it and not otherwise. You do not need to teach me how one should make a revolution: I know that myself. From that time we have fought our battle within the law until to-day, and despite that we have not lost German youth, nor have we lost the strength which beats in the hearts of our people. All that would not have been possible if we had not marched in 1923. Thus there came the mighty miracle of the German resurrection: that miracle was based on our action on this 8th of November evening eleven years ago. . . . If we had not acted we should have met the same fate as other movements which talked of a march to Berlin and then later said they never meant a physical march: they spoke only of a march to Berlin in spirit. Victory without battle there has never been in history. We have fought and we were beaten. The others did not fight, and at that time they were not beaten. But these others, who were not beaten then, they have passed, and we, the beaten, in the end have had our victory over the others."¹

Or as Hitler stated the change in method in the speech delivered in 1933: "This evening and this day (8-9

¹ V.B., 10 Nov. 1934.

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November 1923) made it possible for us afterwards to fight a battle for ten years by legal means: for make no mistake, if we had not acted then I should never have been able to found a revolutionary Movement, to form it and keep it in being and yet all the time maintain legality. One could have said to me with justice: 'You talk like the others and you will act just as little as the others.' But this day, this decision later made it possible for me, in spite of all opposition, to persevere for nine years:¹ I could say, 'We are a revolutionary Movement, we shall win power, we shall break this State in pieces and subdue it to our will, and yet we refuse to desert the path of legality. Apparently a contradiction, but the sequel has justified us.'"

"In 1923 it was already too late to solve the problem of Germany's distress through violence: in 1920 it might still have been possible. . . . But the 8th and 9th of November have not only carried over Germany the proclamation of a new revolution but also the proclamation of a new *Weltanschauung*. From that day forward we saw the Movement cross the frontiers of our nearer homeland here in Bavaria: we saw it spread over the whole of Germany. What followed was only the fulfilment, the springing up of the seed."²

Hitler, giving evidence in the trial of four National Socialists in Berlin in May 1931, said:

"I have never left any doubt that I demanded from the SA. men the strict observance of the path of legality, and if this veto on illegality was anywhere violated, then the leaders or sub-leaders concerned have always been brought to account. . . . The watchword 'Strike the enemy dead: strike down the Communist wherever you meet him!' was never issued by us; but our enemies did

¹ Cf. p. 136 *supra*.

² *V.B.*, 10 Nov. 1933.

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in fact give the other watchword, 'Strike down the Fascists wherever you meet them.' Acts of violence have never been contemplated by our Party, nor has the individual SA. man ever wished for them. . . . Wherever it was established that SA. men carried arms I have intervened and when necessary, if they were not ready to accept my ruling, I have dismissed both leaders and SA. men. . . . In an organization of some 100,000 men naturally some of them may have weapons of defence in their homes. But if the State shuts its eyes to that, there is no reason for me to notice it."¹

On the same occasion he said:

"We stand absolutely as hard as granite on the ground of legality."²

Brüning had said in his speech transmitted over the wireless on 8 December 1931, "When one declares that if one has come into power by a legal way one will then break through the legal barriers, that is no legality. I must as a statesman most vigorously protest against such a view."³

Hitler replied that this was to him completely incomprehensible.⁴ "You refuse, as a 'statesman', to admit that if we had come into power legally we could then break through legality. Mr. Chancellor, the fundamental thesis of democracy runs: 'All power issues from the People.' The constitution lays down the way by which a conception, an idea, and therefore an organization must gain from the people the legitimation for the realization of its aims. But in the last resort it is the people itself which also determines its Constitution."

¹ *F.Z.*, 9 May 1931.

² Cited from Cuno Horkenbach, *Das deutsche Reich von 1918 bis heute*: Jahrgang 1931, Berlin, p. 157.

³ Text in *Hitlers Auseinandersetzung mit Brüning*, Munich, 1932, p. 53.

⁴ Cf. p. 188 *infra*.

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"Mr. Chancellor, if the German nation once empowers the National Socialist Movement to introduce a Constitution other than that which we have to-day, then you cannot stop it. Statesmen are primarily responsible for that which springs from their spirit and from their action, not for that which another brings about at a later time". . . .

"The German nation does not live for a Constitution, but it gives itself that Constitution which serves its life, and when a Constitution proves itself to be useless for that life, the nation does not die—the Constitution is altered!"¹ . . .

"We National Socialists respect the Constitution in our fight for political power, and we hope that we may be able to give the German people a new and a better Constitution. And here and now I promise you that we will respect whatever Constitution may be in force—and respect its spirit—more truly than the present system respects the Weimar Constitution."²

Hitler faced the New Year of 1932 "with the conviction that it will be the hardest year of struggle which our Movement has experienced". "If we were bold enough once to believe in our gigantic object and its attainment, let us have the courage to-day to ride like knights without fear and without reproach through hell, death, and the devil to victory and liberty."³

In a speech at Munich on 23 January 1932 he said: "If the present régime does not make way for us, we will remove it."⁴

When in 1932 Hitler was standing for the Presidency of the Reich he said: "I had no personal ambition to become President of Germany and had any other candidate represented our opponents except Field-Marshal von

¹ Text in *Hitlers Auseinandersetzung mit Brüning*, Munich, 1932, p. 56.

² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³ Cf. *The Times*, 1 Jan. 1932.

⁴ *The Times*, 25 Jan. 1932.

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Hindenburg I should have left the campaign to be waged by some other member of our organization. I opposed President von Hindenburg on the sole ground that this system which we have sworn to overthrow was taking refuge behind his reputation and popularity."¹

In August 1932 Hitler said that the National Socialist Movement had preserved legality in its fight so far as was humanly possible. His party would now place itself in opposition to the von Papen Government, and the intensity of that opposition would be determined by the degree of harm which would be done by refraining from opposition.

His party in future would fight for power and their methods would be determined by those of their adversaries.²

[With this cf. the statement of the President of the Brunswick Diet (reported in "The Manchester Guardian" of 14 September 1932): "Hitler swore to seize power only legally. He still adheres to his oath. But if the von Papen Government should depart from the path of legality and rely upon the bayonets of the Reichswehr, we would not in the least feel ourselves further bound by the oath of our leader."]

When asked after his refusal to enter the von Papen Cabinet whether a bird in the hand was not worth two in the bush Hitler replied:

"I will never sell my Movement for a mess of pottage. There can be no compromise. You cannot expect heroism from a people if the leaders make so-called bearable

¹ Interview with *The Times* correspondent in Munich on 11 Apr. 1932. *The Times*, 12 Apr. 1932.

² This citation is from a summary given in *The Times* of 17 Aug. 1932 of a statement published in *V.B.* of an interview granted by Hitler to a representative of the *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung*. The German text is not accessible to me.

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compromises. My lieutenants always forgive me if I make a mistake. They would never do so if I renounced my principles."¹

But the legality to which Hitler had pledged himself had its limitations, as was shown in the notorious telegram sent in 1932 to the five convicted National Socialist murderers: the message ran as follows:

"My comrades, in face of this monstrous condemnation (*Bluturteils*) I feel myself united with you in boundless loyalty. Your liberation is from this moment a question of our honour. The fight against a Government under which this is possible is our duty."

*In an appeal of exceptional violence addressed to National Socialists and published in the V.B. Hitler said: "Herr von Papen has thus inscribed his name upon the history of Germany with the blood of Nationalist fighters."*²

*Speaking of the Weimar Constitution (in a speech delivered in Munich in September 1932) Hitler said: "The Constitution was not out of date: it was only now, for the first time, gaining its true significance, because through it the German people was making its voice heard."*³

In a speech at Munich on 6 October 1932 Hitler said: "One cannot replace a parliamentary system by the mere creation of a new cabinet composed of men who belong to that system. If one wishes to supersede the parlia-

¹ *The Manchester Guardian*, 17 Aug. 1932.

² For the brutal violence of the murderers see *F.Z.*, 24 Aug. 1932 (where the text of Hitler's appeal is reproduced). In a speech at Munich in September Hitler admitted that the murderers (whose sentence had been reduced to one of lifelong imprisonment) had been guilty of a "slip" (*Fehltritt*). See *Berliner Tageblatt*, 8 Sept. 1932.

³ *F.Z.*, 8 Sept. 1932.

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mentary organization that cannot be done through a clique which seeks to impose its will upon the people. That can only be done by means of an unparliamentary organization which has grown up already from below and has proceeded from the people."¹

*In a letter to the Secretary of State, Dr. Meissner, Hitler wrote on 21 November 1932: "That we entered Parliament is to be explained only by the Constitution which compelled us to pursue this legal way. I myself have of set purpose refrained from any parliamentary activity. The only difference between my own view and that of the von Papen cabinet concerning the possibility of an authoritarian Government lies in the fact that for me such a Government must be anchored in the people."*²

For Hitler's repeated refusal to accept power cf. his speech to the SA. in Berlin on 8 April 1933.

"I know how hard it was for many always to keep their faith that after all the hour would come at last. We almost doubted in justice and in Providence. . . . And then came the time when we had to say No, when for the first time it seemed that the way to power was opening before us, tempting us: and yet despite this we had to remain hard and say 'No, it is not possible in that way'. And for a second time the doors seemed to open and for the second time we had to say 'No, impossible!' And then at the third time the hour came and that was given to us which we could not but desire, which we had a right to desire, and at last the National Socialist Movement entered into the great period of its historic action."³

¹ *V.B.*, 8 Oct. 1932.

² *F.Z.*, 25 Nov. 1932.

³ *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 52-3.

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Kurt Ludecke reports a conversation with Hitler in the fortress of Landsberg after the failure of the "Putsch". Hitler is stated to have said:

"When I resume active work it will be necessary to pursue a new policy. Instead of working to achieve power by an armed *coup*, we shall have to hold our noses and enter the Reichstag against the Catholic and Marxist deputies. If out-voting them takes longer than out-shooting them, at least the results will be guaranteed by their own Constitution! Any lawful process is slow. But already, as you know, we have thirty-two Reichstag deputies under this new programme and are the second largest Party in the Bavarian Landtag-diet. Sooner or later we shall have a majority—and after that, Germany. I am convinced this is our best line of action, now that conditions in the country have changed so radically."

On this adoption of a policy of "legality" cf. Kurt G. W. Ludecke, I knew Hitler (London, 1938), pp. 218 ff.

Note

For the National Socialist use of the Weimar Constitution cf. J. Goebbels, *Signale der neuen Zeit*, 3rd edn., Munich, Eher, 1937, pp. 59, 279, 283; *Der Angriff*, 3rd edn., Munich, Eher, 1936, pp. 71-3; *Goebbels spricht*, Oldenburg, Stalling, 1933, pp. 67-9; and see R. Hess, *Reden*, Munich, Eher, 1938, p. 56.

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Note

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On the principles which guided Hitler in the creation of the *Sturmabteilungen*—the Storm Sections—of the Party cf. *MK.*, pp. 546 sqq. (German), pp. 404 sqq. (English); pp. 598–620 (German), pp. 439–53 (English). They were to form a troop to keep order at meetings and were to be a means of educating the masses in the principles of the Party. Since the establishment of the National Socialist Government and the elimination of the Chief of Staff, Roehm, in the "Purge" of 1934 the SA. has become of less importance, but of recent years it has been given the duty of encouraging and maintaining the military spirit amongst the German people.

In the Introduction to the Service-Order (*Dienstvorschrift*) of the SA. Hitler thus defined its task:

"The SA. on behalf of our German people must educate the young German in mind and body so that he becomes a man hard as steel and ready to fight."

"Out of hundreds of thousands of individuals it must forge one united, disciplined, mighty organization."

"In the age of Democracy the authority of the Leader, in the period of unbridled freedom, iron discipline, must be the foundations of the SA."

"In so far as nothing illegal is demanded of the SA. its obedience must be a blind obedience."

"The highest honour of the SA. is highest loyalty. On this loyalty the violence and the terrorism of our foes will be broken."

"The SA. even now carries before its storm-formations the banner of the new Reich; its cockades are the eagles of the coming uprising of our people."

The SA. has received a new educational function through the development given to the SA. Sport-badge (*Sportabzeichen*). On

¹ Text in M. V. Killinger, *Die SA. in Wort und Bild*, Leipzig, Kittler Verlag, 1933, p. 95.

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15 February the SA. *Sportabzeichen* was refounded by Hitler: the text of the Order was as follows:

"The new State needs a hard stock which is capable of resistance. Alongside of the *weltanschaulich* schooling of the mind we must demand a combative (*kämpferische*) schooling of the body through simple, useful, and natural bodily exercises. In order to give increased attraction and direction to the efforts of youth I renew for the entire SA. and all its former branches the foundation of the SA. Sport-Badge which shall be won, after a period of training conscientiously pursued, through the passing of an examination in proficiency. In order to give conscious expression to the cultivation of the military (*wehrhaften*) spirit in all sections of the German people I further determine that this SA. Sport-Badge may be won and worn also by those who are not members of the Movement provided that they comply both in race and *Weltanschauung* with National Socialist conditions."

But this order provided only for a single test; it was therefore supplemented by an order of the Führer issued on 18 March 1937; it ran as follows:

"Through my order of 15 February 1935 I have declared that the SA. Sport-Badge is the means for a combative schooling of the body and for the cultivation of the military spirit in all sections of the people. In order to secure that the military fitness (*Wehrtüchtigkeit*) of the bearers of the SA. Sport-Badge should be preserved to an advanced age, I empower the Chief of Staff of the SA. through the issue of regulations to make the future possession of the SA. Sport-Badge dependent upon the performance of certain repeated exercises. Further, I raise the Record of Achievement of the SA. Sport-Badge to the position of an official document (*Urkunde*) which gives information concerning the bodily capacity, the character and *weltanschaulich* attitude of the holder of the SA. Sport-Badge."

By a further order Hitler transformed the SA. Sport-Badge into a Military Badge (*Wehrabzeichen*), and made it the basis of education both before and after the period of service in the army. The SA. was appointed to carry out this training. "Every German man who has completed his 17th year and who complies with the conditions for honourable service in arms has the moral duty in order to prepare for military service to win the SA. Military-

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Badge. The members of the Hitler Youth should, on completion of their 16th year, prepare themselves for gaining the SA. Military-Badge. Those soldiers who have been honourably dismissed from active service and are still capable of service are to be formed into military companies (*Wehrmannschaften*) in order to preserve their mental and bodily powers and are to be associated with the SA. in so far as they are not attributed to other branches of the Party (SS., Motor Corps, Flying Corps) for special training. In the companies they will receive their military fitness training on the basis of the SA. Military-Badge."

The Chief of Staff of the SA. is alone responsible for the execution of this order, and in this work of education he is to receive full support from the Party.¹

A brief chronological sketch of the development of the SA. may be of service.

1921. 3 Aug. Formation of a Protection and Propaganda Troop of the Party (after 5 Oct. known as *Sturmabteilung* [SA.], i.e. Storm-Section of the Party).

4 Nov. After the *Saalschlacht* in the Hofbräuhaus, Munich, Hitler formally confers upon the troop the name *Sturmabteilung* as a title of honour.

1922. 16 Aug. Demonstration of the Munich Vaterländische Associations on the Königsplatz in Munich. The SA. appears for the first time with its swastika flags flying.

Sept. Formation of the SA. of Munich and neighbouring districts together with the SA. of Tölz and Rosenheim into eight "Hundreds" (*Hunderttschaften*): other "Hundreds" continue to be formed.

14-15 Oct. The "German Day" in Coburg.

1923. 11 Jan. The French enter the Ruhr. In consequence of this the SA. is transformed into a military association (*Wehrverband*).

¹ Text of these orders in F. J. Klähn, "Vom Sinn des SA. Wehrabzeichens", *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, x (1939), pp. 200-2: on the *Wehrabzeichen* cf. E. Bayer and R. Müller, *Ursprung, Wesen und Formen der Leibeserziehung* (= Heft 8 of the series issued by the Party: *Kampfschriften der obersten SA. Führung*), 1938, pp. 93-115, and H. Doehlle, *Orden und Ehrenzeichen im Dritten Reich*, Berlin, Erdmenger, 1939, pp. 61-3.

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1923. 28 Jan. At the first *Reichsparteitag* of the NSDAP. Hitler dedicates the first four "standards" designed by himself and executed by the master-goldsmith Otto Gahr. For the first time a part of the SA. appears in regular uniform: Skicap, wind-proof jacket, and swastika arm-band.
- Beginning of February: SA. joins with other Bavarian military associations to form the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der vaterländischen Kampfverbände*.
- Mar. Hermann Goering as Commander undertakes the leadership of the whole SA.
- 1 May. Armed march of all Bavarian SA. and other military associations to Oberwiesefeld, near Munich: intervention of Police and Reichswehr.
- 8-9 Nov. The "Putsch". SA. dissolved by order of Generalstaatskommissar von Kahr.
- 13 Nov. The Franconian SA. Leader Buch the commander of the disbanded SA.
1924. 1 Apr. Roehm is given full authority to reconstitute the SA. and is appointed by Goering deputy commander of the SA. Rossbach becomes Chief of Staff.
- 1 Apr. Meeting of Leaders of SA. in Salzburg, Roehm presiding. It is resolved to introduce the brown shirt as uniform for the SA.
1925. 26 Feb. The SA. re-formed by Hitler no longer as a military association but once again as a troop to control meetings and for propaganda.
- 1 May. Disagreement between Roehm and Hitler on the character of the SA. Roehm desires the SA. to be independent of the Party and to support the Nationalist Movement; Hitler wishes the SA. to be a branch of the Party organization. Roehm retires from the leadership of the SA.
1926. 1 Nov. Formation of the Supreme SA. Leadership in Munich as Central Office: to this the SS. and the Hitler Youth are subordinated, Gauleiter and SA. Leader Franz von Pfeffer is appointed Supreme SA. Leader (*Osaf*).
1927. 21 Aug. Third *Reichsparteitag* in Nuremberg: 30,000 SA. men march past Hitler.
1929. 28 Mar. Formation of the SA. Reserve for members of the Party over 40.

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- 4 Aug. Fourth *Reichsparteitag* in Nuremberg. SA. and SS. men march past Hitler.
1930. 1 Apr. Formation of SA. Motor Troop and National Socialist Automobilcorps (NSAK) as subsidiary organization of the SA.
- 29 Aug. Pfeffer retires.
- 2 Sept. Hitler assumes supreme command of SA. and SS. (c. 100,000 men), recalls Roehm from Bolivia and appoints him Chief of Staff.
1931. 5 Jan. Roehm takes up his duties as Chief of Staff.
- 14 Jan. Himmler as Reich-Leader of SS. placed under the Chief of Staff.
- 1 Apr. Revolt of Stennes: Stennes excluded from the Party (see K. Heiden, *A History of National Socialism*, London, 1934, pp. 127-8). Hitler writes: "SS. man, the name of your honour is loyalty."¹
- 1 May. Formation of the National Socialist Motor Corps (NSKK) in place of the NSAK (cf. 1930 1 April).
- 15 June. School for Reich Leaders of SA. and SS. in Munich opened by Hitler.
- 8 Dec. Brüning's Fourth Emergency Regulation forbids the wearing of uniforms throughout the Reich.
1932. 13 Apr. SA. forbidden.
- 17 June. Veto on uniforms and SA. withdrawn.
1933. 30 Jan. The Torch March into Berlin of SA. and SS.

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¹ *Deine Ehre heisst Treue.*

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There is an illustrated publication of the Party issued (without title or date) in 1938 [?] giving the history and describing the function of the SA. (Eher Verlag, Munich).

For the spirit inculcated in the SA. cf. K. Massmann, *Die Revolution geht weiter. Vom unsterblichen SA. Geist*. Breslau, Hirt, 1936.

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For the literature on SA. "Martyrs" there are interesting examples in *Sturm 33. Hans Maikowski, geschrieben von Kameraden des Toten*. Berlin-Schöneberg, Verlag Deutsche Kultur-Wacht (no date; ?1934).

Halbmast. Das Heldenbuch der SA. and SS. Den Toten der Nationalsozialistischen Arbeiterpartei zum Gedächtnis. Berlin, Verlag Braune Bücher, 1932 (note the illustration on p. 33).

H. Gerstmayer, *SA. Mann Peter Müller*, 4th edn., Langensalza, Beltz (no date).

And written for Hitler Youth: F. Daum, *SA.-Sturmführer Horst Wessel*. Reutlingen, Ensslin and Laiblin (no date).

For full details (organization, &c.) cf. *Handbuch der SA*. Berlin, Verlag Offene Worte, 1939.

V. Lutze, *Wesen und Aufgaben der SA*. (in the series "Hier spricht das neue Deutschland", Heft 12). Munich, Eher, 1936, and *Reden an die SA. Der politische Katholizismus* (in the same series, Heft 10), 1935.

Note

The SS.

The *Schutzstaffel* was originally formed in the year 1923. After the failure of the 'Putsch' on 9 November 1923 the SS. organization (*Stosstrupp Hitler*) was forbidden and disbanded. In 1925, when the Party was reformed, the SA. was still forbidden, but in this year Hitler ordered the creation of a small mobile organization to protect meetings. These *Schutzstaffeln* were at first quite small bodies of men, consisting for the most part of

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a leader and ten men: they were stationed in the separate towns which it was hoped to win for the Movement. In 1926 the SA. were allowed once more to exist and in consequence the SS. played a less prominent part. In 1926 the SS. numbered some 200 men, and at the second Parteitag in Weimar in this year it was entrusted with the custody of the "Blood Flag" of the "Putsch", "the most sacred symbol of the Movement". On 6 January 1929 Hitler appointed Heinrich Himmler to be Reich-Leader of the SS., then consisting of some 280 men. Himmler, at Hitler's order, began forthwith to enlarge the organization. On 31 December 1931 the "Marriage Order" was issued which provided that no SS. man should marry without the approval of the Reich-Leader, acting on the advice of the "Race-Office". On marriage without such consent the offending SS. man will be dismissed from the service. When the National Socialists came to power in 1933 the SS. had 52,000 members. On 20 July 1934 the SS. became an independent branch of the Party and was put directly under Hitler's orders. By an order of the Chancellor of 17 June 1936 the control of the entire German police was put into the hands of the Reich-Leader of the SS.

It may be added that by the law of 9 November 1935 every SS. man has the right and the duty to defend his honour with weapons. The form of the SS. oath is: "We swear to you, Adolf Hitler, as Leader and Chancellor of the German Reich, loyalty and bravery. We pledge to you and to the officers appointed by you obedience to the death. So help us God!" In the SS. catechism the SS. man professes his faith in "a Lord God"; as Himmler has written: "You may rest assured that we could not have formed this corps sworn to unity if we had not the conviction of and faith in a Lord God Who stands above us, Who has created us and our Fatherland, our people and this earth and Who has sent us our Leader."

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For the organization of the SS. cf. Gunter d'Alquen, *Die SS. Geschichte, Aufgabe und Organisation der Schutzstaffeln der NSDAP. Bearbeitet im Auftrage des Reichsführers SS.* (= Schriften der Hochschule für Politik, ed. P. Meier Benneckenstein, ii. "Der organisatorische Aufbau des Dritten Reiches", Heft 33), Berlin,

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Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1939. See H. Himmler, *Die Schutzstaffel als antibolschewistische Kampforganisation*, Munich, Eher, 1936, and in particular the very interesting study by A. Schweder, *Politische Polizei*, Berlin, Heymann, 1937, pp. 141-87. This book contains a full bibliography, pp. 187-92. Cf. W. Best, "Neuordnung des Polizeirechts", *Jahrbuch der Akademie für Deutsches Recht*, 1938. Berlin and Munich, Schweitzer, pp. 44-50: see also *ibid.*, 1937, pp. 132-8; A. Köttgen, "Polizei und Gemeinde", *Jahrbuch für Kommunalwissenschaft* 3 (1936), Part ii, pp. 1-21 (on the conception of the police in the National Socialist State); R. Höhn, "Die Wandlung im Polizeirecht", *Deutsche Rechtswissenschaft* 1 (1936) 100-23.

Hitler, when laying down the principles which were to determine the character of the SA., declined to make of them military formations: the members of the SA. were to be "political soldiers". If the SA. were formed as a military body, time would tell and the years would quench the fanatical ardour of these fighters. They would necessarily increasingly assume the character of an association of veterans: MK., p. 604 (German), p. 443 (English). In fact gatherings of the SA. have of recent years increasingly come to resemble such an association and thus it is of memories of the past that the Führer speaks to them:

"When I look back on all the past, on all that truly wonderful development, then it is that again and again I become conscious of the dream-like element in the story of the rise of the Party, and then you can realize what it means to me myself when I can return into the circle of those who once with me began to tread this way. So it is something uplifting for me when I can return to those whom I did not come to know first in 1933, but whom I knew in the time when to be a National Socialist meant only danger. . . . Germany has after all become the Germany for which we hoped; and that it shall ever become more and more that which we

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proclaimed in this hall in our programme nineteen years ago, that must be our task now, and must remain our task for the future. And that we shall reach our goal is as certain as that I stand here. When we some day close our eyes, then those who come after us will obtain something different from that which we received nineteen years ago."¹

"Through putting forward intolerant demands in our Programme we repelled tolerant natures; through the practice of a continuous passion for attack and joy in attacking we drew to us those who were always ready for a fight. And so at that time I began to collect that old guard which—with few exceptions—has never since deserted me."²

*At the Leipzig trial of 1930 Hitler spoke of the SA. as Schutzabteilungen (Protective Divisions): he said that their sole object was the protection of National Socialist propaganda. In 1925, after the failure of the "Putsch", he had given orders that the SA. should carry no weapons and that they should in no way have a military character.*³

*In his evidence given at the trial of four National Socialists on 8 May 1931 Hitler said: "I have never allowed anyone to doubt that I demand from the SA. the absolute observance of the legal way, and when this veto on violence has in any case not been observed I have brought to book the leaders or sub-leaders concerned."*⁴

At the same trial Hitler stated that formerly SA. stood for "Saalschutzabteilung" (the corps for protecting the

¹ V.B., 26 Feb. 1939.

² Proclamation at the Nuremberg Parteitag of 1938. V.B., 7 Sept. 1938.

³ F.Z., 26 Sept. 1930.

⁴ Ibid., 9 May 1931.

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halls where National Socialist meetings were held); later it had stood for Sport-Abteilung, and lastly for Sturm-Abteilung (storm-division). But these meanings of the letters SA. were really irrelevant, for SA. is a special conception and stands for itself: it has grown out of and beyond the original significations attached to the words.¹

*In the winter of 1931 there was discontent and impatience amongst the SA. Hitler in a proclamation to SA. and SS. men assured them that victory was certain if they remained true to their policy of legality. Their enemies were trying to provoke them, so that they should lose their nerve, so that "holy anger" might lead them to unconsidered action. They were not to allow themselves to be provoked. Up to the present time they had had to set their teeth and fulfil their duty. "He who has failed in the last days of his test is not worthy to witness victory."*²

*When in April 1932 the SA. were disbanded by the Government and Hitler was asked how he would maintain the Party organization without their help he replied: "The methods used for gaining power were in the past and remain to-day strictly constitutional. Consequently I do not need the assistance of the SA. in order to gain power in Germany."*³

In his speech in the Sportpalast in Berlin to SA. and SS. men on 8 April 1933 Hitler said:

"Justice (Recht) lies not without us but within us. It can lie in our own strength alone. Only strength is at any time justified in raising claims, never weakness. Only strength can wake justice into life". . . .

¹ This is a translation from the summary of the evidence given in *F.Z.*, 9 May 1931. I do not know how far it reproduces Hitler's own words. It was at this trial that Litten challenged Hitler's veracity. ² *F.Z.*, 3 Dec. 1931. ³ *Ibid.*, 16 Apr. 1932.

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"We wished to burn into our Movement from the first: Never will anything be given us, nothing yielded, nothing secured which we are not strong enough to give ourselves. Thus it was that formerly the SA. arose, created out of a handful of men who had been comrades in the War. Opponents sought at that time to bend the young Movement through terrorism. I looked from the State of that day to the people, and I said to myself: here from the people itself must arise the arms, the weapons, with which we wish to conquer our world. Two motives stood godparent at the birth of the SA. and SS.: we, National Socialists, wanted to protect ourselves and not beg for the help of others. But if we wanted to attain this end, we must in the future create a new people, and for this purpose we must put constraint upon ourselves, must gain self-mastery, must overcome everything in ourselves which we regarded as harmful for our people. What really has value for the centuries and the millennia can only grow up from within. And so we wanted in ourselves to train that character which was to form the content of the new Reich. That must be practised on a small scale which later one hopes one can practise on the great scale. These bands of young fighters should rise to that courage which, we expected, would one day inspire the whole people: theirs should be the discipline, the faith in leadership and authority which, as we have experienced a thousand times in our history, can alone give to the people the power to triumph over the mass-madness of unreason and to strive towards a goal." *Hitler then proceeded to inculcate obedience, endurance, and discipline:* "we belong to a generation which must make good what others have made badly. We are a generation which must sacrifice more than our predecessors. Destiny desires to test us: shall the German people live and

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grow, or has the end of our people now come? . . . In history generations have been forgotten, . . . but the generation of the brown storm-army of the German nation will never in the people's history sink into oblivion."¹

In the same speech to the SA. of Berlin on 8 April 1933 Hitler said:

"I can say with pride, comrades of the SA. and SS., that if the whole German people now was possessed of the spirit which is in us and in you, then Germany would be indestructible. Even without arms, Germany would represent an unheard of strength through this inner will tempered like steel. It is true that this equality which is realized in you was realized only at the cost of that freedom of which others spoke. We have, too, adopted the principle of leadership, the conception of authority. That was a heavy sacrifice at a time when the whole people was running after the illusion of democracy and parliamentarianism, when millions believed that the majority was the source of a right decision. It was at this time that we began resolutely to build up an organization in which there was not one dictator but ten thousand. When our opponents say: 'It is easy for you: you are a dictator'—we answer them, 'No, gentlemen, you are wrong; there is no single dictator, but ten thousand, each in his own place.' And even the highest authority in the hierarchy has itself only one wish, never to transgress against the supreme authority to which it, too, is responsible. We have in our Movement developed this loyalty in following the leader, this blind obedience of which all the others know nothing and which gave to us the power to surmount everything."²

¹ *V.B.*, 11 Apr. 1933.

² *Ibid.* and in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 51.

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In a speech at Kiel on 7 May 1933 Hitler said:

"You have been till now the Guard of the National Revolution; you have carried this Revolution to victory; with your name it will be associated for all time. You must be the guarantors of the victorious completion of this Revolution, and it will be victoriously completed only if through your school a new German people is educated."¹

*Hitler, in a speech at Erfurt on 16 June 1933, said to the men of the SA. and SS.: "And if you were often hard, yes, and ruthless and harsh, yet you were always only good Germans."*²

In his speech to political leaders, delivered at Nuremberg on 13 September 1935, Hitler said that the annual meeting of the Leader and his followers was a lesson to those who tried to draw a distinction between them, to those who would say, "The Führer, yes! But the Party, is that necessary?" "My question," Hitler continued, "is not 'Is that necessary?' but 'Was that necessary?' A commander without officers and soldiers—could many people make much of that? I will not be the commander without soldiers, but I will remain your Leader. For me you are the political officers of the German nation, bound up with me for better or for worse, even as I am bound up with you for better or for worse. It was not one man who conquered Germany, it was all in common who conquered Germany. One man has won you, and you have won the German people! One man has conquered with his will, and you have conquered with your wills. One man stood at the

¹ *V.B.*, 9 May 1933.

² The text of this I have only in *Die Reden des Führers nach der Machtübernahme*, Berlin, 1939, p. 29.

head as leader in the Reich, and you stood every one of you at the head and led in the battle whether in a Gau or a District or a local centre (*Ortsgruppe*), and everywhere the National Socialist who stood at the head was better than the foes who stood against him! Just as lasting success for an army is unthinkable, when although the chief of staff has genius, the soldiers are incapable, so is it here. Take a commander of the highest genius: he can carry into execution his conceptions and his plans only when he possesses an instrument which is out and out superior to the enemy. And for my conquest of Germany I have to thank this instrument, which was created in the National Socialist Movement and in its organizations."

"Is this fight, then, a closed chapter? The conquest of power is a process which is never, never ended, for here, if anywhere, does the principle hold true, 'What you have won, win it ever anew, if you are to possess it!' There is no people in history that has won liberation as a gift, there is no people that will keep its freedom as a gift! Always and for ever must this precious possession be guarded without ceasing. And thereto are we National Socialists resolved! We do not believe that our development is at an end; on the contrary we shall continue to work, we shall continue to mould ourselves, and to make ourselves ever more worthy to be the sole bearers of authority in the German people."

"So the fight goes on, and now we are coming to the period of our second great task, the continuous education of our people, and the constant watch upon our people. Education to the end that all of us and our German people may be increasingly drawn into the world of the National Socialist idea, and watchfulness in order that continuously we may see to it that nowhere shall there be found retrogression or collapse. The fate which was

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unleashed upon the world in 1918 shall never strike us. Just as we mean to gather here together, year after year, in answer to this general muster, so we mean to hold continual musters of the German nation. And that is necessary. You have been specially favoured by destiny, for your school was the school of battle. You old ones have finished your education, but the German youth must go to school with the old ones. It can learn something in that school; it can learn to measure the importance of men from a higher standpoint than that of their origin, their profession, or their social position. Where would Germany be to-day, if her resurrection had had to wait for those who in former times imagined themselves called to the leadership of the nation? There is but one calling, which becomes visible only in the midst of the conflict. Hoist the flag of courage, of willingness for sacrifice, of devotion, and mark well who ranges himself under it. Mark those who are drawn by the flag, for it is they who are called to lead a people, and no one else."

"For sixteen years our Party has been in existence. An intolerably long time, I feel certain, for our enemies, but for us hardly a beginning. Our enemies may think, perhaps, that if they wait long enough, they will see the end of our Movement; but they have not yet seen the beginning! When we started this struggle we set before ourselves stern maxims, definite principles. Because we have fought loyally for them, year after year, we have become great and strong. Often the heavens hung dark above us, and our enemies rejoiced. But in such times the truth of the old maxim is proved: 'Only the strength which can withstand the storm is really strong.' What can be broken is no good! Iron principles, hard and difficult though they were, we set before ourselves at that time; and these principles we have followed

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uncompromisingly to the present day, nor do we purpose to depart one centimetre from them in the days to come. We decide our course: we decide the tempo of our progress; but none of us any longer decides our goal; for us that is fixed!"

"There are perhaps in Germany certain individuals who either regard this Movement as an incomprehensible phenomenon, or else cannot make at all clear to themselves the reason for its existence, and who comprehend still less clearly the conditions which made its existence a necessity, and why in the future it will never be overthrown. They have not felt one breath of the spirit which governs this Movement; they have experienced nothing of the strength of this ideal; they have remained cold. They imagine that a people and a State are nothing but a lifeless machine, which can be set in action only by considerations of reason. They have not understood that these 68 millions of men could never be governed by commands, as they could by an appeal to their inner instincts, an appeal to their conscience. Where should we stand to-day if we had not found the way to the soul of our people? . . . The strength of idealism alone has accomplished these acts which have moved the world. Were any yet greater proof needed of the might of idealism, it can be found in this Movement. At its beginning there stood the word idealism; not calculation—we did not reckon up the risks! What could a man, who undertook single-handed to take the field against a world of enemies, what could he expect? I made the venture, because I believed that I knew the heart-beat of my people: and I was not deceived."

"You have all felt this in the past, for to every single one of you at some time has occurred the reflection that it is no subtlety of the intellect, but rather an inner voice that has at some time given its commands to every one

of you. Reason must have dissuaded you from coming to me; faith alone gave you the command. What idealism it was—but what a force lay in that idealism!”¹

In his speech to the “political soldiers” of the Movement at the Nuremberg Parteitag of September 1937 Hitler said:

“In the past it was easy to say that the battle must be fought with the weapons of the spirit² while the enemy met the invasion of the spirit with the crashing blows of violence (*mit Brachialgewalt*). If it had been a question of the spirit alone, Germany would never have sunk so low. The spirit in the life of the German people has always sought to further the right and to do the right. But against this spirit of reason a conspiracy of baseness and of infamy had set itself, against this spirit violence had revolted. The conspirators had no wish that to the German people reason and understanding should return. And when the first men arose who, with me and supporting me, began to preach the reasonableness of a community of the people, immediately those who were interested in maintaining the division of the people opposed us not with the weapons of the spirit but with the strong right arm of violence (*mit dem brachialen Mittel der Gewalt*). We National Socialists and former front-line fighters, however, refused to submit and were resolved to meet this violent attack against reason with the violence of reason. And the forces of this violence of reason were embodied in the Storm-divisions of my Party: they were a stout fist against him who ventured with violence to hinder our campaign of the spirit and of reason. You all know this struggle

¹ *V.B.*, 15 Sept. 1935.

² German: *Geistige Waffen*. A favourite phrase of Hitler's: cf. e.g. *MK.*, pp. 267, 364, 393, 398, 455, 594, 596, and see p. 617 s.f. (German). Cf. further p. 196 *infra*.

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which lasted for fifteen years: during those years gradually with our National Socialist fists we broke down the opposition of our foes: we captured place after place, destroyed the Red Terror, and thus for the first time opened up a clear path for the entry of the spirit. That is your historical achievement!"

"This struggle has demanded not only sacrifice in blood, but above all inner sacrifices of the spirit. How many of you had to endure for long years the life of outlaws in this Germany which none has loved more than you did! Many of you had to pay the cost of this struggle with the loss of your position and of your daily bread. And for years you have had ranged against you not only the brutal violence of the organized mob, you have had against you, too, the authority of the State, the ally of this mob. There hardly seemed any prospect that you could succeed against this conspiracy of baseness, of unreason and of power". . . .

"And yet to-day Germany has in truth risen again and risen again as our work!"¹

Note

I do not think that anywhere in his speeches Hitler has referred directly to the SS., although he has addressed members of the SS. as well as of the SA. I do not know what may have been the reason for this silence.

¹ *V.B.*, 13 Sept. 1937.

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After the election in September 1930 Hitler, in a speech at Munich, said that the hardest part of their struggle was now behind them, for in the past the bitterness of their fight lay in the fact that no one listened to them, that no one took any notice of them. An alien race had seized the leadership of the people with the aim of destroying the powerful German State and the German people. "First it had killed the spirit; through this loss of spirit the German people had been reduced politically to serfdom; this political serfdom had been transformed into economic slavery which entailed the distress of millions of individual Germans. Out of this distress there had come the uprising, i.e. the people now begins to listen, and the spirit of opposition is the necessary consequence of the national collapse, and this is the necessary consequence of the system and the system itself the consequence of the wish to destroy Germany. This election means that the circle is now complete." And the question at this time is: what are the aims of this opposition and its leaders?

"It is a fight for an idea—a *Weltanschauung*; and in the forefront stands a fundamental principle: Men do not exist for the State, the State exists for men. First and far above all else stands the idea of the people: the State is a form of organization of this people, and the meaning and the purpose of the State are through this form of organization to assure the life (*Lebensexistenz*) of the people. And from this there arises a new mode of thought and thus necessarily a new political method."

"We say: a new mode of thought. To-day our whole official political outlook is rooted in the view that the State must be maintained because the State in itself is

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the essential thing; we, on the other hand, maintain that the State in its form has a definite purpose to fulfil and the moment that it fails to fulfil its purpose the form stands condemned. Above everything stands the purpose to maintain the nation's life—that is the essential thing—and one should not speak of a law for the protection of the State but for the protection of the nation: it is of this protection that one must think. . . . In the place of this rigid formal organization—the State—must be set the living organism—the people. Then all action is given a new untrammelled freedom: all the formal fetters which can to-day be imposed on men become immoral directly they fail to maintain the people, because *that* is the highest purpose in life and the aim of all reasonable thought and action.”

“If to-day our action employs among its different weapons that of Parliament, that is not to say that parliamentary parties exist only for parliamentary ends. For us Parliament is not an end in itself, but merely a means to an end:” . . . we are not on principle a parliamentary party—that would be a contradiction of our whole outlook—we are a parliamentary party by compulsion, under constraint, and that compulsion is the Constitution. The Constitution compels us to use this means. It does not compel us to wish for a particular goal, it only prescribes a way, a method, and, I repeat, we follow this way legally, in accordance with the Constitution: by the way laid down through the Constitution we advance towards the purposes which we have set before us.”

“Never can Constitutions determine for all time the content of a purpose, especially when this content is not identical with the vital rights (*Lebensrecht*) of a people. If to-day the Constitution admits for its protection laws

¹ Cf. p. 164 *supra*.

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which are headed, 'Law for the Protection of the Republic', then it is demonstrated that the most which our present Constitution can prescribe is nothing but the protection and the maintenance of a form, and that does not touch the maintenance of the nation, of a people. This purpose is therefore free: this is the goal which we proclaim and to which we shall attain."

Other parties may try to steal our ideas, but the old parties cannot be inspired by the new ideas: they remain what they were. "Our fight is not at an end: on the contrary our conviction is that for all time it is only from the fighting spirit that there can come the force which shall master those weaknesses which to-day in every sphere cripple our people."

"The State has a meaning only when it organizes and assures men's fight for honour and the maintenance of their existence. This fight is only thinkable if the highest forces are mobilized. These forces always flow from three sources: the value, the organization, and the spirit of a people. . . . We wish to raise once more the value of our people: we want to free this fundamental value from the rank growths and misformations which have obscured it, to raise it high to a dominating position: we want to give to this fundamental value, the value of our blood, a logical form, a form dictated by the highest reason—that means the abolition of democracy and of the parliamentary system. We wish that this value—this possession of the German people, to give it a name, this blood of the German people—should be raised to its highest potency through the way in which it is administered. This administration must be modelled on the law of logic, of reason, of human insight and experience; and this insight and experience lead us to the way of the authority of personality. When a people which has a great value peculiarly its own allows its

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destiny to be determined by the highest logic and reason, by the most capable forces which it can command, that is the condition of strength. And when, further, this people as a whole maintains that spirit which in its turn is the condition for the formation of strength—that is, when from the least to the greatest it is inspired by the spirit of resistance, the mind to fight—then from these three factors—value, organization, and spirit—that strength will come which a people needs to maintain itself in the world.”¹

“From blood, authority of personality, and a fighting spirit springs that value which alone entitles a people to look around with glad hope, and that alone is also the condition for the life which men then desire. And when that is realized, then that too is realized for which to-day the political parties strive: prosperity, happiness of the individual, family-life, &c. First will come honour and then freedom, and from both of these happiness, prosperity, life: in a word, that state of things will return, which we Germans perhaps dimly saw before the War, when individuals can once more live with joy in their hearts because life has a meaning and a purpose, because the close of life is then not in itself the end, since there will be an endless chain of generations to follow: man will know that what we create will not sink into Orcus but will pass to his children and to his children’s children. And so this victory which we have just won is nothing else than the winning of a new weapon for our fight. . . . It is not for seats in Parliament that we fight, but we win seats in Parliament in order that one day we may be able to liberate the German people”. . . .

“Do not write on your banners the word ‘Victory’: to-day that word shall be uttered for the last time. Strike

¹ This curiously characteristic passage can by no means easily be turned into tolerable English.

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through the word 'Victory' and write once more in its place the word which suits us better—the word 'Fight'."¹

*With this may be compared Hitler's evidence given at the Leipzig trial in 1930. The President of the Court asked: "How do you propose to constitute the Third Reich?" Hitler replied: "The Constitution prescribes only the ground on which the battle has to be fought, not its aim. We enter into the legally constituted bodies and we shall thus make our Party the decisive factor. We shall then, when we are in possession of constitutional rights, cast the State into the form of which we approve."*²

In the Leipzig trial of September 1930 a great sensation was created by Hitler's statement made in the course of his evidence before the Court:

"I can assure you that when the National Socialist Movement is victorious in its fight then there will come a National Socialist Court of Justice and November 1918 will then find its retribution and heads will roll."³

The comment of Hitler on the phrase used by him at the Leipzig trial, "Heads will roll", given to the correspondent of "The Times" in an interview at Munich on 2 October 1930 is interesting. Hitler said:

"When I and my comrades in arms were in the trenches during those terrible years from 1914 to 1918 we all realized that fifty yards away from us in the British trenches were honourable men. Yet it was our duty to fight, and even to kill, these men. If we could act thus towards men whom we recognized to be honourable, what must our attitude be towards those whom we know

¹ *V.B.*, 18 Sept. 1930.

² *F.Z.*, 26 Sept. 1930.

³ So in *F.Z.*, 26 Sept. 1930. Generally quoted, "Heads will roll on the sand", but for this cf. p. 74 *supra*.

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to be unprincipled (*charakterlos*), those who are responsible for the ruin of our Fatherland?"

"Perhaps it is more difficult for England than for any other nation to imagine herself in Germany's desperate position. Never has England been so completely humiliated and so hopelessly overpowered as Germany was in the autumn of 1918. England, which has not suffered invasion and subjection by a foreign Power for centuries; England, where no battle even of civil war has been fought since the days of Sedgemoor; England can have no conception of our terrible plight. Neither could we ourselves have imagined such a thing before the War, and yet it happened. But any act of justice we should find necessary would be taken in a strictly legal manner. Don't condemn us, therefore, if we should act as you yourselves would act in our place. I hope that England will never find herself in a position like that of Germany, but if she were in such a position and if, in her darkest hour, she was stabbed in the back, what would be the attitude of England when on her feet once more? What would be the attitude of English patriots towards those among their own nation who had sought to destroy their country?"¹

When standing for the Presidency of the Reich against Hindenburg in 1932 Hitler said:

"In my will you will find one day that I ask that nothing may be put upon my tombstone save my name, Adolf Hitler. My title I create for myself with my name and my individuality: I ask titles from none: I receive no titles as a gift. Even Herr Hindenburg cannot give me a title. What can a title mean for me, what meaning can the words Chancellor of the Reich have for me? My great rival, President von Hindenburg, is 85 years

¹ *The Times*, 4 Oct. 1930.

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old and I am 43 and I feel in excellent health. I am convinced that nothing will happen to me, for I know the greatness of the task for which Providence has chosen me. Before I am 85 years old Herr von Hindenburg will long ago have ceased to be."¹

From Hitler's speeches delivered during the election campaign in Lippe-Detmold in January 1933 a few sentences may be quoted:

"If we struggle to win the German man, then in the last resort that is not because we need him as a voter at the polls but because we want to change him through our education, we want to fit him for the great task set him by destiny—the unification of the German people and the service of the nation."²

"Whatever is of any value in the ideas of the men who are in power to-day they have taken over from us. And what does not come from us is beneath criticism. Schleicher's Government will be a continuation of the Government of von Papen and it will end precisely where the Government of von Papen ended. I have refused to become a minister without portfolio not because I shun responsibility, but because that way does not lead to the goal."³

"When people tell me that I ought after all to enter the Government in order to win for us power from behind the scenes, then I can only say that I have never learnt to play the game behind the flats and that I refuse to learn it."³

¹ For the unfortunate impression created by these words, which did not appear in the Party Press, cf. *Berliner Tageblatt*, 8 Sept. 1932, and see *The Times*, 9 Sept. 1932.

² Speech at Detmold, *V.B.*, 6 Jan. 1933.

³ Speech in Augustdorf (on use of the *Arbeitsdienst* by the Government), *V.B.*, 7 Jan. 1933.

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"It is in the last resort immaterial what percentage of the people makes history: the essential thing is only that *we* should be the last people to make history in Germany."¹

"Of one thing we are quite certain: one should never reap before the corn is ripe. We can wait and keep our scythes sharpened. The gathering together once more of the German people can no longer come from above: it can only come from below, since amongst the upper classes the fossilization of prejudices has already gone too far."²

"I have trained up a Movement in which from the beginning—from the least to the greatest—I have burned out democracy and set authority in its place. In this new community I am building up the spirit of the community of a people's life which is founded on a blood relationship.³ Parliament is only the supreme expression of a faulty education which has spread through the entire nation. It is not economics which saves a people, but the people must control its economic life."⁴

"Power comes at last in Germany only to him who has anchored this power most deeply in the people."⁴

"Those who to-day govern us believe that laws can take the place of the inner strength of a nation. But it is not how the Government acts which is decisive, but how the people reacts."⁵

In his speech at the Second Arbeitskongress (Workers' Congress) on 16 May 1934 Hitler said:

"One cannot blame the German working-man for his

¹ Speech in Augustdorf (on the use of the *Arbeitsdienst* by the Government), *V.B.*, 7 Jan. 1933.

² Speech at Calldorf, *V.B.*, 8-9 Jan. 1933.

³ German: *Ich baue in dieser neuen Gemeinschaft den Geist der blutmässig völkischen Gemeinschaft.*

⁴ Speech at Schwalenberg, *V.B.*, 10 Jan. 1933.

⁵ Speech at Lage, *V.B.*, 11 Jan. 1933.

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failure to find the way which would have led him to his people, to the community of the people, not to speak of the way to National Socialism, if we remember that on the other side millions of the so-called *bourgeoisie* (*Bürger*) similarly failed to see the way, when in their case one might have expected that their higher culture and greater intelligence (*Einsicht*) would have made it much easier for them to do so. No! the unreason was the same in all classes—amongst the workers, the *bourgeoisie*, and the business world (*Unternehmertum*). But in their hearts all these men had long before ceased to believe in the rightness of things as they were. For the most part neither *bourgeoisie* nor proletariat was ready to make sacrifices for their convictions, much less to die for them. . . . We should not have been able to overrun this world in a few months and destroy the trade unions if men had still had faith in the rightness of their own idea. . . . Events have but confirmed our view that the overwhelming majority of German workmen was no longer attached to Marxism.”¹

¹ *V.B.*, 18 May 1934.

9. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY: THE MEANING OF THE ANNUAL GATHER- INGS OF THE PARTY—THE *PARTEITAGE*

At the Reichsparteitag of 1926 Hitler said:

"I was always particularly anxious to secure that *Parteitage* should on principle never be used for the settlement of personal disputes. Such disputes must certainly be settled in one way or another, but just as certainly the *Parteitag*, which once in the year should unite the whole Movement, is not the fitting day for such a settlement. Neither is it the place at which to seek to clarify unripe and uncertain ideas. Neither the length of time available at such a gathering nor its nature admit of giving to it the character of a Council. And it must never be forgotten that in all such cases or those similar to them great decisions have not been made at such Councils: on the contrary, for the most part, world-history pursues its course without paying any attention to them. World-history, like all events of historical significance, is the result of the activity of single individuals—it is not the fruit of majority decisions."¹

In his Proclamation read at the Nuremberg Parteitag of 1933 Hitler said:

The line which separated the National Socialists from the *bourgeois* parties was their clear recognition of the conditions necessary for a successful attack upon Marxism and their consequent action. They recognized that "a power which is resolved to kill the spirit through terrorism cannot be broken so long as one persists in the pious resolution to use only the weapons of the spirit."²

¹ Text in *Wille und Macht* v (1937), Heft 17. ² Cf. p. 185 *supra*.

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The use of weapons of the spirit in a fight has a meaning only so long as all sections of the people are prepared to submit themselves to the results of a struggle waged in this manner. But so soon as Marxism hurled amongst the masses its watchword, 'If thou wilt not my brother be, then I will smash thy skull for thee', a right of the fist was declared which the spirit must either attack with the same weapons or lose its influence and become historically of no moment. It is a fallacy to believe that party-formations which for decades have fought with more or less ineffective weapons of the spirit can suddenly achieve heroic action. That is also the reason why with old and outworn organizations one can never hope that a new leadership would be able by their means to effect quite different actions. On the contrary every attempt to give to the *bourgeois* parties a leadership which is foreign to their nature can lead only to disunion between the leaders and the members. The conflict with Marxism therefore from the beginning demanded the creation of an organization which was, in its whole character, trained precisely for this battle and was therefore adapted to it. And that took time."

In National Socialism such an organization was created and "the essential precondition for every later real success was the fanatical faith in the victory of the Movement. . . . Our Mass-Gatherings did not serve merely to gain for us new supporters but—what was more important—they served to fortify and give moral strength to those who were already won. . . . The objects of the National Socialist *Parteitage* were :

- (i) To give to the Leader of the Movement the opportunity to come once more into personal relations with other leaders.
- (ii) To unite the members of the Party afresh with their leaders.

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- (iii) To strengthen all alike in the confident expectation of victory, and psychologically
- (iv) To inspire the great impulses of the spirit in their determination to pursue the struggle." . . .

That struggle had been at length crowned with success; the miracle had happened in Germany: "the state of treachery and perjury had been overcome and in its place had been restored a Reich of honour and loyalty and decency." . . . "The National Socialist Movement has become the German Reich, the German State." . . . "At the beginning of this year (1933) there were weeks when we were but a hair's breadth from Bolshevist chaos": National Socialism has done for Germany what Fascism did for Italy.¹ . . .

Speaking at Weimar on 3 July 1936, at the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Parteitag held in that city, Hitler said:

"It was the external compulsion exercised by the law governing associations which led the NSDAP. in the first instance to hold its *Parteitag*. The legal regulations demanded every year the holding of a so-called 'General Meeting of Members'.² There was the further fact that the proceeding laid down by law for 'the election of fresh officers' used to occupy at most ten minutes in the case of the NSDAP., whose leadership, as is well known, had never been a problem. The idea of allowing this formal occasion of the gathering of delegates from the whole Reich to become at the same time a demonstration which should serve to strengthen the movement was the beginning of the conception of a *Parteitag* of the NSDAP."

"Since the Bavarian Government of that day had seen fit, for reasons after all not difficult to understand,

¹ *F.Z.*, 2 Sept. 1933.

² *Generalmitgliederversammlung*.

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to forbid me to make speeches, only the 'General Meeting of Members'¹—since no speeches were usually made at it—could be held in Munich in order to conform with the formalities prescribed by law. The *Parteitag* itself, however, we had to remove elsewhere and the dispensation of fate led us then to Weimar, in Thuringia, which was one of the few States in which at that time I was allowed to speak in public. So we came to this city, and here for the first time we were able to develop the type of the new *Parteitag*, which was now completely freed from the last democratic fetter which the Law of Associations imposed."

The Leader went on to describe the internal reasons of organization which led to the division of the Parteitag into the Delegates' Congress and the Special Sessions. At the Congress, before chosen comrades and guests, the results of the campaign of the National Socialist Movement and the results of National Socialist research in every sphere of life were presented. "The plan was that an account should be given not only of what had been achieved, but also of what we had gained by our experience. Further, that the general lines of policy should be laid down which were to guide the future campaign of the coming year. That we freed this statement of the general lines of our policy and this rendering of account of the intellectual work of the Movement from all corrosive discussion, that we freed it, in particular, from any decision depending on a vote—all this led to an unexampled encouragement of those who took part in these demonstrations. All those comrades who once in the year came from their little towns to attend a Reichsparteitag were not filled with the doubts and uncertainties which might have arisen from listening to the objections of an opposition, to discussions and so on; on the contrary, they turned

¹ *Generalmitgliederversammlung.*

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homewards filled with a new, blind trust and a new and unprecedented confidence."

"When the small man comes, perhaps only once in his life, from his home circle, from his village, from his small market town, to this intellectual centre of the Movement, he has no wish to listen to bickerings between individual leaders, who neither can nor will come to an understanding: rather, during these days he wishes to draw fresh encouragement for his hard struggle in the world outside.¹ He wishes to carry away with him the conviction 'My leaders know what they want! For if they do not know what they want, how am I to know, how could I give my decision?' "

"The object of the Special Sessions is to deal with certain problems of a purely material kind. Here, too, the ruling principle is: Never must a resolution be passed by a majority decision! Never! The official in charge of the Special Session listens to the various expressions of opinion, and then on his side gives his decision. He announces: 'I now close the discussion: I have formed a picture and I will now suggest to the Leader that this or that should be done.' For if specialists cannot agree on any problem, and the majority alone is to determine the point, the question arises: Who is to bear the responsibility for that decision if the step which has been decided upon should afterwards prove mistaken and the defeated party be shown to have been in the right? That responsibility must always be undertaken by a single man. There is no decision possible for which one man does not assume responsibility. That is the ruling principle of our Movement. It is the principle of an old Germanic democracy which knows no respon-

¹ Cf. a similar passage in Hitler's Proclamation read at the Nuremberg *Parteitag* of September 1937. *V.B.*, 8 Sept. 1937, and see p. 207 *infra*.

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sibility which goes downwards while authority goes upwards, but which knows only an authority which proceeds downwards from the top and a responsibility which proceeds upwards from the bottom. And the highest point in this hierarchy of responsibility recognizes in its turn as *its* supreme instance the authority of the German people as a whole to whose service we all feel ourselves pledged and to which we are responsible."

"On matters which are clear there is no need for a vote. Therefore one needs to vote only on matters which are not clear. There are matters which often create difficulties even for the intellectual (*geistige*) leadership of a Movement and on which in consequence there are doubts or different views. These are the questions therefore which should be put to the vote. Who then should vote on such an issue? The masses of the comrades? But that would mean that the politician surrenders altogether the intellectual leadership of the Party, for in such a case the mass must logically be the leaders. But who then bears the true responsibility for the decision? Do you think it possible that anyone with a real personality would be content to assume a responsibility which was imposed (*aufoktroziert*) upon him by any majority? You may object that the *bourgeois* world and Marxism have in fact acted in this way. True, but we have ourselves experienced also the heroic issue of these experiments. They have indeed carried out the orders which they received from the masses, but for those orders they have never had the courage to accept the responsibility. And that is comprehensible: an anonymous majority, which the lack of character in our past history avowedly turned into a so-called secret majority, one cannot make responsible. How should these millions with their secret decision—made, if possible, with sealed voting-papers dropped into the urn—how should they

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bear the responsibility? Consider the immorality (*die Unmoral*) of this principle. Here men who take their stand as leaders assume a responsibility in their own name which they receive, imposed upon them, from men who have not even the courage to say openly either Yes or No. How can a man of any character, for example, undertake responsibility for a vital decision—for a decision which may determine the existence or non-existence of a nation—when that decision is forced upon him by an anonymous majority? In that case he would have to defend a policy with the authority of his own name, while thousands or hundreds of thousands, perhaps, it may be, millions, without giving their names, place this one man under the obligation to do that for which they are totally unable to accept responsibility. That is impossible! That leads to cowardice, to the loss of all sense of the meaning of responsibility! The leadership of a people cannot be merely the executive organ—the leaders must lead!"

"If no one is prepared to undertake responsibility, the result must be the annihilation of all authority, it must be destructive of the whole value of human personality. And if someone objects, 'Yes, but you, too, permit voting.' True, but never on questions of detail, only on really large questions—on tasks which can be clearly visualized by the whole German people. And that means that if I take a step on behalf of the German people for the restoration of its honour or its freedom, then I expect that the German people will grasp the significance of that step and that it will support me. Even in such a case I will not say, 'I should like to take this step, but first I must be protected: there must be a vote and only if the voting is in my favour, then I will venture to take the step.' No! That a truly National Socialist leadership will never do. A National Socialist leader will make his

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decision and then afterwards, if need be, he will declare: 'People, we have made this decision conscientiously and on the best information we could get. Please, now, give your judgement!' And we know then quite well what the judgement of the people will be. That is to say, the more one appeals to the people through elections to give their judgement only on questions of the greatest import and those which move it to the depths—the more surely a people is conscious that it really has at its head a resolute leadership—the more decisively will it support that leadership."

"But still it may be objected: 'Anyhow that is after all a Government without a people.' No! That would be so if an individual man should have the presumption to put himself at the head of the nation and to declare: 'I rule.' Then one could justifiably say, 'Why do you rule? and by what right? Anybody could come and make the same declaration.' No! The Party stands as a living organism of the people behind this leadership. The Party is the people. The Party is the organization of the political leadership of the people, and, further, the Party is, precisely as is everything in life, the result of a process of selection. In it are concentrated all those who from amongst the people are naturally qualified for political life, all those who in any way have the inner conviction that they must perforce devote themselves to politics. The Party is a body of picked men. It represents in its constitution a selection from the people of its political elements. Thus the Party is the leadership and in fact the legislature. The State is the administration and it has the duty of acting as the executive. The Party as an organization of picked men thus fulfils all the conditions necessary for a Government closely bound up with the people, for the whole personnel which determines the action of the State and of the Reich runs

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from base to summit through this Movement. It is constructed from a process of continuous selection, and this selection begins in the smallest unit, in the cell, in the local group (*Ortsgruppe*)."

"If ever it could be maintained of a Movement that it was not built on a single personality, then that is true of our Movement. At the moment at which we banished for ever from our midst the democratic poison of perpetual disunion and intrigue there came to our leadership this stability, this internal security. And if ever any element failed to adapt itself to this order of ours, as you well know, it was rejected. Thus there arose this wonderful, indestructible community between the highest leader, his collaborators, and the body of their followers. We can never dispense with this leadership; this it is which guarantees to the Party its perpetuity. Through the selection of its body of leaders the Party will in the future be able to appoint the men needed for the execution of all the tasks set them by the nation and only in this way can there be built up a leadership of the people which shall be really hard, truly capable for all its duties, a leadership ripened by experience."

"If the principle of so-called 'public discussion' could in fact remove abuses, then we ought to be living in a Paradise, for never was there more discussion than in our parliamentary period. But all this talk produced not improvement, but only an increase in confusion, insecurity, and ineffectiveness. It was on these methods that our whole *bourgeois* Marxist-democratic parliamentary life was built up. Only for this reason were we able to destroy it, to smash it into pieces and to extinguish it from our history. It had to be destroyed because a clearer, far truer organization had arisen which could be set in its place. And thus it was no wonder that from the very day when this Movement was founded I could

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be convinced that this Party *must* win Germany to its side. It is through no chance that we came to power: we came to power through an iron¹ law of natural necessity."²

*In a speech at the Harvest Thanksgiving on the Bückenberg (3 October 1937) Hitler said that the miracle of the National Socialist Revolution was a miracle of reason—"namely, that the German people has become so reasonable and has once more learned to think. . . . Our great demonstrations which we hold in Germany are always only celebrations (Tagungen) at which we must endeavour to bring our people to think reasonably."*³

In the Proclamation read at the opening of the Parteitag in September 1937 Hitler said:

The annual *Parteitag* at Nuremberg has become "the Great Community-Festival of the Nation". "Ten years ago this assembly might have been rightly called the Revolutionary Congress of a Party which was seeking to capture a State by storm: to-day it is the great review of the army of the German nation—a nation won by National Socialism."

Since the early days of the Movement there were three purposes which the general assemblies at the *Parteitag* had to fulfil:

- (i) The statement of what had been achieved through the activity and work of the Movement, what had been already effectively planned; in a word, how far the aims of the Movement had been realized.
- (ii) The proclamation of the tasks and therefore of the work to be accomplished both in the near and more distant future.

¹ German: *auf Grund eines ehernen naturnotwendigen Gesetzes*.

² *F.Z.*, 5 July 1936.

³ *Ibid.*, 4 Oct. 1937.

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- (iii) The education of those comrades, both men and women, who at these *Parteitage* showed themselves specially enthusiastic, the aim being to initiate them and through them the whole people into the spirit of those principles of the Movement which determined its tenets and organization.

Hitler then proceeded to explain that it was essential that these great annual gatherings should take place in the same city each year, since only thus could there be created, in the course of time, buildings adequate to receive the great masses of the assembled people. The preparation of Nuremberg as the Parteitag city might take decades. It was now realized that the choice of Nuremberg for these meetings was completely justified: "in no other city could even future generations establish that magical association of the heritage of a past of unexampled richness with the clear evidences of a glorious present and of a future which were no less unique."

"In a single section—in the coming into being of the new Nuremberg—one may recognize the growth of our Movement, the development of Germany. A gigantic forum is being constructed: the spaces for our parades are the greatest in the world. To-morrow there is to be laid the foundation stone of a Stadium such as the world has never seen. In two years at least the structure of the colossus of our Congress Hall will stand completed and as our first granite monument will bear witness to the greatness of the idea which inspired it and bear witness also to the greatness of the whole layout of the new city."¹

In his speech to members of the Party at the Nuremberg Parteitag on 13 September 1936 Hitler said: "Do we not feel once again in this hour the miracle that brought us

¹ *V.B.*, 8 Sept. 1937.

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together? Once you heard the voice of a man, and it struck deep into your hearts; it awakened you, and you followed this voice. Year after year you went after it, though him who had spoken you never even saw. You heard only a voice, and you followed it. When we meet each other here, the wonder of our coming thus together fills us all. Not everyone of you sees me, and I do not see everyone of you. But I feel you, and you feel me!"

"It is the belief in our people that has made us small men great, that has made us poor men rich, that has made brave and courageous men out of us wavering, spiritless, timid folk; this belief made us see our road when we were astray; it joined us together into one whole!"

"So on one day you all come into this city, leaving your small villages, your market-towns, your cities, leaving your mines, your factories, and your ploughs. You come, that from the small world that surrounds your daily fight for existence, and your fight for Germany and for our people you may, once in a while, gain the feeling that now we are together; we are with him and he with us, and we are now Germany! . . . Never in these long years have we offered any other prayer but this: Lord, grant to our people peace at home, and grant and preserve to them peace from the foreign foe! We in our generation have lived through so much fighting that it is natural that we should long for peace. We wish to work, we wish to mould our Reich, to organize it after our own fashion, not after that of the Bolshevik Jews!"

"We wish to care and to work for the future of the children of our people; we wish not only to make their life one day secure, but to make it easier. The past for us has been so burdensome that of the mercy and goodness of Providence we can ask only one thing: Spare our children what we have had to endure! . . . Through the

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hard schooling of the struggle, Fate in its grace gave to us men selected and chosen; that which Fate gave us we would guard for the future through our own rigorous selection. To be a National Socialist is to be a man, to be a fighter; it is to be brave and courageous and capable of sacrifice. That, too, we are for all time!"

"... And as a prophet I can say to you: This Reich has lived through only the first days of its youth. It will grow on into the centuries, it will become strong and mighty. These banners shall be borne through the ages by ever new generations of our people. Germany has found herself! Our people is born again!"¹

¹ *V.B.*, 13 Sept. 1936.

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In his speech in the Reichstag on 23 March 1933 Hitler said:

"Hardly ever has a revolution on such a large scale been carried out in so disciplined and bloodless a fashion as this renaissance of the German people in the last few weeks."¹

In his speech to the representatives of the foreign Press, delivered 6 April 1933, Hitler said:

Against the "intolerable terrorization" of the former political parties "stand the unheard of discipline and the unexampled self-control of the victorious Revolution. Not only did the retaliation bear no relation to the sufferings which had been endured but even where there was retaliation it was always given rein (*ausgelöst*) only through the necessity to break the opposition of the November-system."²

*In his speech to Leaders of the Party delivered at Munich on 22 April 1933 Hitler said that what distinguished this revolution from others was "that it had been successfully kept under discipline in the hands of leaders fully conscious of their aims. . . . The mark of the national uprising was that the power which sustained it was the National Socialist Movement which had been built up in the strictest discipline and had been tempered through struggle (*kampfgestählt*). . . . What had happened in Germany had been a unique, wonderfully elastic interplay between the impulsive popular Move-*

¹ German text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 35; authorized English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, p. 26.

² *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 252.

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ment and the considered conduct of affairs by the leaders."¹

In his speech in the Sportpalast, Berlin, on 24 October 1933 Hitler replied to the charges of excesses and atrocities brought by the foreign Press; he said:

"When has there ever been a revolution so free from excesses (*Greuel*) as ours? In the days when there was revolution in Germany there was greater order than in many countries where there was no-revolution. . . . Even if there were excesses, we could still stand comparison with the excesses of revolutions amongst other peoples. It is true we have to barricade the streets, but not because the people wants to stone the Government, but because the people wants to express to the Government its jubilation. I go any day amongst the people without a cordon of police. People can always know where I am and where I am going. I have not the least fear that the people may attack me; on the contrary my greatest anxiety is that perhaps a small child might be crushed before my motor."

"And if I compare the excesses of the French Revolution I can only say: We at least have established no guillotine, we have not created any Vendée in Germany. Even with the worst elements we have only kept them apart from the nation. Unfortunately the rest of the world declines to take them from us; we would so gladly put them at their disposal."²

In his speech in the Reichstag on 30 January 1934 Hitler said:

"We have been able on the whole to guide this national resurgence in such a model fashion as has hardly ever

¹ *V.B.*, 25 Apr. 1933.

² *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 127.

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been known in the past, except in the case of the Fascist revolution in Italy. . . . This is the imperishable service performed by the National Socialist Party and its organizations and the service performed by the Brown Guards. They prepared the German resurgence and carried it out and completed it almost without bloodshed and with unprecedented adherence to the programme."¹

In his New Year Proclamation of 1 January 1934 Hitler said: "Without the organization of our SA. and SS. we should all have fallen victims to the Red Terror. . . . Without the National Socialist Party, without the SA. and SS., even a German uprising could only have taken the form of a bloody and turbulent massacre; it is only thanks to the Party that one of the greatest revolutions in world-history was effected with such discipline, with such order that only in a single State in our own day could it find its model and its parallel—in the Italy of the Fascist Revolution. And it is not because of any fear of blood that we have carried through this Revolution without bloodshed, but only because of our profound sympathy with those whom we have always regarded only as misled, as seduced by lies."²

On the character of the National Socialist Revolution in a speech delivered at Munich on 19 March 1934 Hitler said:

"The victory of a party is a change of government. The victory of a *Weltanschauung* is a revolution—and a revolution which effects a profound and essential transformation in the condition of a people. For the revolt of 1918 the word Revolution has indeed been used, but

¹ *V.B.*, 31 Jan. 1934. Authorized English translation (as above) in separate pamphlet, p. 19.

² *Ibid.*, 2 Jan. 1934.

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fundamentally it was only a change of Government. The same disastrous forces which formerly shared in the government of Germany did but appear more openly for all to see. Marxists and capitalists, the 'Fighters for Throne and Altar', the atheists all found their way to each other, because in fact they differed from one another in nothing. They knew no longer any differences as soon as it came to opposing the National Socialists. . . . In this struggle the National Socialists were the representatives of a real *Weltanschauung*, and thus this *Weltanschauung* produced a real revolution. This revolution has done more to effect a real inner transformation than all the Bolshevik revolts taken together. The March revolution of the year 1933 was in truth the spring revolution of the German people. A spring has now once more begun for us—in this spring we all live and in this spring we all are happy."¹

"There is no romance in world-history more wonderful than the development of our Party."¹

"It is a miracle which has been wrought upon the German people, and we do not wish to fall into the fault which seized upon the German people at the end of the war-years—ingratitude. What was accomplished last year is so unheard of that it should constrain us to the profoundest humility. It shows that the Almighty has not deserted our people: He received it into His grace at the moment when it found itself again. And that it shall never again lose itself, that must be our vow so long as we shall live and so long as the Lord gives us the strength to continue the battle."¹

"History will never be able to lay to our charge that we wrought blind havoc. I believe that no revolution in the history of the world has proceeded and been conducted with more caution and skill (*Vorsicht und Klug-*

¹ F.Z., 21 Mar. 1934.

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heit) than ours. Everything had been considered ten times over and we have taken not one step too many. No one in Germany should complain. If our enemies of the Red Flag had come to power, then in Germany as elsewhere we should have seen only a heap of smoking ruins. But to-day we see in Germany vigorous life."¹

*In his Proclamation (30 January 1935) issued on the second anniversary of the assumption of power by the National Socialists Hitler said, speaking of the Revolution of 1933: "By the side of the fanatical fighters of our revolutionary National Socialist Party stood the soldiers of our army with its wealth of traditions. There was a mobilization of human forces of such vast range that hardly can anyone before our day have even dreamed of its like. Beginning with the bands of our youth in its millions and extending to the gigantic community of workers with head and hand² united in a single Front, the Revolution bears its witness to the skill and the labour which National Socialists have spent on their organizations. It was not that an old world was broken in pieces but rather that a new world arose and superseded the old. . . . In no stage of our National Socialist advance, in no stage of our fighting did chaos rule. It was the most bloodless (unblutigste) revolution in the history of the world and yet the most decisive."*³

In his speech in the Lustgarten, Berlin, on 1 May 1936 Hitler said:

"When we came to power in 1933 the German people in those weeks found itself in the midst of a mighty historical transformation. A Revolution passed over

¹ F.Z., 21 Mar., 1934.

² German: *Arbeiter der Stirn und Faust*: "workers with brow and fist."

³ F.Z., 31 Jan. 1935.

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Germany, but it was distinguished from other happenings of the same kind by the unheard of discipline which marked its advance and indeed its whole course. Although Germany outwardly presented a picture of the profoundest peace, yet internally there was carried through the greatest upheaval in the whole of German history—a Revolution which was legalized through the people's confidence, a Revolution which really did but sweep away that which in itself was already in ruins. This Revolution did not bring a new conception to the German people, it only finally won for a new conception general recognition."¹

In his speech to the Reichstag on 30 January 1937 Hitler said:

"Surely nobody will doubt the fact that during the last four years a revolution of the most momentous character has passed like a storm over Germany. Who could compare this new Germany with that which existed on the 30th of January four years ago, when I took my oath of loyalty before the venerable President of the Reich?"

"I am speaking of a National Socialist Revolution; but this revolutionary process in Germany had a particular character of its own, which may have been the reason why the outside world and so many of our fellow-countrymen failed to understand the profound nature of the transformation that took place. I do not deny that this peculiar feature, which has been for us the most outstanding characteristic of the lines along which the National Socialist Revolution took place—a feature which we can be specially proud of—has hindered rather than helped to make this unique historic event understood abroad and among some of our own people. For

¹ *F.Z.*, 3 May 1936.

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the National Socialist Revolution was in itself a revolution in the revolutionary tradition."

"What I mean is this: throughout thousands of years the conviction grew up and prevailed, not so much in the German mind as in the minds of the contemporary world, that bloodshed and the extermination of those hitherto in power—together with the destruction of public and private institutions and property—were essential characteristics of every true revolution. Mankind in general has grown accustomed to accept revolutions with all these consequences somehow or other as if they were legal happenings. I do not mean that people endorse all this tumultuous destruction of life and property; but they certainly accept it as the necessary accompaniment of events which, because of this very reason, are called revolutions."

"Herein lies the difference between the National Socialist Revolution and other revolutions, with the exception of the Fascist Revolution in Italy. The National Socialist Revolution was almost entirely a bloodless proceeding. When the Party took over power in Germany, after overthrowing the very formidable obstacles that had stood in its way, it did so without causing any damage whatsoever to property. I can say with a certain amount of pride that this was the first revolution in which not even a window-pane was broken."

"Don't misunderstand me, however. If this revolution was bloodless that was not because we were not manly enough to look at blood."

"I was a soldier for more than four years in a war where more blood was shed than ever before throughout human history. I never lost my nerve, no matter what the situation was and no matter what sights I had to face. The same holds good for my Party colleagues. But we did not consider it as part of the programme of the

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National Socialist Revolution to destroy human life or material goods, but rather to build up a new and better life. And it is the greatest source of pride to us that we have been able to carry through this revolution, which is certainly the greatest revolution ever experienced in the history of our people, with a minimum of loss and sacrifice. Only in those cases where the murderous lust of the Bolshevics, even after the 30th of January 1933, led them to think that by the use of brute force they could prevent the success and realization of the National Socialist ideal—only then did we answer violence with violence, and naturally we did it promptly. Certain other individuals of a naturally undisciplined temperament, and who had no political consciousness whatsoever, had to be taken into protective custody; but, generally speaking, these individuals were given their freedom after a short period. Beyond this there was a small number who took part in politics only for the purpose of establishing an alibi for their criminal activities, which were proved by the numerous sentences to prison and penal servitude that had been passed upon them previously. We prevented such individuals from pursuing their destructive careers, inasmuch as we set them to do some useful work, probably for the first time in their lives."

"I do not know if there ever has been a revolution which was of such a profound character as the National Socialist Revolution and which at the same time allowed innumerable persons who had been prominent in political circles under the former regime to follow their respective callings in private life peacefully and without causing them any worry. Not only that, but even many among our bitterest enemies, some of whom had occupied the highest positions in the Government, were allowed to enjoy their regular emoluments and pensions."

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"That is what we did. But this policy did not always help our reputation abroad. Just a few months ago we had an experience with some very honourable British world-citizens who considered themselves obliged to address a protest to me because I had some criminal protégés of the Moscow regime interned in a German concentration camp. Perhaps it is because I am not very well informed on current affairs that I have not heard whether those honourable gentlemen have ever expressed their indignation at the various acts of sanguinary violence which these Moscow criminals committed in Germany, or whether they ever expressed themselves against the slogan: 'Strike down and kill the Fascist wherever you meet him', or whether, for example, they have taken the occasion of recent happenings in Spain to express their indignation against slaughtering and violating and burning to death thousands upon thousands of men, women, and children. If the revolution in Germany had taken place according to the democratic model in Spain these strange apostles of non-intervention abroad would probably find that there was nothing which they need to worry about. People closely acquainted with the state of affairs in Spain have assured us that if we place the number of persons who have been slaughtered in this bestial way at 170,000, the figure will probably be too low rather than too high. Measured by the achievements of the noble democratic revolutionaries in Spain, the quota of human beings allotted for slaughter to the National Socialist Revolution would have been about 400,000 or 500,000; because our population is about three times larger than that of Spain. That we did not carry out this mass-slaughter is apparently looked upon as a piece of negligence on our part. We see that the democratic world-citizens are by no means gracious in their criticism of this leniency."

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"We certainly had the power in our hands to do what has been done in Spain. And probably we had better nerves than the murderer who steals upon his victim unawares, shunning the open fight, and who is capable only of murdering defenceless hostages. We have been soldiers and we never flinched in the face of battle throughout that most gruesome war of all times. Our hearts and, I may also add, our sound common sense saved us from committing any acts like those which have been done in Spain."

"Taking it all in all, fewer lives were sacrificed in the National Socialist Revolution than the number of National Socialist followers who were murdered in Germany by our Bolshevic opponents in the year 1932 alone, when there was no revolution."

"This absence of bloodshed and destruction was made possible solely because we had adopted a principle which not only guided our conduct in the past but which we shall also never forget in the future. This principle was that the purpose of a revolution, or of any general change in the condition of public affairs, cannot be to produce chaos but only to replace what is bad by substituting something better. In such cases, however, something better must be ready at hand. On the 30th of January four years ago, when the venerable President of the Reich sent for me and entrusted me with the task of forming a new Cabinet, we had already come through a strenuous struggle in our efforts to obtain supreme political control over the State. All the means employed in carrying on that struggle were strictly within the law as it then stood and the protagonists in the fight were the National Socialists. Before the new State could be actually established and promulgated, the idea of it and the model for its organization had already existed within the framework of our Party. All the fundamental prin-

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ciples on which the new Reich was to be constructed were the principles and ideas already embodied in the National Socialist Party."

"As a result of the constitutional struggle to win over our German fellow-countrymen to our side the Party had established its predominance in the Reichstag and for a whole year before it actually assumed power it already had the right to demand this power for itself, even according to the principles of the parliamentary-democratic system. But it was essential for the National Socialist Revolution that this Party should put forward demands which of themselves would involve a real revolutionary change in the principles and institutions of government hitherto in force."

"When certain individuals who were blind to the actual state of affairs thought that they could refuse to submit to the practical application of the principles of the movement which had been entrusted with the government of the Reich, then, but not until then, the Party used an iron hand to make these illegal disturbers of the peace bend their stubborn necks before the laws of the new National Socialist Reich and Government."

"With this act the National Socialist Revolution came to an end. For as soon as the Party had taken over power, and this new condition of affairs was consolidated, I looked upon it as a matter of course that the Revolution should be transformed into an evolution."¹

Note

THE MODEL REVOLUTION IN THE SPEECHES OF GOERING

Reference may be made to some statements of Goering in illustration of Hitler's view of the Model Revolution. The police

¹ *F.Z.*, 31 Jan. 1937; authorized English translation (as above) published in pamphlet form (Berlin, Müller), pp. 5-9.

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of Prussia could be in no doubt of what was expected of them: Goering's order ran:

"I assume that it is unnecessary especially to point out that the police must in all circumstances avoid giving even the appearance of a hostile attitude, still less the impression of persecution, against the patriotic associations (the Nazi Storm Detachments and the Stahlhelm). I expect from all police authorities that they maintain the best relations with these organizations which comprise the most important State-constructive forces. Patriotic activities and propaganda are to be supported by every means. Police restrictions and impositions must only be used in the most urgent cases."

"The activities of subversive organizations are on the contrary to be combated with the most drastic methods. Communist terrorist acts and attacks are to be proceeded against with all severity, and when necessary weapons must be ruthlessly used. Police officers who in the execution of this duty use their firearms will be supported by me without regard for the effect of their shots; on the other hand, officers who fail from false considerateness¹ may expect disciplinary measures". . . .

"Every official must constantly bear in mind that failure to act is more serious than errors committed in acting."²

In an address delivered in February 1933 to police and other officials of Prussia Goering enjoined the strictest secrecy on the assembled officials because he knew that many of his instructions "conflicted with the present rights and laws of the Reich and its member States". He threatened with immediate dismissal any official who disclosed any detail of his confidential orders. "Every official who follows my instructions," he is reported to have said, "may be sure of my absolute protection. It is not his business to ask if his office may not be found guilty afterwards of transgressing the Constitution. There will be no attorney and no judge to punish an official for following the new course." It was not the business of any official, especially of any policeman, to inquire what happened in the houses of Storm Troopers: "even if weapons are piled mountain high in these houses, no police

¹ *The Manchester Guardian* (21 Feb. 1933) translates "unnecessarily considerate officials".

² I have not the German text of this order. I have copied the translation published in *The Times* of 21 Feb. 1933.

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official has anything to seek there." Even if criminal offences were committed by members of these households, it was not the business of the police, but that of the leaders of the SA. to make inquiries.¹

In March 1933 Goering said in a speech at Essen: "We assuredly wish to annihilate anything which opposes the people and the Nation. People say that the population is in a fearful state of excitement because the Jewish stores are temporarily closed: I ought to intervene. What after all has happened except that we Germans have called on Germans not to buy anything of Jews but only of Germans! I am told that I ought to set the police to work. Certainly I will set the police to work and ruthlessly wherever anyone attempts to harm the German people. But I refuse to admit that the police is a troop for the protection of Jewish stores. No, the police protects anyone who walks honestly in Germany; but it is not there to protect usurers. We live in extraordinary times: the Nation has been awakened. We stand by our word: the account shall be settled! Folk are so excited one might think that every morning there were some two or three thousand dead, and yet in the whole business no one has lost a nose or an ear."²

"It is said that here and there someone has been carried off and ill-treated: one can only answer, 'where planing is carried on, the shavings fly'. [Goering later said that in 1933 there was much planing to be done, and therefore many shavings fell.] If we make many mistakes, still we will at least act and keep hold on our nerves. I would rather shoot sometimes too short or too far provided only I shoot!"⁴

In a speech at Stettin on 17 March 1933 Goering said: "The settling up for the most accursed crime in Germany history, the settling up for that accursed November of 1918, will and must be carried through."⁵ Of the "Marxists" he said: "I will stick my fist into the necks of these creatures until they are done for."⁶

In an interview with a correspondent of the *Telegraaf* Goering admitted that Jewish stores had been attacked, though he urged

¹ Obviously there is no text for this in the German Press: I quote from *The Manchester Guardian*, 27 Feb. 1933.

² *V.B.*, 12-13 Mar. 1933.

³ *Ibid.*, 30 Jan. 1935.

⁵ *V.B.*, 19-20 Mar. 1933.

⁴ *F.Z.*, 12 Mar. 1933.

⁶ *F.Z.*, 18 Mar. 1933.

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that the Revolution had been carried through with but little bloodshed.¹ On 25 March 1933 he said that the daily toll of dead had not been greater than in the political conflicts of recent years; while Jews had been arrested and beaten, these excesses had now ceased. No one, he stated, had been blinded. Only in less than a dozen clashes had there been mortal injuries.²

Goering's speech at Frankfurt a/M. (on 3 March 1933) deserves careful study.³ "I am not disturbed," he said, "when certain critics sanctimoniously excite themselves over the measures which I have taken and cry aloud for 'more justice'. I measure with two measures. I should not be just if I did not hunt the Red 'bosses' (*Boszen*) to the devil."⁴

"My measures will not be sicklied over by any juristic doubts—nor through any bureaucracy. Here it is no justice which I have to exercise: here I have only to annihilate and destroy—nothing else!"

"And you, Communists, in order that you may draw no false conclusions, know that I with my Brownshirts am carrying on a fight to the death and in this fight I will put my fist in your necks."⁵

This is the man who was responsible for the conduct of the "Revolution in Revolutions", "the Model Revolution", which, as he assured the Academy for German Law in his speech on 13 November 1934, had been conducted "with unheard of discipline and legality";⁶ or, as he wrote later,⁷ "as we look back from a somewhat greater distance upon the year 1933 we see that the Führer was justified when he said that no revolution had been carried through with such discipline as was the German Revolution of the year 1933."

Note

For Goebbels on the Model Revolution cf. *Signale der neuen Zeit*, 3rd edn., Munich, Eher, 1937, pp. 136, 215 ("not a little hair of any Jew in Germany was ruffled without good cause"), 239, 252 (repeats the planing simile), 303. Cf. also p. 301.

¹ *V.B.*, 22 Mar. 1933.

² *F.Z.*, 26 Mar. 1933.

³ Hermann Goering, *Reden und Aufsätze*: herausgegeben von Dr. Erich Gritzbach, Munich, Eher, 1938, pp. 19-30.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 27-8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 184; *V.B.*, 30 Jan. 1935.

II. THE MOVEMENT AND THE OPPOSITION

It may be of interest to collect in this place a few dicta of Hitler on the National Socialist Movement and its achievement.

*In his speech at a Führertagung in Berlin on 14 June 1933 Hitler said: "The law of the National Socialist Revolution has not yet run its course. Its dynamic force (Dynamik) still dominates to-day the development in Germany, a development which presses forward irresistibly to a complete remodelling of German life. The greatest possible encouragement of the forces of our people's life (Volkstums) must always and everywhere be our starting-point and that must determine the direction of our action. . . . The new Germany which is sustained by this Movement can no longer be shaken by any power if only National Socialists remain what they are, what they have been in the past, and if only they remain always conscious of the source of their strength—the National Socialist Party."*¹

In a speech at Munich on 22 April 1933 Hitler said: "It is not the lukewarm and those who are neutral who make history but the men who accept battle. Because our Movement has marched and still marches at the double it has in itself the strength to prevail against the foe and to win the victory. The Movement has taken over two thousand years of German civilization and German history: it will be the support of the German civilization and German history of the future. It will see to it that new imperishable monuments (Dokumente) shall be created which will place Germany for the future

¹ *F.Z.*, 16 June 1933.

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amongst the great civilized peoples of world-history. We labour not for the Movement but for the millennia."¹

In an interview with Mr. Vernon Bartlett in June 1934 Hitler said: "At the risk of appearing to talk nonsense I will tell you that this Movement will go on for a thousand years. The people are more behind me to-day than they were a year ago. They follow me wherever I go and they will continue to do so. We are not the sort of men to capitulate before any difficulties. We are all self-made men who have grown strong in the struggle."²

In the Proclamation read at the Nuremberg Parteitag of 1934 Hitler said: "When the National Socialist Party, filled with fiery faith in a *Weltanschauung*, began its fight for Germany, in the very nature of such an undertaking it could not be but that faith sent more recruits than abstract knowledge—a knowledge often wise only in its own conceit. With the faith and the ardour of these unspoilt, unperverted men it was possible to change the whole axis of a State³—but not otherwise."⁴

In a speech to the officials of the Party delivered in Berlin on 13 July 1933 he said: "We have conquered the country through fighting; we must now cultivate it through peace."⁵

In a speech to the Old Fighters in the Lustgarten, Berlin, on 30 January 1936 he said: "We all know what makes us strong. It was no mechanical organization, it was no external confession of the lips, but it was the strength which lies in the idea of our Movement, that strength which has won over thousands and hundreds of thousands of hearts. Some call it understanding (*Verstand*),

¹ *V.B.*, 25 Apr. 1933.

² *News Chronicle*, 25 June 1934.

³ German: *einen Staat aus seinen Angeln zu heben*.

⁴ *F.Z.*, 6 Sept. 1934.

⁵ *V.B.*, 14 July 1933.

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others call it instinct; we call it faith, trust, confidence. We know that the National Socialist is not born; he must be trained, he must educate himself."¹

"What we have achieved is stupendous. Never in German history within the space of three years has anything approaching it been realized. I believe that men will have to take decades and perhaps centuries to find results of such a revolutionary character as have been accomplished in these first three years of the National Socialist Government."²

"Because we could make sacrifices, because we wished to bring sacrifices—that is the reason why this Germany of ours has come. . . . The future will continue to demand sacrifices. . . . National Socialism is no doctrine of indolence, but a doctrine of battle: no doctrine of luck and chance, but a doctrine of work and effort, and thus also a doctrine of sacrifice. That was our view before the battle: in these last three years it has not altered, and in the future so it will remain."

"One thing only is decisive: for millennia our people has had to make sacrifices for its life's way, for its life-battle. Nothing has it received as a gift: all too often its sacrifices have been to no purpose. But to-day the Movement can give the guarantee to the German people: The sacrifices which you, the German people, make will no longer be in vain: but from these sacrifices you will ever win for yourselves a new life."³

In the Proclamation read at the Nuremberg Parteitag of September 1934 Hitler said:

"The will of the leadership of the National Socialist State cannot be diverted from its purpose, it cannot be shaken. It knows what it wills and it wills what it knows."

¹ *F.Z.*, 31 Jan. 1936.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

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"That leadership has a right to put this value upon itself for it has behind it for verification such evidence as only very seldom can find its parallel in history. For the leadership of the Reich of to-day is the leadership of the National Socialist Party."

"And what this leadership has achieved in the short space of fifteen years the children of later generations will be taught to call 'The German Miracle'. . . . Thus the form of Germany's life has been determined for the next thousand years."¹

To this may be added some representative passages giving Hitler's view of the Opposition:

In his Proclamation to the Nuremberg Parteitag of 1934 Hitler said:

"To-day we see before us a small band of folk who stand aside from our victorious march, a band of renegades or people whom we did not want. To call them 'the Opposition' hits the mark: it is the only true characterization of their miserable existence. We, too, formerly were in opposition, but we were the National Socialist Party and our faith was our Programme. But these folk are just an Opposition and no more: they have neither faith nor programme. They are, beginning from the eternal Ahasuerus of humanity² down to the last uprooted anarchist, a Fronde of destructive elements or simple fools whose sole common profession of faith is their 'No' launched against the community of the nation and against constructive work."

"And even these last remnants of a *Weltanschauung*

¹ *F.Z.*, 6 Sept. 1934.

² The eternal Jew. For the conception of the Wandering Jew—the perpetual nomad—cf. the poem *Ahasvers fröhlich Wanderlied* written by the Jew Paul Meyer shortly before the Great War; the text of the poem will be found in G. Feder, *Die Juden*, Munich, Eher, 1933, pp. 45-6.

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opposed to the National Socialist outlook and the National Socialist State will be scattered by our next attack. The truth of our idea, the strength of our achievement, the resolution of our will shall win all that is German of them, all that can therefore be won to our side."

"The remainder will be as unimportant for the future of the German nation as the normal sum of criminality must be insignificant in its influence on human society."¹

In his speech at the annual harvest celebration on the Bückeberg on 30 September 1934 Hitler said: "Much would go better in Germany, much would be easier, if those whose interest it was to see Germany weak and disunited would cease to hinder in every possible way the revival of the nation. Since the wish is father to the thought, they reveal to us the picture of their innermost purposes and hopes. Before 30 January 1933 they were quite certain that the National Socialist Movement would never gain power in Germany. A statement which to-day is found only in émigré newspapers one could oneself at that time read in almost every paper which was not National Socialist. National Socialism, it ran, is dead! At that time they were hoping that the Party would break up, that the leaders would quarrel, and that the struggle for power would thus end in failure. Things happened quite differently. But I had not been three days in the Wilhelmstrasse when someone had already fixed the life of the National Socialist régime at four weeks, while those who were specially generous added another fortnight. On 5 March the German people gave us a majority by 17½ million votes. Next, we were assured that the failure to combat unemployment would turn the masses against the new

¹ *F.Z.*, 6 Sept. 1934.

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Government within four to five months at most. Unemployment receded. The masses streamed into the German Labour Front. The Movement completed its victory in Germany. In a few weeks it swept away one party after another. What had once seemed hardly possible had become a reality: the German nation had found its way to the community of the people. The next period fixed for our downfall was the winter. Hungry mobs would invade the streets and would destroy the National Socialist Government in bloody fighting: so hoped the *émigrés* in Prague, in Saarbrücken, Paris, and elsewhere. But the German people expressed its complete confidence in us. The masses elected a 90 per cent. National Socialist Reichstag. As for hunger, we met it with the Winter Help campaign. And the revolt—did not come off. Next came fresh hopes, and with them always fresh dates for our downfall. Crises in foreign relations were to upset our Government. They have served only to strengthen it! Difficulties with foreign exchange and raw materials furnished the next motive for prophesying our ruin. Yet these will never force us into surrender; at the worst, they will make us even more independent than we are now! Then they wrote, the SA. is on the point of revolution. Once more they hoped for the collapse of Germany, and I think they are richer by one more disillusionment. A few mad criminals have met their end,¹ but the Party in every one of its organizations, including the SA., has only become firmer and stronger still."

"Their next hope was connected with the illness of the venerable President of the Reich. Suddenly their inner feelings broke through all the bounds of reason and good sense. Germany would dissolve into chaos.

¹ A reference to the "Röhm Purge" of June 1934 (see p. 287 *infra*).

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The individual leaders of the National Socialist Movement, and so of the Reich, were, it was said, already fiercely struggling between and against each other. Every possible development in Germany, in all its variations, was ventilated, ranging from monarchism to Bolshevism—and when the day for decision came, we settled the matter in twenty minutes. National Socialist Germany stands to-day firmer than ever before, and 19 August¹ was the best and clearest confirmation of this fact. But you must understand, for all that, my fellow-countrymen, that it is no easy task to lead the struggle for the restoration of a broken people and of a ruined economy, when we are opposed by so many interests set on our downfall. There is therefore all the more reason for them to admit that the success which we have achieved in their despite is only to be the more highly valued!”²

*In an interview with Pierre Huss of the Hearst Press Hitler was asked whether the Social Democrats and the Communists of the Saar who had voted for Germany would have any difficulties to fear on account of their former attitude; he replied: “Do you think that the nearly 39 millions of my supporters in Germany did not previously belong to any party? They have been gradually and with much labour won over to the National Socialist idea. . . . We never ask what the individual man has been, only what he wishes to be to-day. . . . In our community of the people former Communists and adherents of the Centrum to-day join in a common fight for the National Socialist State.”*³

In his Proclamation to the German people of 30 January

¹ For the result of the plebiscite of 19 Aug. 1934 cf. *The Manchester Guardian*, 21 Aug. 1934.

² *V.B.*, 1 Oct. 1934.

³ *Ibid.*, 17 Jan. 1935.

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1935 Hitler said: "The overwhelming majority of all our former opponents have in their inmost hearts long ago repented. What we always hoped for has come about. When they subjected our intentions and our work to a just examination they found in the end that after all what they had longed for had been realized in and through us—a Germany of honour, of freedom, and of social happiness."¹

In his speech in Berlin on 30 January 1936 (the third anniversary of the assumption of power by the National Socialist Government) Hitler said:

"When 30 January came, we did not assume power in order under the shelter of this power to win the people: we were then already in possession of the German people. The sound core of the German people stood on that day already in our ranks. By that day the best of the German people had already fixed its choice on us. Only small-minded doubters or those without any understanding—it was these who still stood aloof. But even in these ranks by now deep breaches have been made. For that which stands against us to-day does not stand against us because we are National Socialists, but because we have once more made Germany free and strong. They are the enemies of our people in our own land; we know them from the time of the Great War, from the time of the melancholy revolts of the year 1918; we know them from the time of our worst collapse. They alone it is who not only do not wish to find the way to us, but who will never be able to find it in the future and them we ourselves renounce. . . . Germany will not see again a November 1918: everyone can give up the hope of being able once more to turn back this wheel of world-history."²

¹ *F.Z.*, 31 Jan. 1935.

² *Ibid.*, 31 Jan. 1936.

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Speaking at Gera on 17 June 1934 Hitler said:

"We have not the feeling that we are an inferior race, a worthless rabble on the face of the world, which may or can be trampled on by everyone. No, we have the feeling that we are a great people, a people which forgot itself only once; a people which, led astray by senseless fools, itself destroyed its own strength, but which has now awoken once more from this nightmare of madness. No one shall imagine that this people during the next thousand years can again sink into such a nightmare existence. This lesson, which we have learnt in so sinister a fashion, will be an historical warning to us for thousands of years. What happened once through our own fault will not be repeated a second time in the life of the German people!"

"Always I have only one request, one word of advice, my fellow-countrymen: look at the strength of our people which lies in our inner unity of will, in our unity of spirit, and in our community of thought. Convince yourselves that strength finds its expression not so much in army corps, in tanks and heavy guns, but rather ultimately expresses itself in the common working of a people's will. Let yourselves, further, be penetrated with the conviction that men must be taught this community of feeling, and that safeguards for this purpose must therefore be created. You must see in our National Socialist Movement a mighty safeguard of this kind against the spirit of class warfare, of class hatred, and of class division. You must see in the National Socialist Movement and its organizations a great school of education towards a life in common. Cling fast to this Movement, fight for it, and you will then be fighting for the German people and the German Reich. For one thing is certain, the fate of the community of the German people is bound up with the existence of this Movement, and the

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fate of the German Reich is dependent on the strengthening of the community of the German people. We all know that we are not an end in ourselves, but the Party, the SA. and SS., the PO.,¹ the Labour Service, the Youth Organization, all are means to an end; that end is the inner welding together of the body of our people; and thus will be developed those capacities for work, now latent in our people, which shall truly advance the interests of peace, civilization, and material prosperity. . . . If in the course of eight years, in this town, starting with but a handful of men, this victory could be obtained, then in the years and decades that are to come this victory will strike deeper, and all those little pygmies² who imagine that they can say something against it will be swept away by the might of this common idea of ours. For whatever criticism these pygmies choose to make, there is one thing that they all forget: where is that better state of things to be found which could replace the present? Where have they got anything which they could put in its stead? It is laughable when such a little worm tries to struggle against so mighty a renewal of a whole people. It is laughable when such a little pygmy imagines he can stop with a few phrases the gigantic renewal of the people's life. If these insignificant carping critics were to have their way, Germany would fall to pieces again, as she fell before. But we can assure them of this; they had not the power formerly to hinder the rise of National Socialism, and now that the people is awake, never again will they plunge it into sleep."³

¹ PO. = the Political Organization Office: on which see S. H. Roberts, *The House that Hitler Built*, London, Methuen, 1939, pp. 81-2.

² An age of pygmies—*Zwergenzeitalter*—cf. *MK.*, pp. 610, 774, and see p. 121 s.f. (German).

³ *F.Z.*, 19 June 1934.

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*With this attack on the critics of the Movement may be compared a passage from an address to the Ortsgruppe of Rosenheim delivered on 11 August 1935 (on the 15th anniversary of its foundation: Hitler had first spoken there on 2 May 1920) in which Hitler said that he had fought a fight for the heart and soul of the German people more wonderful than any fight before. "The destiny of this Ortsgruppe," he continued, "must be a lesson for us all. Destiny at that time [1920] had no gifts to offer the Old Guard in this city. A small band of men they were, facing an overwhelming mass of doubters and mockers. It was one against ten at that time, and we did not grow weary in the fight till success was achieved. To-day there are nine in the whole German Reich against every one of the little doubters. If we did not surrender then, we shall certainly not do so to-day. By fighting we once won the whole German Reich, and by fighting shall we maintain and preserve it. Those who stand against us should be under no illusions! We have never avoided a fight in the past: we do not avoid it to-day. If they want a fight, they can have one. We shall crush them so utterly that for the next fifteen years they will lose any thought of renewing this fight."*¹

REICHSTAG FIRE

In a speech at Breslau on 1 March 1933 Hitler said:

"If to-day any power should think that through an appeal to terrorism it can bend us then that power forgets the character of this Movement. To-day the Movement has become Germany and Germany will live. He who raises himself against this life of the nation he will meet our resolution and on this resolution he will be dashed in pieces whoever he be."²

¹ V.B., 12 Aug. 1935.

² Ibid., 3 Mar. 1933.

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In an interview with Mr. D. Sefton Delmer, the correspondent of the Daily Express, Hitler replied to the suggestion that the Reichstag Fire "was nothing but a put-up job designed to give Hitler the pretext of waging a merciless war against the Communists and Socialists": "It is nothing but a damned lie and a malicious libel. As base as it is ridiculous."

"Of course, there is one way in which I could settle these reports once and for all. I could have the Communist who was caught hanged from the nearest tree. That would dispose for ever of this vile insinuation that he is an agent of ours. But these lies are really too absurd even to discuss seriously. But I will tell you another thing. Europe, instead of suspecting me of false play, should be grateful to me for my drastic action against the Bolsheviks. If Germany went Communist, as there was every danger of her doing until I became Chancellor, it would not have been long before the rest of civilized Europe fell a prey to this Asiatic pest."

"The onslaught on the Reichstag was just one of a whole series of terrorist atrocities which the police are able to prove were planned by the Communists."

"The fire in the Berlin Royal Castle, which was only just discovered in time, was to have raised the curtain on an orgy of destruction."

"We have seized hundredweights of material in the secret cellar of the Communist head-quarters, proving that these fires were to be the beacon signals for a nationwide campaign of dynamiting, incendiarism, and mass murder. Why, those Bolshevik criminals had even made preparations to poison the water reservoirs!"

"Suppose that there had been a similar situation in Britain. Suppose that the Communists had tried to set Buckingham Palace on fire, and had actually succeeded in setting on fire the House of Commons and gutting

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this national shrine! Your Government would have acted just as I have acted."¹

Mr. Delmer said: There are reports current both here in Germany and abroad that a great massacre of your political enemies is planned by your party—a new St. Bartholomew's Night they call it. . . .

"My dear Delmer," *Hitler said*, "I need no St. Bartholomew's Night. By the decrees issued legally we have appointed tribunals which shall try legally enemies of the State and deal with them legally in a way which will put an end to the conspiracies."²

¹ See also Addendum on p. 661.

² *Daily Express*, 3 Mar. 1933.

12. GLEICHSCHALTUNG

I. THE ABOLITION OF CLASSES AND PARTIES

The theme of the destruction of all political parties save the National Socialist Party recurs constantly throughout Hitler's speeches; the interests of party and of class had to be merged in the one common interest of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, the "Community of the People". The people must become the unified *Gefolgschaft*—the followers of the Führer with whose will they must identify their own wills which will henceforth be *zusammengeballt*—compressed into the single will of the Nation.

An Order of the President of the Reich for the Protection of People and State (dated 28 February 1933, the day after the burning of the Reichstag), suspended the most important rights guaranteed by the Weimar Constitution.

The first three sections of the Order ran: On the authority of article 48 § 2 of the Constitution of the Reich (— the Weimar Constitution) to prevent Communistic acts of violence endangering the State it is ordered as follows:

§ 1. The Articles 114, 115, 117, 118, 123, 124, and 153 of the Constitution of the German Reich shall, until further notice, be unenforceable.¹ Hereby limitations on personal freedom, on the right of free expression of opinion including the freedom of the Press, on the right of forming associations and the right of meeting, violations of the secrecy of correspondence, post, telegraph and telephone, orders for house-searches, for confiscations of property and limitation of property-rights, are rendered permissible beyond the legal limits otherwise laid down in such cases.

§ 2. If in any German State the necessary measures for the restoration of public security and order are not taken, then the Government of the Reich can temporarily exercise the functions of the Supreme Authority in such State in order to restore such security.

§ 3. The Authorities of the States and the local authorities have within the range of their duties to comply with the orders

¹ German: *Werden bis auf weiteres ausser Kraft gesetzt.*

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issued by the Government of the Reich under the power conferred upon it by § 2. . . ."¹

This order formed the basis of the action taken against the parties. By a law of 26 May 1933 the whole property of the Communist Party was confiscated (text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i, p. 44); by an order of the Prussian Ministry of the Interior dated 21 June 1933 the Fighting Organizations (*Kampf-ringe*) of the German National Front were disbanded (text: *ibid.*). By a similar order dated 23 June 1933 all members of the Social Democratic Party holding any public office were barred from any further exercise of any functions, "since any such activity would endanger public security"; all meetings of the Party were forbidden, the whole of its Press was prohibited, and its entire property confiscated (text *ibid.*, pp. 44-6). On 27 June 1933 the German National Front dissolved itself and was promised freedom from any further molestation: its imprisoned members were to be set at liberty forthwith (text, *ibid.*, p. 46). At Munich on 4 July 1933 the Bavarian People's Party dissolved itself and forbade its members to conduct any political activity which was in contradiction with the Programme of the NSDAP. (text, *ibid.*, pp. 46-7). On 5 July 1933 the Centrum—the Catholic Centre Party—dissolved itself and thus "gave to its members the possibility of placing unreservedly their forces and their experience at the service of the National Front under the leadership of the Chancellor of the Reich in order to render practical (*positiven*) co-operation with the view of strengthening our national, social, economic and cultural relations and in order to collaborate in the rebuilding of a State-order founded on a legal basis (*einer rechtsstaatlichen Ordnung*)" (text, *ibid.*, pp. 47-8). On 14 July 1933 the law was passed (see p. 265 *infra*) which made any other party than the NSDAP. illegal.²

The speeches delivered in the campaign before the election of 5 March 1933 may be regarded as the prelude to the abolition of the parties; it is remarkable that while in these

¹ Text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 12-13.

² Cf. the order for the confiscation of property of any organization hostile to the People or the State, issued on 26 Sept. 1933. Text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 48.

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speeches Hitler vigorously attacked both the "Marxists" and the Centrum he gave no details of the programme of measures by which the National Socialists proposed to rescue Germany from the evils brought upon it by the previous Government. I have translated some representative examples of the method of attack adopted by Hitler in the speeches delivered during this electoral campaign.

In a speech at Kassel on 11 February 1933 Hitler said of his political opponents: "They have had no programme: they have proved that they could achieve nothing. Now it is too late for their plans, the time for their ideas is past. . . . The period of international phrases, of promises of international solidarity, is over and its place will be taken by the solidarity of the German people. No one in the world will help us—only ourselves."

*"The programme which to-day will be realized in Germany starts from the recognition of the eternal sources of its people's life, its spirit, its genius, its labour-force, and its living-space (Lebensraumes). It is for this that we will build up our new Germany—without foreign help. Help thyself and God will help thee! If a people wills to reconstruct its life, it must realize that the foundation of its strength lies in its peasantry, that the force which sustains the building is the working-man. And to that must be added the mind—the intellectual leadership—and that must bind together the other two, so that there may arise the trinity of peasant, working-man, and worker with the brain (Kopfarbeiter)."*¹

In his speech at Dortmund on 17 February 1933 Hitler said in a bitter attack upon his political opponents:

"In fourteen years we have found no traces of freedom and brotherliness. . . . When at any time in Germany

¹ V.B., 12-13 Feb. 1933.

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has freedom been more gagged than in the last fourteen years? Intellectual freedom, freedom of the Press, freedom of assembly, freedom to demonstrate—where were they? For fourteen years they have gagged the German people that was not willing without a protest to submit to ruination.”

“To-day their cry is that their Press has not sufficient freedom. All I had to do was to issue against them their own decrees which they issued against us solely because *we* had taken our stand for Germany.”

“I needed to do nothing more than in my turn to forbid these fellow-countrymen to speak for two or three years. I had only to treat their Press precisely as they had treated ours. Their meetings and demonstrations I had only to prohibit in just the same way as for fourteen years they had forbidden ours. And to-day it is they of all people who talk of freedom.”

“We wish really to care for freedom when we seek to free the nation from those who never deserved this freedom.”¹

In his speech in Stuttgart delivered on 15 February 1933 Hitler attacked Staatspräsident Bolz and the Centrum—the Catholic Centre Party: the fourteen years, during which the other parties had governed the State, had not been years of happiness and blessedness but of unbroken decline in all spheres. The Centrum claims that it has attacked Bolshevism, but in fact it has gone arm in arm with Marxism.

“In fourteen years the system which has now been overthrown has piled mistake upon mistake, illusion upon illusion. And that is also true of our foreign policy. Only since the time when through our Movement the world has been shown that a new Germany of

¹ *V.B.*, 18 Feb. 1933.

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resolution and resistance is arising only since then are we once more regarded with other eyes. If to-day in Geneva a people fights side by side with us for the freedom of Europe, it is *we* who have first formed this friendship and not the representatives of the former system."

"And now Staatspräsident Bolz says that Christianity and the Catholic faith are threatened by us. And to that charge I can answer: In the first place it is Christians and not international atheists who now stand at the head of Germany. I do not merely *talk* of Christianity, no, I also profess that I will never ally myself with the parties which destroy Christianity. If many wish to-day to take threatened Christianity under their protection, where, I would ask, was Christianity for them in these fourteen years when they went arm in arm with atheism?"

"No, never and at no time was greater internal damage done to Christianity than in these fourteen years when a party, theoretically Christian, sat with those who denied God in one and the same Government."

"Already on 14 September 1930 another possibility was clearly open. But no, they could not, they did not wish to separate themselves from the party-world of atheism. We wish to fill our culture once more with the spirit of Christianity—and not only in theory. No, we want to burn out the symptoms of decomposition in literature, in the theatre, in the Press—in a word in our whole culture; we want to burn out this whole poison which during these fourteen years has flowed into our life."

"I would ask whether the economic policy of this now superseded system was a Christian policy. Was the inflation an undertaking for which Christians could answer, or has the destruction of German life, of the German peasant as well as of the middle classes, been Christian?"

"These parties cannot deny that in fourteen years they have destroyed the economic life of Germany. The German peasant has been brought to ruin and to-day we have seven or eight million unemployed. When these parties now say: we want to govern for a few more years in order that we can improve the situation, then we say:"

"No! now it is too late for that! Besides, you had your fourteen years and you have failed."

"In fourteen years you have proved your incapacity—from the Treaty of Versailles by way of the various agreements down to the Dawes and Young plans. Herr Bolz, too, has given his support to the Young Plan while I have always opposed it."

"We must ask the parties whether what was done in these fourteen years was indeed their programme. If now we wish to make good the damage done, if within four years we wish to restore to order the public finances of the Reich, of the German States and of the communes, then that demands a contribution of something over 190 millions of marks."

"If to-day we are told that we have no programme, then I answer that for the last two years this other Germany has lived only by making inroads on our thought-world. All these plans for the creation of work, for labour service, &c.—they are not the work of Staatspräsident Bolz, they come from our programme of reconstruction from which they have taken them over imperfectly and incompletely. There is but one assurance that I can give to these representatives of a perverted system: The same resolution and perseverance through which in fourteen years we created this Movement with its millions of supporters we will in the future employ to raise once more the Germany of to-day from its misery to new greatness."

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"We are convinced that the restoration to health of our people must start from the restoration to health of the body politic (*des Volkskörpers*) itself, and we are persuaded of the truth that the future of our people, as in the past so now, lies first of all in the German peasant. If he perishes, our end has come; if he survives, then Germany will never go under. There lie the strength and the source of our people's life, the source of our renewal. The towns would not exist at all, if the peasant did not fill them with his blood. The dweller in our country-side may be primitive, but he is healthy."

"We want to help the German peasant: we want to help the German working-man. For this we need a strong Germany. The period of international Marxist disintegration and destruction is past."

"We want, too, to restore to the German intelligentsia (*Intelligenz*) the freedom of which it has been robbed by the system which has hitherto ruled. In Parliamentarianism they did not possess this freedom. We want to liberate Germany from the fetters of an impossible parliamentary democracy—not because we are terrorists, not because we intend to gag the free spirit. On the contrary, the spirit has never had more violence done to it than when mere numbers made themselves its master."

"No, our wish is that responsible folk should once more be brought together so that every class (*Stand*) and every individual should be given that authority over those below and that responsibility towards those above which are essential if one is to build up the life of a community."

"We do not want so to educate the nation that it lives for ideas and artificial constructions; we want to test all ideas and constructions to discover how far they are capable of serving the nation's life."

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"We do not want that in the end a starving people should learn by heart the Party programme, but in the end our purpose is that there should be a people that can once more live its life, so that the German nation may not perchance find its end in us and after us."

"Our strength does not lie in economic illusions, our strength lies in ourselves and in our principles—those principles which we mean to apply in practice in all spheres of life. It is an unexampled programme, this programme of ours, and Herr Bolz should have no illusions on this score; it is a programme which does not consist of a few empty promises. If it were so, I could simply say: 'Give me your confidence and by the middle of June Germany will be saved!' That would indeed be no long period, but it would be a lie."

"That has been the method of the former parties: from one emergency decree to the other always promising salvation, one conjuring trick after another—always some new *fata Morgana*."

"During fourteen years I have never done that. Always my only promise to my followers has been: one day you shall determine Germany's future." . . .

Hitler then appealed to the people to give him four years: "I will not build myself a villa in Switzerland, nor will I lay claim to any fund with which to fight criminality in this election campaign. Then after four years people shall judge whether the policy of ruining Germany has come to an end, whether Germany is rising once again."¹

¹ With this cf. the close of a speech at Dortmund delivered on 17 Feb. 1933 when Hitler said: "What I claim is fair and just: only four years for us and then others shall form their judgement and pass sentence. I will not flee abroad, I will not seek to escape sentence. My will cannot be broken. But particularly in these days there is one thing which I would not have said in the future—that one man had to make his own way in the teeth of all. I want it to be said that at last the German people found its way back to

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He and his allies were determined that never again should the German people be allowed to fall back into the hands of the old régime.

"I am ready to offer the hand to anyone even if previously he has misunderstood us if he will now join our Movement. But what we have won I shall know how to defend against those who for fourteen years have shown that all that they could do was to destroy Germany."

"I have not undertaken this office for the sake of personal gain. For myself I desire nothing."

"Our purpose will always remain the same, and I am persuaded that this purpose which nothing can break will one day enable us to break down the distress of Germany."¹

*With the closing sentences of this speech may be compared a passage in the speech delivered at Dortmund on 17 February 1933 when Hitler said that the purpose of the election of 5 March 1933 was to give to the masses a new opportunity to join the National Socialist ranks. "I would that this people should itself come to understanding and learn co-operation. Once again I would throw open wide the doors of our Movement so that the millions of our fellow-countrymen may stream in and play their part in the reconstruction of Germany."*²

itself: that the German people did indeed one day return to its senses. It realized the need of the hour: it co-operated to form this Reich which we all desire, this Germany of social justice, of inner strength, of greatness and force and therefore also of splendour for our German youth." *V.B.*, 18 Feb. 1933.

¹ *V.B.*, 16 Feb. 1933.

² *Ibid.*, 18 Feb. 1933. On this admission of new members to the Party cf. Fritz Ermarth, *The New Germany: National Socialist Government in Theory and Practice*, Washington, Digest Press, American University Graduate School, 1936, pp. 66 sqq.: "Many National Socialist leaders regret that the Party admitted several

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In a speech delivered at Cologne on 19 February 1933 Hitler continued his attack upon the Centrum—the Catholic Centre Party—and criticized its appeal to the electors:

"In this appeal of the Centrum it is said: 'We are ready with resolute purpose to co-operate in the shaping of the destiny of our country and people towards new greatness and prosperity.'"

"Why have they not stood for this programme during the last fourteen years? They thus themselves admit that that which they have hitherto achieved in these fourteen years is no greatness, no prosperity."

"They say: 'That which has taken place in our country since the middle of last year is a national disaster.' So the fight for a new greatness and a new prosperity in which they wish to co-operate suddenly is transformed into a disaster. The second sentence contradicts the first. The people in confusion, the national consciousness (*Volksbewusstsein*) shattered, on every side a cleavage between the social communities and the authorities. That is the position. Yes, that indeed is the position which during fourteen years they have created. Hatred and enmity, lawlessness and social downfall—or do they perchance wish to maintain that for these fourteen years, for the hatred, for the enmity, for the class-division it is we who were responsible? Is it not precisely the allies of the Centrum who are responsible?"

"Law (*Recht*) and justice for fourteen years we have sought in Germany and neither of them could we discover."

"They say further in this appeal of the Centrum: hundred thousand members late in 1932 and during the first few months of 1933 without due examination of their personal qualities. Particularly many so-called 'März-gefallene' (those who 'fell', i.e. applied for membership during or after the revolution in March 1933) proved to be unreliable elements." Later in the year the National Socialist Party closed its ranks to new admissions.

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'Wide circles amongst our people have the impression that some of those in power (*Machthaber*) have no respect for the Constitution or for the rights of the German States.'

"A few years ago in one of these States a National Socialist minister of the name of Frick¹ was in the Government, and in this State he took his stand for cleanliness in administration and for order, for Christianity, for the German revival, for freedom and justice. In the Reich at that time there was a Minister of the Interior whose name cannot be unknown to the Centrum, Herr Wirth!"

"At that time we saw how those in power measured with two different measures and with a twofold justice. We have seen how some were spared and favoured and how others were persecuted because they took their stand for Germany."

"Further, they say: 'Thus the belief in the authority of the Reich² has been weakened; thus has arisen the insecurity of our day.'"

"So for fourteen years the German people lived in security, in happiness and peace, in order and in discipline, and in the consciousness of living under law, and in three weeks all this is threatened with collapse through us!"

"Then they proceed: 'The dissolution of the Reichstag and the Prussian Landtag stands in contradiction with the Constitution.' We have given order, they say, for

¹ For Dr. Wilhelm Frick as Minister in Thuringia cf. *Heil!* London, John Lane, 1934, pp. 67-8. The political prayers introduced by him into the schools were held by the Court in Leipzig to violate the Constitution of the Reich: see under 11 July 1930 in Cuno Horkenbach, *Das deutsche Reich von 1918 bis heute*, Berlin, 1930, p. 313, and see p. 665.

² German text: *Damit ist der Glaube an die Autorität an das Reich ins Wanken gekommen.* Read perhaps *an die Autorität des Reiches.*

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the new elections to secure for ourselves a majority and to win a definitive victory. That I should appeal to the people, that I have issued a manifesto addressed to the people is an unusual proceeding because we hope to gain a majority."

"My honoured sirs, gentlemen of the Centrum, it is not I who made the Weimar Constitution! But if to-day you wish to regard a majority as something improper, I am also quite prepared to govern with a minority."

"And then they say further: 'They desire to establish in the State an order in which arbitrary dealings and the supremacy of a Party will take the place of justice, the interests of special groups the place of the common welfare, and an economic order in which a just consideration of the vital needs of all classes will be superseded by a one-sided form of organization which represents only the interests of certain specific strata (*Schichten*) of the population.'"

"Here every word is an accusation against the Centrum itself. For fourteen years in place of order in the State we have seen injustice, arbitrary dealings, the supremacy of parties—the supremacy of parties in its worst sense. And then suddenly they desire to speak of an order which is 'above party'."

"This Movement, Germany's greatest political factor, has been for twelve years outlawed, and only a few months ago the National Socialist because of his convictions could attain to no position whatsoever in the Party-State."

"Hundreds of thousands of us have been robbed of our daily bread, hundreds of thousands have been thrown into the street, without a thought of wife and child. And now suddenly they talk of the Party-State."

"We have come to know this Party-State, and in its place we wish to set once more a State of the German

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people (*einen deutschen Volksstaat*). It is they who have sacrificed the welfare of the State in favour of certain interested groups! They have taken their share in an economic order which has been so corrupt that it positively cries aloud to Heaven and they have themselves lived to experience the fruits of their régime."

"They themselves say in so many words: 'One must now co-operate in the work of construction so that Germany comes once more to a new greatness.' In truth, that which they themselves fashioned has condemned itself! And then they say: 'Germany in our (i.e. the Centrum's) conviction is loyal to the oath which has been sworn to the Constitution'."

"At the time when the State which is now no more was brought to birth I had been a soldier; I have sworn an oath and that oath I have kept. That oath I have never forgotten—never up to this hour. And to-day they wish to speak of 'Constitution' and of 'oath'. He who takes his stand on the ground of 1918 has not a shred of right to speak of Constitution and of an oath sworn."

"And then they go on to write: 'Germany desires freedom.' For thirteen years we have known this freedom, ever since the time when they began to oppress us. You know how many thousands of us were reduced to servitude, how many of our meetings were broken up, how often our Press was confiscated, how many of us came into prison, and how many of us at last were not allowed to continue the fight."

"For more than three years, through the order of these 'Apostles of Freedom', I myself might not speak a word in public in Germany. We shall know freedom once more in Germany only when we have destroyed the foes of freedom."

"They go on to say: 'For us German character' and

¹ German: *deutsches Wesen*, "essential German-ness."

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Christianity are a holy obligation. For that to which one is bound by a holy obligation one must also fight both as a Christian and a German.' In these fourteen years have they really fought for this German nation, for Christianity?"

"How can a party talk of the fight for Christianity which for fourteen years has sat together with atheists and those who deny the existence of God?"

"And then they proceed: 'It would be a sin against German unity if one were to fight against men who have shed their blood for Reich and People and were to treat them as traitors simply because they opposed the present development.'"

"By whom have Germans who have fought for People and Reich been worst treated, by whom have they been most oppressed? Who has even haled them before the courts? They may rest convinced: the men who fought for Germany will with us at last take the place which they have merited before the nation, the place which is theirs by right."

"And the conquest of Bolshevism by the Centrum? Here, too, the Centrum has had no blessing on its work. Through the years the Centrum with its allies has fought Bolshevism within Germany and the result is that in Germany, in fourteen years, the number of Bolsheviks has grown from 14,000 to six millions."

"And then this appeal of the Centrum goes on: 'For us freedom is a precious possession.' For us, too! Otherwise I should not be standing here to-day, for it is the fight for the unity of the German people that has summoned both me and my comrades."

"And if the Centrum does really see in freedom a precious possession, if their words are more than a lip homage, there will be opportunity enough to reinforce their longing for freedom through deeds."

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"Our wish, our only wish, is that after fourteen years of suffering, after fourteen years of misery, after a hideous destruction of all life's possibilities during these fourteen years, our people should at last enter on a new path. And we have trodden that path before them. Out of a handful of men we have succeeded in creating the greatest Movement in Germany."

"Germany has been so ruined, it has been so shattered in all its foundations, its finances have been so destroyed, its whole economic life has been reduced to such misery that the work of years will be necessary to make good once more the damage suffered in these fourteen years. That is why I come before the German nation and say quite frankly: I ask of you, German people, that after you have given to the others fourteen years you should give to us a period of four years."

"I believe that in Germany the dice have already fallen. The new Movement which seizes upon our people triumphs over persons, castes, and classes. It will return to the source from which our forces are drawn: in the maintenance of the German peasant it will find the foundation of the new renaissance: in securing the means of existence for the German working-man it will preserve the eternal strength of the German nation. It will liberate the German spirit from the fetters of a democratic parliamentary majority, it will restore the future to German economic life."

"We know only one programme, and that programme runs: The battle shall not be waged for an idea, but the idea must serve the nation."¹

In a speech at Munich delivered on 24 February 1933 Hitler said: "A régime of disaster which has been a curse for Germany after fourteen years must and shall

¹ *V.B.*, 21 Feb. 1933.

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find its end. When to-day the supporters of this system suddenly for the last time appear before the nation and as our accusers wish to put the question 'What will your programme be?' then they mistake the significance of the hour and they mistake their own position. On the 5th of March [the day of the poll] it is not on our intentions that judgement will be passed, but on the crimes of the other parties. It was from the first the meaning of that democracy which they have introduced into Germany that from time to time the people should be called upon to test, to weigh, and to judge the achievement of a Government. In fourteen years they have had time enough to give proof of their achievements. I could with greater right turn their question upon themselves and ask: What was your programme? Was that which has happened in Germany in the last fourteen years your programme?—was that your will? If yes, then there would be no punishment great enough for you. But if you say that things have not gone according to programme, then, at the very best, as men, you are likewise condemned before the bar of history." . . .

"Those who to-day throw upon the War which we lost all the responsibility for the collapse and what came thereafter had themselves no wish that we should win the War. They went so far as to say that our people would be free if Germany lost the War. And now with their mean lies they try to free themselves from their guilt. It is no mere chance that it was possible in barely fourteen years to create a Movement in Germany which after untold struggles, after overcoming constantly renewed opposition, slowly so prevailed over a world of prejudices and enemies that to-day the power and the force of the State are in its hands. If those who have been in power during the last fourteen years had not

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governed so unspeakably badly, this development would never have been possible. We are the result of the distress for which the others are responsible."

"If to-day we are asked for the programme of this Movement, then we can summarize this programme in a few quite general sentences: programmes are of no avail, it is the human purpose which is decisive. The decisive thing is to see aright, to have great courage, honesty of thought, and an honourable purpose."

"Therefore the first point in the programme of our Movement is: Away with all illusions! The German people must be led back to the most elementary truth and comprehension: they must comprehend that all life must be sought in the people itself. The people must be convinced that it can never be helped unless it helps itself. This people must be set free from the whole world of visions and illusions which over and over again conjured up other possibilities of help."

"Our Movement for the last fourteen years has proclaimed these new ideas; it has sought to bring together into a new unity Germans of all classes and professions, whatever their descent, whatever their religion (*Konfession*), provided only it were Christian, whatever their social position, in the conviction that only the concentrated strength of the millions of our people could master the obstacles which life set in their path. It is in the camp of our Movement that the section of the German nation which still has faith is enrolled. This Movement knows one thing only: Germany must live if the German States are also to live."

"You, individual man, are nothing if your nation does not protect you; you, German town, will sink into misery if the strength of the Reich fails you, and you, German State, must go to ruin if all Germany does not support your cause. Thus it was that, starting from this

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Bavarian city, we became fighters for the greatness and the glory of the Reich."

"I believe that thereby we have done more for the fame and the honour of Bavaria than have those who see their sole duty to lie continually in hatred and enmity towards the rest of Germany."

"For me this city is more than a city. I am devoted to it in boundless love. It is my purpose that as soon as this Movement shall have liberated the entire German people its seat shall remain in this city as a sign that we, too, who come from the South feel ourselves to be German, that we, too, have our part in the German Reich, its greatness and its glory."

"We, too, are convinced that the happiness of our narrower home-land here is inseparably bound up with the happiness of the great German fatherland and that it is only a madman who could attempt to force us into any such role as that of Austria."

"Before the millions who are listening to this speech I can say only one thing: I would have them convinced that even if one or another wishes once more to-day for the establishment of a Main-frontier, that is not the wish of Bavaria, that is not the wish of Southern Germany, that is at the most the wish of a party, and with that we have nothing to do. On the contrary, if this question should ever arise, then it will be by Bavaria itself that any such attempt will be broken and smashed to pieces."

"I myself by my descent, by birth and family am a Bajuvar (Bavarian). For the first time since the founding of the Reich the office which was once held by Bismarck has been entrusted to the hands of a Bavarian. God helping me, I will preserve Germany from any such disaster that, while I hold this office, Germany should be divided through the action of our tribe. It is our

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duty and our honour to safeguard the unity of the Reich."

"I have taken up the fight against Marxism. Should anyone think it necessary to ally himself with Marxism let him be convinced of this: he will not save Marxism, he will but share the ruin to which Marxism is doomed. I want no fight. But if others want it, then they will see that the man who had the energy, with only seven men beside him, to build up this Movement has also the energy to take under his protection, as representative of the force of the State, the unity of the Reich. That I must do, because therein alone do I see the possibility of opening up for the German people the way into a better future."¹

In his speech in the Sportpalast, Berlin, delivered on 2 March 1933 Hitler said:

"If we come forward to-day to bring our accusation against those parties which before us governed the State we have a double right so to do. First the right which arises from the Constitution which these men themselves formerly imposed upon the German people. The meaning of Democracy is precisely that the people from time to time should be called upon to judge the achievements and the acts of a Government, to judge whether the programme of the Government is of any use or whether the men are of any use who take it upon themselves to execute that programme. And in the second place we feel ourselves justified in coming forward to bring our accusation because in the course of the long stretch of time during which they have been at work an appalling distress has fallen upon Germany—a distress which only those men who are responsible for it refuse to admit."

¹ V.B., 25 Feb. 1933.

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"They say: 'We are the men of the Iron Front.' Rather they should say: 'We are the men of brazen effrontery, the men of brazen insolence.'¹ You have the audacity after fourteen years of your own Government to say to the people which has suffered at your hands 'Things must now go differently: there must now be a clearance!' Ah yes, many a German to-day knows that under your Government things have indeed gone differently and there has indeed been a clearance—that very many Germans know: their property, their savings, their means of existence, their employment—there has been a clearance of them all—a thorough clearance! For millions they have swept the board of everything and for a few the board has been well filled."

"If we had not come on the 30th of January then their watchword would have been: Things must go on as before. But since on the 30th of January there came another Government, they suddenly declare that things must be changed. They can be reassured: there shall be a change!"

There followed a criticism of the aims and methods of Marxism: these were so utterly false alike in conception and execution that when once Marxism is applied in practice success is impossible. (i) Marxism must of necessity lead to a weakening of the general body of the people (*Volkskörper*) because it builds upon a splitting up of the body politic. (ii) The equality of men was long ago scientifically disproved. It is not present in the world of fact and the doctrine leads perforce to a devaluation of men of high capacity, to a lowering of the values of life (*Lebenswerte*). (iii) The same is true of Democracy. "At all times it is personality and not democracy which

¹ German: *Sie sagen: Wir sind die Männer der Eisernen Front. Sie sollten eigentlich sagen: Wir sind die Männer der eisernen Stirn, die Männer der eisernen Frechheit.*

has created values. At all times Democracy has destroyed and annihilated the values of personality. It is madness to think and a crime to publish abroad that suddenly a majority can take the place of the achievement of a man of genius. That means to put capacity under the control of a guardian and to make mere numbers its master. Every people must see in its most capable brains its highest national asset, for that is the most immortal value that there can possibly be. A single inventor, a genius, can mean more for a people than hundreds or tens of millions of apparent capital. At all times it has been the principles of Democracy which have brought peoples to ruin. And if Germany has fallen in the last fourteen years that was only because the representation of the principles of Democracy was carried to such lengths that its fathers and representatives in Germany did as a matter of fact stand even below the average of those numbers whose supremacy they preach. They themselves have been so mediocre, so small, such dwarfs that they possess no right whatever to raise themselves above the masses. Never has any system or any Government left its place in a more melancholy, more miserable, more mediocre fashion than did the representatives of the present system." . . .

(iv) There is, further, the idea that "human life could develop otherwise than from the struggle of forces one with another, otherwise than from that conflict which was always the cause of human selection. We have before us the results of this teaching. Their internationalism has failed miserably. Only now when things are going badly with their Party can one once more trace something of an International. So long as things were going badly with the German people the International was nowhere to be found. With their Democracy, with their pacifism, they have robbed the German nation of

its strength and its power and thereby also of its rights."

"The German people has had to pay for these theories with its life and with its means of existence."

(v) "And, finally, they said: 'the future belongs to the supremacy of a single class.' In fact this idea led, as it was bound to lead, not to the supremacy of a class, but to the downfall and the collapse of the entire people. Marxism in practice is the best refutation of Marxism in theory."

"Has this Marxism there where it has secured a hundred per cent. victory, where it is in fact and without exception supreme, in Russia,—has it there removed distress? It is precisely in Russia that facts speak with such devastating effect. Millions of men are starving in a land which could be a granary for the whole world. Millions of men are reduced to misery in a country that could to-day overflow with abundance."

"Freedom? Where does there rule a greater oppression? Where is there a greater fear lest one who is not a member of the Party should have a glimpse of things as they are? Where is one in greater trepidation before every photographer, before every reporter than in the land of freedom and of equality?" . . .

"Brotherliness? . . . Millions had to be shot in the name of this 'brotherliness' and as a consequence of this great 'happiness.'" May Fate save Germany from such a future, for if all this can happen where 92 per cent. of the population lives on the land, what would it mean where only 35 per cent. is on the land and 64 per cent. is in the towns? It would be appalling.

"They go on to say that capitalism would thereby be overcome. Where, I ask, has it been overcome? In Russia the whole world must help with its credits; the world of capitalism must give support with its credits, it must supply the machines and furnish the factories,

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it must provide the engineers, the pioneers: this other world must do everything. That they cannot deny. And to those who in Germany are enthusiastic for this principle I would like to recommend a week's experience of the system under which men work in the forests of Siberia—one week would be enough!"

Young Communists when they had murdered National Socialists fled for refuge to Russia: but they returned to Germany: "better penal servitude in Germany than freedom there." . . .

"We do not speak thus in order to abuse a foreign State: Russia interests us only as an example. We want to see to it that Germany does not pass through this misery only intensified in degree."

"And the idea of Pacifism, a Marxist idea which has moved the world, how has this stood the test in actual experience? The Red Army is the symbol of this Marxist-pacifist world-idea. My fellow-countrymen, when Marxism is supreme in practice it refutes itself in every sphere. There is no happiness, no prosperity, no social advance, but only the same grey misery, the same grey distress." . . .

And now Marxism desires to become more radical: it wishes to destroy everything. "When everything has been reduced to misery, when everything is destroyed, then man will find himself in a Kingdom of Heaven. If a feeble *bourgeoisie* capitulated before this madness, we accept the challenge, we fight against this madness. We accept the challenge because we wish to spare our people this fearful disillusionment. Fourteen years ago I began the fight, not because at that time I had any enthusiasm for a German capitalism which wanted to be rescued. What then was the reason for my action? I myself was and still am a child of the people. It was not for the capitalists that I undertook this struggle,

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it was for the German working-man that I took my stand."

... After the misery which they have brought upon us it is a bad conscience which makes cowards of them all. "When I fight for a cause and am convinced of its justice, then I will defend that cause with heroism. Where are their heroes? To-day they are once more looking to the masses to get the chestnuts out of the fire on their behalf."

"They seek to throw us into confusion through arson, through violence, through venom and thus to restore in the interest of a few insatiable men their greedy régime. They will be disappointed. We have not fought for fourteen years against this crime in order to capitulate before it now that we are in power. That they must understand."

"Our programme is the exact opposite of this programme of delirium and madness. We seek our strength in our people, we wish to establish the solidarity of our own community and then to employ its strength for the maintenance of that which our life demands (*unserer Lebensnotwendigkeit*). In the German soil, in the German peasant, and in the German working-man we see the roots of our strength and thus of our life—not in the phantom of Internationalism. In the education to resistance we see the condition for the assertion of our life, and in ourselves and through ourselves we wish to make this resistance a reality."

"We will not capitulate before these ferments of disintegration. We know well that in our people there are millions of honest working-men who have no conception of the fate which lies before them. They read only Marxist newspapers: year after year they are told: 'You must read only this paper: you must not go to any meeting of your opponents.' And why not? Everywhere truth must be able to hold its own."

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"They know that the truth is not on their side: hence this terrorism, hence this violence, hence this attempt to throw men into confusion through sedition."

"My fellow-countrymen, we have a precious treasure to administer—the German people. And you are a precious part of that great mass of healthy folk who are still capable of faith and confidence, and of devoted service for a cause. And therefore the people must be protected. And when to-day these other elements say: 'We alone have the right to lead the masses,' then they must realize that this right is no longer theirs: it has passed to those to whom it belongs. To-day they can no longer spread confusion through these masses or harness them to their mad ideas."

"To-day they are faced with an aggressive organization, a fanatical, a disciplined organization which has the courage to go to the utmost lengths."

"We are no theorists: . . . just as we have formed in Germany the community of the German people, so in the same way, with the same persistent work, will we restore the German Reich. We will not suddenly capitulate before any resistance, whatever form it take, for we all know how hard it is to build up any sound construction. But that this Movement is both sound and strong—that it has proved, for there were those who wished to break it: they wanted to destroy it, but as yet they have not been able to destroy it, and they will not be able to destroy it in the future. They wanted to prevent it from coming into power and they have failed. And now they will endeavour to prevent this Movement from using the power which it has gained and they will find that they will no longer be able to prevent the rise of the German people."

"And so I would ask that you yourselves should play your part, should do your duty on the 5th of March, that

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you should co-operate in raising the new building for the community of the German people. For this determination I believe that there can be no loftier symbol than that—after criminal hands have laid in ashes the Reichstag building—we should now go forth to the town from which the greatness of Prussia took its rise, that we should go forth to Potsdam, and there at the bier of the immortal king in the Church begin the work of the reconstruction of Germany.”¹

In his speech on 1 May 1936 in the Lustgarten, Berlin, Hitler said:

“You may often perhaps have heard the question asked, ‘But why then did you make a Revolution? Could you not have reached your goal by other ways? Could you not have solved your problems by means of the factors (*Erscheinungen*) which already lay to your hand?’ No! It had to be done, but there was one condition which was prescribed for us: it could not be done if in Germany the will and the life-struggle of our people were split into forty or fifty sections. If the distress is already so great, if men’s understanding and energies are so crippled that countless numbers despair of any amelioration, then any salvation must be completely out of the question unless the nation is able to come to a single decision or at least to a single view and can thus proceed to one activity—to a single act. If one wished to solve the problems of Germany at all, it was essential first of all to bring the German people into such a form that the millions of individuals could be fused into a unity.”

“And it is further necessary to convince the people itself of its own value. So long as each individual sees only himself, he lives his life only in the limited sphere of action of his own personality. It is essential to awake

¹ *V.B.*, 3 Mar. 1933.

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in each individual the living conviction: Mightier than your own will is the will of all those who now stand here! Through this community problems will be solved before which you would give up hope and fall into despair or before which you would be bound to fail. But the community—it will prove itself to be the master of these problems. It was necessary to give to the German people that great feeling of community: through it suddenly out of the weak will of sixty million individuals there springs a gigantic mighty compressed will of all. And this must be visible to each one of our fellow-countrymen, and that is why our Movement has taken its quite peculiar form which is illustrated by our assembly to-day: hence these mass proclamations, these mass demonstrations, these general appeals to the nation. In such an hour as this everyone must feel, and feel in the depths of his being: Now it is not *I* who face the destiny of Germany, but an army of millions is at my side. I am part of this army: as individuals we may perhaps be weak, but taken all together, nothing can break us!"

"And so to remove our distress, to overcome our weakness, and thus successfully to wage our life-battle in Germany the necessary pre-condition is unity. My fellow-countrymen, what, think you, can the greatest genius in the world achieve if he has not the necessary instruments? It is only the fools who think that a man can do everything. True, he can do everything, but only when he can win everyone to his side. When Providence gives him the strength to unite a people in his will, when Providence gives him the power to cause a people to think as he thinks, then he can in this world work wonders. But always the condition for the success of his action is the organized community which stands behind him. He may be convinced a thousand times

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over of the capacities of his genius, and of the value of his ideas: he will be able to achieve nothing unless he can so educate the millions that, consciously or unconsciously, they become his collaborators, unless he can teach them to think as he thinks."¹

A few brief passages on this aspect of "Gleichschaltung"—co-ordination—may be added to this exposition:

*In his speech at the Sportpalast, Berlin, on 10 February 1933, Hitler said: "The parties of class-division may be convinced that as long as the Almighty permits me to live my determination to destroy them will be unalterable."*²

*In a speech at Munich delivered in March 1933 Hitler said: "Already such a Gleichschaltung—a co-ordination—of the political will has been achieved as we have never yet experienced, and we shall do everything in our power to secure that this co-ordination shall never be lost."*³

*In his speech in the Reichstag on 21 March 1933 Hitler said: "We are determined to create a new community out of the German peoples—a community formed of men of every status and profession and of every so-called class—which shall be able to achieve that community of interests which the welfare of the entire nation demands. All classes must be welded together into a single German nation."*⁴

¹ F.Z., 3 May 1936.

² *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 10.

³ V.B., 14 Mar. 1933. For a further extract from this speech see p. 269 *infra*.

⁴ German text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 23; authorized English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, p. 13.

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In his speech in the Reichstag on 23 March 1933 Hitler said: "The splitting up of the nation into groups with irreconcilable views, systematically brought about by the false doctrines of Marxism, means the destruction of the basis of a possible communal life. The disintegration attacks all the foundations of social order. The completely irreconcilable views of different individuals with regard to the terms State, society, religion, morals, family, and economy give rise to differences that lead to internecine war. Starting from the liberalism of the last century, this development is bound by natural laws to end in communistic chaos". . . .

"It is only the creation of a real national community, rising above the interests and differences of rank and class, that can permanently remove the source of nourishment of these aberrations of the human mind."¹

In his speech on May Day 1933 Hitler said:

"The results of class warfare are to be seen all around us and we wish to learn a lesson from them, for we have recognized one thing as necessary for the return to health of our nation: The German people must learn to know each other again. The millions who have been split up into professions and kept apart by artificial class distinctions, who, foolishly clinging to profession and status, cannot understand each other any longer, must find once more the way to each other. An enormous and stupendous task—we know it. Nevertheless . . . what has been built up by the hands of man, can also be destroyed by the hands of man; what human madness once invented, can be overcome by human wisdom. . . . We

¹ German text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 25-6; authorized English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, pp. 16-17.

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have made up our minds to lead the people of Germany to one another and, if necessary, to compel them."¹

In his speech to the Reich Commissioners delivered in the Reich Chancery, Berlin, on 6 July 1933 Hitler said:

"The political parties have now been finally abolished. . . . The Party² has now become the State. . . . There is no longer any authority emanating from any one part of the Reich, but only that based on the idea of the German nation as a whole."³

The end of this chapter in National Socialist history may be fitly represented by a statement made by Hitler in a speech delivered to SA. men in Kiel on 7 May 1933:

"You must fuse your will with mine."⁴

On 14 July 1933 the National Socialist Cabinet proclaimed the suppression of all other political parties:

"1. In Germany the only political party is the National Socialist German Workers' Party."

"2. Whoever undertakes to maintain the organization of another political party or to form a new political party will be punished by penal servitude (*Zuchthaus*) for a period up to three years or by imprisonment for a period of from six months up to three years so far as the act is not punishable with a more severe penalty under other regulations."⁵

¹ German text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 144; authorized English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, p. 32.

² The National Socialist Party.

³ German text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 58-9; authorized English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, pp. 65-6.

⁴ *V.B.*, 9 May 1933.

⁵ *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 48.

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*In a speech delivered to the workmen at Essen, on 27 March 1936, Hitler said: "The task which I set before myself did not mean the attempt to bring the forty-seven parties under one hat. It did not mean endeavouring to induce the unions of employers and workmen to speak a common language, or trying to unite the Confessions and the Weltanschauungen on the same level. No, the task ran thus: 'endeavour to mobilize once more from the German people that strength which is needed for the maintenance of the life of all. How you do it does not matter. Go what way you will: only the road must lead to the goal. After fifteen years of talk, someone who would act must come at last. And I have acted!'"*¹

II. THE GERMAN STATES

I have translated these extracts from Hitler's speeches since, in a matter which for those who are not Germans does not raise controversial issues, it is interesting to observe how rapidly and how completely Hitler's policy changed. In February 1933 Hitler appealed for the co-operation and support of the German States; in the same year, in September, he could assert that "the National Socialist Movement is not the preserver of the German States of the past, but their liquidator."² In relation to Hitler's speech in Munich in which he declared that "Bavaria of its own free will has professed its faith in unity"³ (see p. 270 *infra*) it may be recalled that during the month which preceded Hitler's action in Bavaria the ministers of that State had thought otherwise: one of them said: "When Bamberg Cathedral was built, wild pigs were still scraping the trees on the site of Berlin." Another remarked: "If Berlin sends a Commissioner he will be

¹ *V.B.*, 29 Mar. 1936.

² "The only conclusion from the facts is that either he was deliberately lying in February, or else was displaying an almost unbelievable ignorance of a vital matter of his future policy. Neither conclusion is flattering to him—for either he was a fool or a knave in his Reichsrat speech": S. H. Roberts, *The House that Hitler built*, London, 1939, p. 67.

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arrested at the frontier."¹ These were high words, but when Roehm and von Epp occupied the buildings of the Government with the SA. there was no opposition and Hitler's Commissioners took over power. And so it was throughout the German States.

For the whole problem of the relation of the German States—the *Länder*—to the Reich cf. *Die Reichsreform* (edd. W. Adametz and O. Gessler), vol. i; *Allgemeine Grundlagen für die Abgrenzung der Zuständigkeiten zwischen Reich, Ländern und Gemeindeverbänden*, Berlin, Hobbing, 1933 (a publication of the Bund zur Erneuerung des Reiches), pp. 446 with full bibliography; A. Brecht, 'Die Neugestaltung des Reiches' in *Krisis, ein politisches Manifest*, ed. O. Muller, Weimar, Lichtenstein, 1932, pp. 39-50; H. E. Feine, "Nationalsozialistischer Staatsumbau und deutsche Geschichte" in *Deutschland in der Wende der Zeiten*, Öffentliche Vorträge der Universität Tübingen, Sommersemester, 1933, published by the Württembergische Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, Stuttgart and Berlin, Kohlhammer, 1934, pp. 203-26 at pp. 211 sqq. (lecture of 26 July 1933); H. Kraus, *The Crisis of German Democracy*, Princeton University Press, 1932, ch. 7 "The Reich and its Member States (Lands)", pp. 105-28; Hans Krebs, *Die Stellung der Länder zum Reich in den Verfassungen von 1871, 1919 und im Reichsstatthaltergesetz von 1933*, Dissertation of the University of Hamburg, 1934 (with bibliography); Erich Becker, "Die Rechtsstellung der deutschen Länder in der Gegenwart", *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, xcvi (1937), pp. 462-98.

For the early legislation of 1933 cf. Georg Kaisenberg, *Gleichschaltung der Länder mit dem Reich*, Berlin, 1933 (= Das Recht der nationalen Revolution, Heft 1); Carl Schmitt, *Das Reichsstatthaltergesetz*, Berlin, 1933 (= Das Recht der nationalen Revolution, Heft 3). English translation of the law of 7 April 1933 in J. K. Pollock and H. J. Heneman, *The Hitler Decrees*, 2nd edn., Ann Arbor, 1934, p. 5. The German text of the amending law of 14 October 1933 in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 182 (see Pollock and Heneman, op. cit., p. 8). By the law of 30 January 1934 the Governments of the States were immediately subordinated

¹ Cf. R. Olden, *Hitler*, Amsterdam, 1935, p. 293. English translation, *Hitler the Pawn*, London, 1936, pp. 338-9. S. H. Roberts, op. cit., London, 1939, p. 69.

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to the Ministers of the Reich (Law on the Reconstruction of the Reich): German text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, ii (1936), p. 101, and the position of the Reich-Governors of the German States was finally determined by the law of 30 January 1935: German text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, iii (1937), pp. 124-6. Justice was completely nationalized by the Act transferring the administration of Justice from the States to the Reich adopted on 2 April 1935 (see *ibid.*, pp. 280 sqq.).—For discussion of the constitutional position of the Reich-Governors cf. S. H. Roberts, *The House that Hitler built*, London, 1939, pp. 67 sqq., 91 sqq.; J. K. Pollock, *The Government of Greater Germany*, New York, 1938, pp. 76 sqq.; F. L. Schuman, *Hitler and the Nazi Dictatorship*, London, 1936, pp. 244 sqq.; *New Governments in Europe*, ed. R. L. Buell, New York, 1937, pp. 265 sqq., articles in the *American Political Science Review* for April 1936; E. R. Huber, *Verfassung*, Hamburg, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1937, pp. 183-210 (with bibliography). Useful bibliographical references in H. Artzt, *Der Reichsstatthalter im Gemeinschaftsstaat*, Dresden, Dittert, 1937.—For the special position occupied by Goering as Prime Minister of Prussia cf. S. H. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 68, and for the problem of the future division of Prussia into provinces cf. the speech by Goering delivered on 18 June 1934: text in Hermann Goering, *Reden und Aufsätze*, Munich, 1938, pp. 100 sqq.

On 2 February 1933 Hitler in his speech in the Reichsrat said:

"We do not wish to ride roughshod over that which the history of Germany through the centuries has fashioned to serve as single stones for the rebuilding of this Reich. On the contrary we do not wish to fall into the error of issuing regulations and centralizing wherever possible, but we are desirous to keep before us the aim of unifying only where such unification is absolutely necessary, and in this task we naturally gladly look for the co-operation of the German States; we desire to be supported not merely through professions of agreement but through action, just as we for our part are determined to do everything in our power to maintain for these his-

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torical building-stones of the German nation and the German Reich their full capacities for vigorous life. I believe that in this we shall the sooner and the more easily be successful the more the Reich and the German States unite in the large recognition of the compelling force of the needs of our day. I myself come from the South, but as a citizen I belong to a North German State, I feel myself a German and I live in the history of Germany; I do not desire to ride blindly over the great and historical triumphs and achievements of this history but on the contrary—that I can promise you—I desire to respect everything which former generations in the historical creation of our State and people have achieved, in the hope that thus in the future later generations will in their turn respect that which we have in mind to accomplish.”¹

In a speech at Munich on the Anniversary of the Founding of the Party, 24 February 1933, Hitler said:

“If the German States wish to live, if they wish to wage to the end those battles which are fated for them, they can only do this if they take their place as rods in a bundle of rods, in order that with united forces they may in their own interest bring into play the strength of the united nation, even if All-Germany (the central Government) fails to champion their cause. . . . I do not desire any war with the German States.”²

In a speech at Munich on 12 March 1933 Hitler said:

“It was in this city that years ago I began the struggle the first part of which can now be regarded as finally closed. What for centuries has been longed for but could not be attained has now become accomplished fact. Already a co-ordination (*Gleichschaltung*) of the political will has been achieved such as we have never

¹ *F.Z.*, 3 Feb. 1933.

² *Ibid.*, 26 Feb. 1933.

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yet experienced, and we shall do everything in our power to secure that this co-ordination shall never be lost. I myself am proud and happy to think that the North has not won Bavaria, but that Bavaria of its own free will has professed its faith in unity.¹ I have the feeling that in these days Bavaria has itself taken its place in the ranks of this great front of the awakening German nation. The political pre-conditions we have created. Let us hold firmly to these and no one shall disturb this work: no one shall be able to sabotage it: that is our determination. From this struggle and from this work of ours one day there shall return to our Germany freedom, happiness, and blessing and in that Reich the German States will then take the place which from history and tradition rightly belongs to them. To do violence to none, but through co-ordination of the German nation to secure the highest measure of ideal freedom, that is our will. That aim can be realized only if a single mighty German Reich exists as shield and protection".

"The President of the Reich has ordered that in addition to the flags of the German States there shall be hoisted two other symbols"—the flag of the old Empire and of the new Movement.²

In his speech at the Kroll Opera on 22 March 1933 Hitler said:

"The internal ruin of the community of our people (*Volkgemeinschaft*) necessarily led to a weakening in the authority of the supreme Government of the Reich which grew more and more serious. The sinking of the prestige of the Government of the Reich which must necessarily result from such insecure internal conditions gave rise, amongst different parties in the indi-

¹ Cf. p. 266 *supra*.

² *V.B.*, 14 Mar. 1933.

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vidual States, to views which were incompatible with the unity of the Reich. However great may be our regard for the value of the traditions represented by the separate States, that cannot hide from us the recognition of the bitter fact that in the past the excessive independence of the divided individual States has not only not been of service to our people's position in the world and to its life but has been often truly ruinous. But that does not mean that it is for this reason the task of wise statesmanship to make this good at this late hour by setting aside valuable elements which are the result of an organic growth merely to satisfy a theoretical principle of unrestrained unification. It is rather the duty of statesmanship to raise above all question the unity of spirit and of will in the leadership of the nation and thereby also the conception of the Reich as such. The prosperity of our Communes and of our States depends just as much as does the existence of individual Germans on the strength and health of the Reich: it needs the protection which the Reich ought to afford."

"Accordingly the Government does not intend by means of this Enabling Law to do away with the German States. But it will take such measures as will henceforth and for all time secure that the political aims both in the Reich and in the German States shall be the same. The greater this coincidence of spirit and of will the less interest can there be for the Reich at any time in the future to do violence to the independence of the cultural and economic life of the individual States."

"It is quite impossible to suffer the continuance of a practice which has recently crept in, that of the mutual disparagement of the Governments of the States and of the Reich, supported by the modern methods of political propaganda. I will under no circumstances permit—and the Government of the Reich will take all measures to

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prevent it—that at any future time ministers of German Governments, before the world in public mass-meetings or even through the use of wireless, should accuse or abuse each other.”

“Further, it can only lead to a complete debasement of the legislative bodies in the eyes of the people if even under normal conditions either in the Reich as a whole or in the separate States the people is forced to the polls twenty times within four years. The Government will find a way by which when, once the nation has expressed its will, that single expression shall have the same consequences, both for the Reich and for the States.”¹

In the same speech Hitler said:

“The Government regard the question of a monarchical restoration as one which cannot be discussed at present. . . . They would have to regard an attempt by the individual States to solve this problem on their own responsibility as an attack on the unity of the Reich and would act accordingly.”²

There followed the laws for the co-ordination (Gleichschaltung) of the German States with the Reich: 31 March 1933³ and 7 April 1933.⁴

In his Proclamation read at the opening of the Parteitag at Nuremberg on 1 September 1933 Hitler said:

“When in the course of the development of our people through a thousand years States began to form above and right across the German tribes there arose those formations which to-day we still see before us as the

¹ *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 27.

² German text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 28; authorized English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, p. 19.

³ *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 177–8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 179–80.

Länder—the German States. Their growth is not to be ascribed to any 'volkic' necessity. If one weighs the advantages and disadvantages of these States for the German nation, the advantages disappear. Even in the cultural sphere the nation which was coming into being proved itself to be more fruitful than the States. Since we are determined to maintain this and all other valuable traditions, we are forced to proceed against these burdensome obstacles to national unity which in the constitutional sphere have for many centuries inflicted grievous damage upon our people. What would Germany be if previous generations long before our time had not refused to tolerate an abuse which cried aloud to heaven for remedy—the abuse of our welter of small States? A people which speaks one language, which possesses a single culture, which has experienced the moulding of its destiny only in one common history must seek also a unity in its leadership. Otherwise, it loses the advantages of its numbers while it is forced to suffer the disadvantages arising therefrom. The law concerning the Reich-Governors was the first answer of the German nation to those who raised their complaints against the unity and greatness of the German nation."

"On principle, the National Socialist Party must recognize this fact: the former German Reich could still, at least so far as appearances went, be constituted on the basis of the separate German States. The States themselves, however, could no longer be constituted from the German tribes (*Stämmen*) but, at best, from individual Germans. The present German Reich is no longer constituted on the basis of the German States, nor on the basis of the German tribes, but on the whole German people and on the National Socialist Party which embraces and includes the whole German people. The essential character of the Reich of the future will there-

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fore no longer be determined by the interests and the views of the building-stones of the past, but rather through the interests of those building-stones which have created the present Third Reich. Therefore neither Prussia nor Bavaria, nor any other German State, can form a pillar of the present Reich, but the only pillars of the Reich are the German people and the National Socialist Movement. The individual German tribes, however, will find their happiness in once more representing that mighty unity which in the past in their nominal independence they could never do. The National Socialist Movement is not the preserver of the German States of the past, but their liquidator in the interest of the Reich of the future. Since the Movement itself as a Party is neither North German nor South German, neither Bavarian nor Prussian, but only German, so in it is resolved every rivalry between any of the German States or tribes: all such rivalries have lost their meaning.”¹

In a speech to the “Old Guard” of the Party delivered at Munich on 19 March 1934 Hitler said:

“We fight for an independent German people. If God created the German tribes, they will remain. If anyone says, ‘What then of the single States? After all God made them too.’ No! Men made the States. State-forms have always been transitory. Look back a hundred years, two hundred, three hundred years and study the map and the changes marked on it. And if anyone says to me, ‘But from now on things must remain as they are’, I can only answer: ‘Sir, if you have grown sterile, our German people is anything but sterile.’ The people is still living: it feels its way open towards its goal.”

¹ *F.Z.*, 2 Sept. 1933.

² Frankly a paraphrase: the text is *Das (Volk) lebt noch und*

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and strives towards it, and therefore the map of our Reich will change in the future and in it there will be further alterations". . . .

"Every German belongs to a tribe. But where would we as Germans be, where would our people be, if we saw in that fact a licence to fight no more for our people as a whole? No! That can never be! When I went to Berlin, one who was by descent a Bavarian became for the first time Chancellor of the Reich. Then I set before myself as my aim to see to it that the period of my Chancellorship should one day be marked with honour in the history of Germany. From this city you have sent a tribune of the people to Berlin, and it is my determination that my name shall be able to take an honourable place amongst the Chancellors of the German Reich. I went to the North as a man from the South with a programme of which I can say: 'Test it all of you! It is a German programme!'"¹

On 22 March 1934 Hitler spoke of the position and duties of the Reichsstatthalters under the law of 30 January 1934: They are subordinated to the Reich Minister for the Interior: "they are not the administrators of the separate States, they execute the will of the supreme Leadership of the Reich;² their commission comes not from the States but from the Reich. They do not represent the States over against the Reich, but the Reich over against the States. The reconstruction of the Reich demands a single clear and permanent organization of the administration with logical articulation of administrative units

empfindet sein errungenes Ziel, strebt diesem Ziele zu. . . . How a people can strive towards a goal which has already been attained I do not understand.

¹ *F.Z.*, 21 Mar., 1934.

² German: *die Träger des Willens der obersten Führung des Reiches.*

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under a central Reich-authority. National Socialism has as its historic task to create the new Reich and not to preserve the German States. The Reichsstatthalters are thus primarily the supporters of the supremacy of the National Socialist idea." . . .

Independent action of single authorities or services in the Party in economic matters and in political matters relating to finance will everywhere be prevented: in such matters only the Ministries of the Central Government are competent and they must always be consulted. And this applies to all other branches of the administration. "It was essential to maintain the unity of State and Party."¹

*In his Proclamation to the Nuremberg Parteitag of September 1934 Hitler spoke of the improvement in the German State. "The building up of the Reich to a powerful unity which will be a source of strength for all Germans has made truly historic advances. But thereby we have not reduced the former German States to the position of despised provinces; on the contrary, we have fostered them with the greatest National Socialist care and have sought to develop them. . . . Our wish is that they shall be no decaying provinces, but flourishing shires (Gaue) of the German Reich."*²

Note

On the *Gleichschaltung* of the German States cf. H. Goering, *Reden und Aufsätze*, Munich, Eher, 1938, pp. 42, 98-9.

III. "GLEICHSCHALTUNG": NATIONALIST ASSOCIATIONS: THE STAHLHELM.

The "Marxist" opposition was soon crushed, but the Government which came into power on 30 January 1933

¹ *F.Z.*, 23 Mar. 1934. There is only a short summary of this speech and I am not sure how far it reproduces Hitler's own words.

² *Ibid.*, 6 Sept. 1934.

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was a Nationalist Government and the problem of a Nationalist Association such as the *Stahlhelm* was not so easily solved. Formed in 1918 from old soldiers of the Front Line it demanded, from the first, rearmament and reintroduction of compulsory military service. Under the Weimar Republic it pinned its faith to no single party: with Hindenburg as its patron, it enjoyed the support of the army. In 1932, in the Presidential election of that year, it ran its second-in-command, Lieutenant-Colonel D \ddot{u} sterberg, as a rival candidate to Hindenburg. His defeat—he secured only some 2½ million votes—discredited it, but it recovered its position under von Papen's Government: "it became the guard of the Junker régime." In the autumn of 1932 it could march in triumph into Berlin. *Stahlhelm* circles are said at that time to have contemplated a "Putsch"; "we could then have remained in Berlin", its leader Seldte is reported to have once remarked.

It supported Hitler's assumption of power in January 1933 and co-operated in the Reichstag election which followed the "Machtübernahme". It declared that it was more necessary now than ever before: its co-operation was needed in "the reconstruction of the Constitution in the spirit of Bismarck."¹

The first conflict between National Socialism and the *Stahlhelm*, however, broke out as early as March 1933; it was said that Social Democrats and Communists were being received into membership of the Steel Helmets en masse.² In Brunswick, Klagges, National Socialist Minister of the Interior, arrested 200 members of the *Stahlhelm* and 1,150 "Marxist" candidates for membership. The *Stahlhelm* in Brunswick was disbanded. Seldte, now Labour Minister in Hitler's Cabinet, promised to take disciplinary action: he and Goering agreed that this was a purely local

¹ *F.Z.*, 13 Mar. 1933.

² *The Times*, 27 Mar. 1933; *Berliner Tageblatt*, 28 Mar. 1933.

dispute: cordial co-operation could continue. The ban on the *Stahlhelm* was raised as from 1 April.¹

It was unfortunate that a report from Schrader, the leader of the Brunswick *Stahlhelm*, addressed to Dürsterberg, should have come into the hands of the Brunswick Government; in this he had written, "I think it wrong at this moment to advise caution in accepting new members. . . . Only extreme effrontery is of any use in dealing with the NSDAP."²

There followed arrests of leaders of the *Stahlhelm* in the Palatinate, but this time the Reich Government directly intervened and Seldte issued a manifesto against action taken by German States or local authorities. The Palatinate disagreement was settled.³

In April the *Stahlhelm* in Central Germany declared in support of Hitler, but it was explained that this did not mean that the Steel Helmets had joined the NSDAP.: the question of membership was still undecided.⁴ Seldte, for his part, denied that he had joined the Party.⁵

At Easter 1933 Hitler, Goebbels, and Seldte met and it was agreed that a relation of comradeship between the Party and the *Stahlhelm* was a matter of course.⁶ At this time the *Stahlhelm* was insisting on the necessity for maintaining its independence.⁷ But before April was out Seldte had dismissed Dürsterberg from his position of second in command;

¹ *The Times*, 29 Mar. 1933; *Berliner Tageblatt* of same date.

² Text of report *F.Z.*, 30 Mar. 1933, translation in *The Times* of the same date.

³ *The Times*, 31 Mar. 1933; *V.B.* of same date. For flight of members of *Stahlhelm* cf. *F.Z.*, 1 Apr. 1933.

⁴ *F.Z.*, 14 Apr. 1933.

⁵ *Berliner Tageblatt*, 15 Apr. 1933.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 18 Apr. 1933.

⁷ *F.Z.*, 18 Apr. 1933.

⁸ Cf. *Neue Freie Presse*, 27 Apr. 1933, and *The Times* of the same date. Since Seldte had become Labour Minister Dürsterberg had practically commanded the *Stahlhelm*.

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Seldte, now sole leader, joined the NSDAP. and proceeded to dismiss other officials of the Stahlhelm. Düstenberg had desired independence for the Steel Helmets: Seldte was prepared to see them under Hitler's authority as a third organization alongside of SS. and SA. Over the German wireless Seldte announced that he had subordinated the Stahlhelm "as a close soldierly unity"¹ to the Führer; "this friendship with the Führer", he declared, "is the fulfilment of the old wish of your hearts." But Stahlhelm members could not join the Party, nor could members of the Party join the Stahlhelm.²

This submission did not bring peace: arrests and suppression of local groups proceeded in Brunswick;³ while the Stahlhelm was prohibited in Düsseldorf, seven centres were banned in East Prussia.⁴ Hitler now intervened and on 21 June 1933 an agreement, the text of which was settled by Hitler, Seldte, and von Papen, was concluded.⁵ The Kernstahlhelm—the original body of Front Line fighters—under this agreement remained as before, but its members were in future not to belong to any political party except the NSDAP. which all were to be permitted to join. The Young-Stahlhelm (Jungstahlhelm) was incorporated into the SA. and was placed under the orders of the "Supreme SA.-Leadership", i.e. under Hitler. At the same time the Scharnhorst Association was incorporated into the Hitler-Youth.

But, even so, action against the Stahlhelm did not cease⁶ and the Steel Helmets appealed for help to Hindenburg.⁷

¹ See the text in *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29 Apr. 1933. The phrase is *als eine geschlossene soldatische Einheit*: the Stahlhelm was to be preserved as a separate organization.

² *Manchester Guardian*, 1 May 1933.

³ Cf. *F.Z.*, 1, 2, 7, 16, 18 June 1933.

⁴ *The Times*, 21 June 1933 and *F.Z.* of same date.

⁵ Text in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 57.

⁶ *F.Z.*, 23 June 1933.

⁷ *Neue Freie Presse*, 25 June 1933.

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*Roehm, as Chief of Staff of the SA., then intervened and forbade any further molestation of the Young-Stahlhelm, while Hitler assured Seldte that "there must be three pillars standing side by side, the SA., the SS., and the Stahlhelm".¹ On 27 June 1933 Hitler issued a Proclamation addressed to "National Socialists, SA. and SS. men, and Young-Stahlhelm". He said: "A goal which we have resolutely pursued for fourteen years has now been attained. With the placing of the Young-Stahlhelm under the command of myself as the Supreme SA.-Leader and with the incorporation of the Scharnhorst League into the Hitler Youth the unification of the political Fighting Movement (*Kampfbewegung*) of the German nation has been completed and brought to a close. SA., SS., Stahlhelm, and Hitler Youth will henceforth always in the future be the only organizations which the National Socialist State recognizes as the representatives (*Träger*) of the political education of youths and of men."*

"It was natural that in the years after the Revolution in different districts of our German Fatherland resistance to the November traitors and their disastrous government should have been attempted. Independently of one another, without even knowing of each other's existence, people arose and organized parties and associations to fight against the Marxist State."

"They all doubtless had the best of intentions. But if Germany were to be saved, that could come about only through one single Movement and not through thirty. The future of Germany does not depend on the number of associations which work for this future, but it depends on the question whether the will of the many can be successfully brought to acknowledge a single will and thus can be united in a Movement which can strike effectively."

"Thus just as the German Reichswehr—the army—

¹ *F.Z.*, 27 June 1933.

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was formerly compelled to disband the individual Free Corps, despite all the services which they had rendered, in order to restore to the German people a single army, so the National Socialist Movement was in the same way compelled to disband the countless leagues, associations, and unions, without any regard to the services which they had or had not rendered, in order at last to build up for the German people a single unified organization which might express its political will."

"Many of the best Germans have not understood this task of ours, and many others refused to understand it. To-day the meaning and thus the necessity of this tremendous struggle are clear for everyone who loves our people and believes in its future". . . .

"And so we shall prevent the formation of every new association which would only serve to perpetuate the old division of forces."

"This decision is unalterable, but it lays upon us the duty to be just. As Germans and National Socialists we wish therefore in honesty to recognize the difference which existed between other associations and the Stahlhelm. We are ready to admit that in this association, as being the League of German soldiers of the Front Line, hundreds of German men were united and were thus withdrawn from the System.¹ Further, in the hour of the turn of Germany's destiny the first Leader of the League [Seldte] professed his allegiance to the National Socialist Revolution. He has now drawn the final logical conclusion which results from the historical development and has ordered that, apart from the traditional association of the old Front Line soldiers, the entire Young-Stahlhelm shall be incorporated into the SA., the Scharnhorst Association into the Hitler Youth, and that both shall be placed under me." . . .

¹ i.e. of the Weimar Republic.

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Hitler then thanked Seldte for a decision "which in the history of Germany will come to be valued as a rare proof of a really large-hearted national outlook. . . . The further order that the remaining traditional association of Front Line fighters shall in future recognize no other party-membership than that of the National Socialist Movement enables me at last on our side to raise the veto upon membership of the Party." . . . In the future members of the Young-Stahlhelm entering the SA. and the SS. are to be welcomed as comrades and "are to be included in the eternal alliance which embraces us and which shall never be broken. Whatever memories the past may hold, for me and for you it is only the great future which counts, that future to which we have pledged ourselves."

"If in the course of many years we have succeeded in converting millions of former Marxists, have brought them over to our side and incorporated them in our ranks, it must and shall be possible for us to stretch out the hand to Nationalists, although they come from another camp, and to receive them as our allies, friends, and comrades."¹

At the meeting of SA. leaders in Bad Reichenhall (1-3 July 1933), when Hitler defined the respective spheres of the army and the SA. (cf. p. 483), the incorporation of the Steel Helmets was confirmed. "There can be nothing now to divide Stahlhelm and SA.", said Seldte,² while over the German wireless he declared: "We do not want power in the State, but the powerful State."³ The "Völkischer Beobachter" proclaimed that this was "an historic day in the history of the German Revolution".

The Stahlhelm members up to 35 years of age were

¹ F.Z., 29 June 1933.

² V.B., 4 July 1933.

³ Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 7 July 1933.

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incorporated in the SA.; the original Stahlhelm ("Kernstahlhelm") became once more a League of old Front-Line soldiers in the narrower sense charged with fostering the spirit of the Front.¹ The Stahlhelm Rally was postponed from 9 September to 23-4 September. At this rally in Hanover Hitler spoke: "It is," he said, "my most sacred conviction that this decision for co-operation, a decision perhaps rarely paralleled in German history, is not merely successful, but will prove to be one of the most blessed decisions that has ever been made. We wish to extend the hand to each other and we wish to maintain the loyalty, the great community which in olden days we praised in our people. . . . I have come here to say to you all that we are happy and determined to fulfil in common our great mission and to stand firm in loyalty to each other. We think of those who made their sacrifices. They are to-day our good spirits. They are our masters for the future. They march with us in our ranks. We all know that it is through them that we have gained the strength to perform the miracle of the revival of Germany."²

In November 1933 there followed a further step in the incorporation of the Stahlhelm to take effect from 11 December. Up to 35 years members of the Stahlhelm were to form part of the SA. (these in January 1934 abandoned their traditional field-grey uniform and adopted the Brown Shirt of the SA.); members between 35 and 45 became SA. Reserve I, those above 45 years formed SA. Reserve II.³ There remained in the Stahlhelm only those who were unfit for service in the SA. In February 1934, presumably to counter any fear of monarchist reaction, the members of the Stahlhelm were ordered to take a personal oath of loyalty

¹ Cf. F.Z., 17 Sept. 1933.

² Ibid., 25 Sept. 1933.

³ Ibid., 17 Nov. 1933.

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to Hitler.¹ There were signs in March 1934 that the *Stahlhelm* was beginning to disintegrate. A further step could now be taken. It was deprived of its name, and to demonstrate its incorporation in the Party it became the National Socialist League of German Front Combatants. It was at this time prohibited from practising military sports or performing military-political (*wehrpolitische*) functions: its sole duty was to be the cultivation of the soldierly tradition.²

But even so attacks began afresh: while Baldur von Schirach carried on a campaign defending the Hitler Youth from an article published in the journal of the *Stahlhelm*,³ Roehm complained that *Stahlhelm* members were not joining the SA. Reserve or, having joined it, were leaving it again.⁴ *Stahlhelm* members and officials were arrested and sent to concentration camps; meetings of the *Stahlhelm* were forbidden. In Magdeburg the Leader of the Hitler Youth asked why the *Stahlhelm* was still allowed to exist: "The Hitler Youth will not be satisfied until all such associations are disbanded." Seldte was stoned by Hitler Youth at Magdeburg. A cry was raised against reactionaries: the enemy is now no longer "Marxism": "the enemy is on the Right." In the second week of June Seldte interviewed Hitler, who reaffirmed the agreement of 28 March and stated that "he stood absolutely by the National Socialist League of Fighters of the Front Line".⁵ Attacks from the SA. continued⁶ and new police vetos followed. On 26 June Hitler and Seldte again met: Hitler stated that the *Stahlhelm* represented a valuable tradition which should be preserved.⁷

After the "Purge" of 30 June Seldte met the new Chief

¹ F.Z., 9 Feb. 1934.

² V.B., 29 Mar. 1934.

³ F.Z., 14 May; *Berliner Tageblatt*, 22 May.

⁴ F.Z., 16 May.

⁵ Ibid., 14 June 1934.

⁶ Cf. *The Times*, 27, 28 June 1934.

⁷ F.Z., 29 June 1934.

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of Staff of the SA., Lutze, who promised "comradely co-operation",¹ and a period of relative calm followed now that Roehm's influence was removed. When in 1935 compulsory military service was reintroduced, the Stahlhelm increased its activities and reawakened the suspicions of the Party. In July a general attack on the Stahlhelm began:² there was a fear that moderate and Right-Wing influences might unite against the Government: Frick and Goering suppressed other associations of Old Fighters, Goebbels declared himself against the Stahlhelm, Frick advised dissolution. The army's wishes had been met by rearmament and conscription: the Stahlhelm had served its purpose. In August Field-Marshal Mackensen resigned his honorary membership;³ the journal of the League was forbidden to appear. The end came in November 1935 when the final dissolution of the Stahlhelm was agreed upon between Hitler and Seldte. Individual members of the Stahlhelm could be admitted to membership of the Party and its organizations, but each case was to be considered on its merits. In his letter to Seldte Hitler expressed his thanks for the services rendered by the Stahlhelm to the national cause. "I am convinced", he wrote, "that History even in a distant future will never forget this contribution to the revival of the German nation. The value placed upon that service must only be the greater, the more closely unified the result of all efforts made to raise up once more a new Reich. What therefore must appear to-day to many members of the Stahlhelm as a heavy sacrifice is in truth nothing else than the historical consummation of former work and achievements. For we shall be able to hold our place in the judgement of our people in the days to

¹ F.Z., 7 July 1934.

² Accounts of this attack run through the German newspapers of July and early August 1935; for the result cf. *The Times* of 9 Aug. 1935.

³ F.Z. 6 Aug.

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come only if we are successful in ceasing to encourage as the fundamental trait in our character the age-old evil of disunion—only if we can triumphantly overcome it.”

“One People, one Reich, one political Will and one Sword!”

“I would ask you and your fellow-fighters to continue to co-operate in this mighty task of maintaining the life of Germany.”¹

Note

Reduction of other Nationalist Associations

21 June 1933. The “Brigade Ehrhardt” is subordinated to the Reich-Leader of the SS. as an independent organization within the SS. In January 1934 it is disbanded and its members drafted into the SA. or the SS.

14 July 1933. Fritz Kloppe’s Fighting Association, “Der Wehrwolf”, formed on 11 January 1923 (date of French occupation of the Ruhr), is placed under the “Supreme SA.-Leadership”, i.e. Hitler, and is incorporated into the SA. on 25 August 1933.

July 1935. Frick dissolves the Baltikum Association. Goering dissolves the Catholic Association of Old Fighters (on the ground of the danger of “confessional” disputes).

¹ Letter of Hitler and Seldte’s reply, 7 Nov. 1935: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, iii (1937), pp. 30-2.

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Note

This is not the place for any discussion of the "Roehm Purge". It will suffice here to recall a few dates.

Already in July 1933 it had been felt that the SA. might become a dangerous rival to the army. In a speech delivered at Bad Reichenhall at a meeting of leaders of the SA. and SS. (1 July 1933) Hitler asserted that the SA. could never take the place of, or enter into competition, with the army.¹ And he is further reported to have said: "I will suppress every attempt to disturb the existing order as ruthlessly as I will deal with the so-called Second Revolution which could lead only to chaotic conditions."²

In 1934 Roehm, it would seem, in a session of the Cabinet held at the end of April, had claimed that SA. formations should be drafted into the Reichswehr and that officials of the SA. should be given corresponding positions as army officers. But General von Blomberg is reported to have opposed the demand, acting with Hindenburg's authority. Hitler gave orders early in June that the SA. should go on leave for the month of July and return to duty on 1 August. The Government's order was accompanied by an announcement from Roehm as Chief of Staff of the SA. (8 June 1934): he himself had been suffering from a painful nervous malady and was going for a "cure". "The year 1934 will call for the full strength of all fighters of the SA." He therefore recommended to SA. leaders that they should begin to let SA. men go on leave in the course of June and not wait until 1 July. He proceeded: "I expect then on 1 August that the SA., fully rested and strengthened, will stand ready to serve the honourable tasks which People and Fatherland may expect from them. If the foes of the SA. are nursing the hope that the SA. will not return from their leave or that a part only will return we are ready to let them enjoy this hope for a short time. At the hour and in the form which appears to be necessary they shall receive

¹ *V.B.*, 3 July 1933.

² Cited from H. W. Blood-Ryan, *Göring the Iron Man of Germany*, London, John Long, 1938, p. 227. This sentence does not occur in the report of the speech in *V.B.*, 3 July 1933.

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the fitting answer."¹ Hitler agreed that there should be a conference of SA. leaders to discuss the future of the organization: it was to be held on the Wiessee in the neighbourhood of Munich on 30 June; and for this conference he sent out the summons.²

On 21 June Hitler celebrated on Goering's estate the festival of the Summer Solstice, when the remains of Goering's first wife were transferred to the mausoleum which he had built to contain them. Goebbels continued to attack the "reactionaries" and von Papen. Hitler, after his return to Berlin, went to visit the aged President of the Reich and on this visit to Hindenburg he had a conversation with General von Blomberg.³ On his return to Berlin Hitler talked with Goebbels and Hess, and thus on 25 June Hess, in a speech from Cologne transmitted over the German wireless, warned those idealists who were criminally toying with the idea of a "Second Revolution". On 28 June, while Goebbels silenced the agitation against the "reactionaries", directions were issued to SA. men prescribing their conduct during their leave.

Bibliography: The Roehm Purge

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Jean François, *L'Affaire Röhm-Hitler*, 2nd edn., Paris, Gallimard, 1939.

For life in Berlin in June 1934 cf. Martha Dodd, *My years in Germany*. London, Gollancz, 1939, pp. 115-47.

For Roehm's personality see his Memoirs: the only edition accessible to me—*Die Memoiren des Stabschef Röhm*—was published by the Uranus Verlag, Saarbrücken [1934]. The Memoirs first appeared in 1928 under the title *Die Geschichte eines Hochverrätters*; 2nd edition 1930. Munich, Eher. A Volksausgabe appeared in 1933.

The only two legal discussions of Hitler's action known to me are Carl Schmitt, *Deutsche Juristenzeitung*, 1934, p. 945, and G. Neesse, *Das Gesetz zur Sicherung der Einheit von Partei und*

¹ *F.Z.*, 10 June 1934.

² Otto Strasser, *Die deutsche Bartholomäusnacht*, p. 95.

³ I do not know on what is based the account of that visit given by J. François in *L'Affaire Röhm-Hitler*, pp. 107-14.

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Staat, Dresden, 1934 (the latter work is inaccessible to me, but cf. G. Neesse, *Partei und Staat*, Hamburg, 1936, pp. 62-3). On Carl Schmitt's article see *The Times*, 28 July 1934, *Prager Presse*, 29 July 1934. For Goering's speech (12 July 1934)—"The Law and the will of the Führer are one"—see *New York Times*, 13 July 1934.

On 1 January 1934 Hitler wrote to Roehm a letter of unexampled warmth and friendliness (employing exceptionally the 2nd person singular). The letter ran:

"My dear Chief of Staff,

"The fight of the National Socialist Movement and the National Socialist Revolution were rendered possible for me by the consistent suppression of the Red Terror by the SA. If the army has to guarantee the protection of the nation against the world beyond our frontiers, the task of the SA. is to secure the victory of the National Socialist Revolution and the existence of the National Socialist State and the community of our people in the domestic sphere. When I summoned you to your present position, my dear Chief of Staff, the SA. was passing through a serious crisis. It is primarily due to your services if after a few years this political instrument could develop that force which enabled me to face the final struggle for power and to succeed in laying low the Marxist opponent."

"At the close of the year of the National Socialist Revolution, therefore, I feel compelled to thank you, my dear Ernst Roehm, for the imperishable services which you have rendered to the National Socialist Movement and the German people, and to assure you how very grateful I am to Fate that I am able to call such men as you my friends and fellow-combatants."

"In true (*herzlicher*) friendship and grateful regard,

Your ADOLF HITLER."

¹ *V.B.*, 2 Jan. 1934.

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Hitler said (in an interview with the representative of the Associated Press as reported in the New York Times of 31 March 1934), when asked concerning the loyalty of his National Socialist colleagues:

"It would be nothing short of an insult to think that any men who have stood with me year after year are being animated by any desire to supplant me."

"The world has never seen a more striking example of unquestioning fidelity than that shown by my associates. The reason, perhaps, why such stories arise lies in the fact that I have associated myself, not with zeros, but with real men. Zeros are round, hence they are the first to begin to roll and tumble when adversity comes."

"The men about me are four-square and upstanding men—each of them a powerful personality, each of them a man with will and ambition. If they had no ambition, they would not be where they are to-day. I welcome ambition. When you have a group of powerful personalities, it is inevitable that occasionally friction is produced."

"But never yet have any men who follow my leadership sought to impose their will upon mine. On the contrary, they have adapted themselves marvellously to my every desire."¹

Speech delivered by Hitler in the Reichstag on 13 July 1934:

"Commissioned thereto by the Government the President of the Reichstag, Hermann Goering, has called you together to-day to give me the possibility of explaining before this best qualified Forum of the Nation events which may well remain for all time in our history as a memory alike of sorrow and of warning. Out of a sum of material causes and personal guilt, from human inadequacy and human defects, there arose for our young

¹ *The New York Times*, 31 Mar. 1934.

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Reich a crisis which only too easily might for an incalculable period have produced consequences completely disastrous. To make clear to you and thereby to the nation how this crisis arose and how it was overcome is the aim of my speech. The content of this speech will be of ruthless frankness. Only in its scope do I feel bound to impose upon myself some limitation, and that limitation is on the one side conditioned by the interests of the Reich and on the other side by bounds which are set by the sentiment of shame."

"When on 30 January 1933 Field Marshal and President of the Reich von Hindenburg entrusted me with the leadership of the newly formed German Government the National Socialist Party took over a State which both politically and economically was in complete decline. All political forces of the former state of affairs which had just been brought to a close had their share in this decline and consequently a share in guilt. Since the abdication of the Kaiser and the German princes the German people had been delivered into the hands of men who, as the representatives of our past world of parties, had either consciously induced this decline or had weakly suffered it to continue. Beginning with the Marxist revolutionaries and proceeding by way of the Centrum till one reached the Bourgeois Nationalists—all parties and their leaders were given an opportunity to prove their capacity to govern Germany. Endless coalitions allowed them to put to the test their political arts and their economic skill. They have all failed miserably. 30 January [1933] was therefore not the day when our Government formally took over responsibility from the hands of another Government, it was rather the final liquidation, long desired by the nation, of an intolerable state of affairs."

"It is essential that this should be clearly stated since,

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as subsequent events have proved, some individuals would seem to have forgotten that previously they were given full opportunity for demonstrating their political capacities. There is no one in Germany who could have any ground, even did he so wish, to charge the National Socialist Movement with having obstructed or even blocked the way to political forces which offered any hope of success. Fate, for reasons which we cannot fathom, condemned our people for fifteen years to serve as the field on which these politicians could make their experiments—as the rabbit in the hands of the vivisector.”

“It may have been interesting and pleasurable for the outside world—especially for the world that is ill-disposed towards us—to follow these experiments; for the German people they were as painful as they were humiliating. Look back on this period and before your eyes let all those figures pass who succeeded each other as Chancellors of the Reich. In what land were the scales of Providence more often brought into use, and where more frequently was the verdict passed that the object weighed had fallen short of the due weight? No! We National Socialists have the right to refuse to be counted as members of this line. On 30 January 1933 it was not a case of a new Government being formed as had happened times without number before, but a new régime had superseded an old and sick age.”

“This historic act of the liquidation of that most melancholy period in our nation’s life which now lies behind us was legalized by the German people itself. For we have not seized possession of power as usurpers, as did the men of November 1918; we have received power constitutionally and legally. We have not made a revolution as uprooted anarchists, but, as executing the nation’s will, we have set aside a régime born of rebellion,

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and we have seen our task to lie not in maintaining power at the point of the bayonet, but in finding that power in the heart of our people, and anchoring it there."

"When to-day I read in a certain foreign newspaper that at the present time I am filled with profound anxieties, and at this moment in particular with economic anxieties, I have only one answer for these scribblers: assuredly that is true, but it is not merely to-day that anxiety tortures me; it has done so for a long time past. If it was formerly the anxiety for our people which led us to protect our people in the War which, despite its innocence, had been forced upon it, after the collapse it was the far greater anxiety for the future which turned us into revolutionaries. And when after fifteen years of struggle at last we received the leadership of the nation this torturing anxiety not only did not loosen its hold upon us, but on the contrary did but embrace us the more closely. I may be believed when I assure you that never yet in my life have I allowed myself to be anxious for my own personal fate. But I confess that from the day when the confidence of the Field Marshal appointed for me my place I do bear the burden of that heavy anxiety which the present and the future of our people lay upon us all. For on 30 January we did not take over a State which was in good order politically and in a healthy economic condition: we took over a political and economic chaos, which at that time precisely by those who are my critics to-day was regarded as completely irreparable and was so described by them."

"We, however, have had the courage to accept battle in all spheres against these evidences of decline. From days and nights filled with anxieties we have always gained fresh strength for new decisions. For however much hostile critics may carp upon points of detail, even they cannot deny that we have not capitulated before

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problems, but that we have always striven manfully to solve them and that in numberless cases we have solved them. The result of one and a half years of National Socialist Government lies clear and indisputable before us. Its significance cannot be estimated by comparisons with the conditions with which we were faced on 30 January 1933. No! He who would be just must judge our success by comparing it with that which would have happened if we had not conquered. Only he who in his thought carries on farther the line of development which led up to the 30th of January of last year—only he can measure the greatness of the National Socialist achievement, for we have not only stayed the course of destiny as it was running at that time, but we have in all spheres put destiny on the road to good fortune."

"When I as Chancellor of the Reich came into the Wilhelmstrasse, the authority of the Reich had become a worthless phantom. The spirit of revolt and insubordination dominated the German States and communes. The shadows of the most melancholy political past of the German people rose alarmingly before us. Particularism and Separatism insolently proclaimed themselves as the new German conception of the State. From the internal weakness of the Reich sprang its undignified attitude towards the world without. It had once more become a humiliation to confess publicly that one was a German. The spirit of insubordination and of internal revolt within a few months we exterminated and destroyed. While fully respecting the essential character of our German tribes we have strengthened the authority of the Reich as the expression of the common will of our people's life and have made it supreme. The German Reich is to-day no longer a merely geographical conception: it has become a political unity. We have directed our people's development on to lines which only

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two years ago were regarded as unattainable. And just as within the Reich we firmly secured the unity and therewith the future of the German people, so in the sphere of foreign policy we have resolutely championed the rights of our people."

"It was not enough, however, to overcome the constitutional disunion of the German people, but it appeared to us almost more important to prevent the threatening dissolution in the political life of the people itself. Hardly six months of National Socialist government had passed before the course of our former political life, our party-disunion, was overcome. More and more from month to month the German people separated itself from this period which already to-day appears to us almost incomprehensible, and grew more and more alienated from its characteristic features. There was no need for me to give expression to that fact, for every German feels and knows it to be true; even the bare thought of any return to this confused party-world is ridiculous and absurd."

"This great process of the cleansing of the nation's political life was followed by a no less great economic change. What has been achieved in this sphere during the last eighteen months is shown by the incontestable fact that four and a half million unemployed have been brought back to useful productive work in a period of not quite one and a half years. This is a very simple fact, but the measure of its simplicity is matched only by the greatness of the anxieties which had and still have their roots in this struggle against unemployment. It is an embittered fight which we have been waging for more than one and a half years. If you would judge it, you must not start from that which was wrongly done, but rather from the fact of the result which to-day has been achieved—a result which was precisely that which

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our critics held to be impossible. And further I would here make one general statement: we have been faced by questions to which those who preceded us have found no answer. In many cases we were quite unable to appeal to the former experience of others. We had to discover our own ways so often that it is naturally easy afterwards to pillory this or that mistake. But I regard it as a greater service to have the courage at least to seek for a way out of misery rather than from fear of choosing the wrong way to remain in misery. We all know that for a Government that is truly anxious to do its duty there can never be a time when it is free from anxieties. Always there are new problems to master, new questions to solve, new tasks to fulfil. While we liberated four and a half million men from unemployment and once more made possible for them a different standard of living, we were at the same time increasing their power of consumption: that means that foreign raw materials are consumed to a greater extent. We see difficulties such as these and I can assure the German people of one thing only: We shall solve them."

"If our trade balance is unfavourable owing to our exclusion from foreign markets either by economic barriers or by a political boycott, then thanks to the genius of our inventors and chemists and through our own energy we shall find ways to make ourselves independent of the import of those materials which we are in a position ourselves to produce or for which we can discover substitutes. All these problems we shall solve with indomitable resolution, and in that resolution we shall always be inspired by our anxiety to help our people in its struggle for existence. There is hardly a sphere of our national, political, or economic life, hardly a sphere of our life as a whole, in which we have not done pioneering work."

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"The best proof of the truth of this assertion is the attitude of the German people itself. In all strata of its life it has declared its loyalty to the new régime. The features which marked our former political confusion have not been set aside because we destroyed them, but because the German people removed them from its heart. And I must—to-day and in this place—confess that assuredly our work would have been utterly vain, and must have been vain, had not the German people given us its confidence and its loyal co-operation in so large a measure. Our success is due to the 41½ million men and women from all walks of life who gave us no merely superficial 'Yes', but devoted themselves with all their hearts to the new régime."

"To them our success is mainly due. Without their confiding trust, without their patient forbearance, without their devotion and readiness for sacrifice the work of German recovery would never have succeeded. They are, as the supporters of the people's rebirth, at the same time the best representatives of the people. They are in truth the German people."

"Beginning with the old, true, and unswerving fighters of our Movement and going down to the newly won millions of the working-classes they form the healthy element in our people's life. They have all remained honourable and decent in character. Millions of them still to-day in Germany fight a hard and bitter struggle for their scanty daily bread. Hundreds of thousands of miners hardly earn the bare necessities of life. Hundreds of thousands of others were ready to share their job with their still poorer fellow-countrymen. And yet they all live looking to the new State with confidence and faith. From millions of hard-working men who earn but little we have been compelled to demand sacrifices to save

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Germans in other walks of life.¹ And those sacrifices they have made. The words 'Community of the German people' have found precisely in the poorest sons of our people their most lofty and glorious exemplification. Millions of women love this new State, make sacrifices for it, work and pray for it. They sympathize by natural instinct with its mission of maintaining our people to which in their children they have themselves given a living pledge. Hundreds of thousands of members of our former *bourgeois* society are anxious to seek and find in the new State their way to the German people."

"For countless numbers a new life seems to have been opened up, a fairer goal seems to have been set before them for their work and their ceaseless striving and struggling. He who has the good fortune to come amongst this people will himself be seized and carried away by the wave of boundless assurance, of utterly immovable confidence with which they all cling to this new Germany."

"And over against this positive world of the German spirit (*Deutschtums*), the incorporation of the true values of our people, there stands also, it is true, a small negative world. They take no part in their hearts in the work of German recovery and restoration. First there is the small body of those international disintegrators of a people who as apostles of the *Weltanschauung* of Communism alike in the political and economic sphere systematically incite the peoples, break up established order, and endeavour to produce chaos. We see evidence for the activity of these international conspirators all about us. Up and down the countries the flames of revolt run over the peoples. Street riots, fights at the barricades, mass-terrorism, and the individualistic propaganda of disintegration disturb to-day nearly all the

¹ German: *zur Rettung anderer deutscher Lebensstände*.

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countries of the world. Even in Germany some single fools and criminals of this type still again and again seek to exercise their destructive activity. Since the destruction of the Communist Party we experience one attempt after another, though growing ever weaker as time passes, to found and to sustain the work of Communistic organizations of a more or less anarchistic character. Their method is always the same. While they paint men's present lot as intolerable they praise the Communistic paradise of the future, and thus practically wage a war in Hell's behalf. For the consequences of their victory in a country such as Germany could be nothing but completely destructive. The proof of their capacity and of the effect of their supremacy has by concrete examples already become so clear to the German people that the overwhelming majority even of the German working-classes has recognized the true character of these Jewish-international benefactors of mankind and is no longer seduced by them. The National Socialist State in its domestic life will exterminate and annihilate even these last remnants of this poisoning and stultification of the people, if necessary at the cost of another Hundred Years War."

"The second group of the discontented consists of those political leaders who feel that their political future is closed through the 30th of January, but yet are still unable to accept the irrevocability of this fact. The more time veils with the gracious mantle of forgetfulness their own incapacity, the more do they think themselves entitled gradually to bring themselves back into the people's memory. But since their incapacity was not formerly limited to any special period but was born in them by nature, they are to-day, too, unable to prove their value in any positive and useful work, but they see the fulfilment of their life's task to lie in a criticism which is as

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treacherous as it is mendacious. With them, too, the people has no sympathy. The National Socialist State can neither be seriously threatened by them nor in any way damaged."

"A third group of destructive elements is formed of those revolutionaries whose former relation to the State was shattered by the events of 1918; they became uprooted and thereby lost altogether all sympathy with any ordered human society. They became revolutionaries who favoured revolution for its own sake and desired to see revolution established as a permanent condition. We all formerly suffered under the frightful tragedy that we, as disciplined and loyal soldiers, were suddenly faced with a revolt of mutineers who managed to seize possession of the State. Each of us had been brought up to respect the laws and to reverence authority, we had been trained in obedience to the commands and regulations issued by the authorities, in a subordination of our wills in face of the State's representatives. Now the revolution of deserters and mutineers forced upon us in our thought the abandonment of these conceptions. We could not pay respect to the new usurpers. Our honour, our conscience forced us to withhold our obedience to their orders, our love for the nation and for the Fatherland laid upon us the duty of waging war against them, the absence of any morality¹ in their laws quenched in us any feeling for the necessity of observing them, and thus we became revolutionaries. But even as revolutionaries we had never cut ourselves loose from the obligation of applying to ourselves just as much as to others the natural laws of the sovereign right of our people; these we were bound to respect."

"We did not desire to violate the will of the German

¹ German: *die Amoral ihrer Gesetze*; is the word here = "immorality"?

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people or its right of self-determination: we wanted only to drive out the violators of the nation. And when at last we received our legitimation through the trust reposed in us by this people and drew the conclusions resulting from our fourteen years of fighting, that did not happen in order that we might allow our instincts free rein to vent themselves but only that we might establish a new and better order. For us the Revolution which shattered the second Germany was but the mighty act of birth whereby the Third Reich was called into being. Our desire was to create once more a State to which every German may cling with a loving devotion. Our aim was to establish a régime to which everyone might look up with respect, to devise laws which corresponded with the morality of our people, to make secure an authority to which every man might subject himself in Prussian obedience. For us the Revolution is no permanent condition. When some mortal check is imposed with violence upon the natural development of a people, then the artificially interrupted evolution can rightly by a deed of violence open up the way for itself in order to regain liberty to pursue its natural development. But there can be no such thing as a state of permanent revolution; neither can any beneficent development be secured by means of periodically recurrent revolts."

"Amongst the numberless documents which during the last week it was my duty to read I have discovered a diary with the notes of a man who, in 1918, was thrown into the path of resistance to the laws and who now lives in a world in which law in itself seems to be a provocation to resistance. It is an unnerving document—an unbroken tale of conspiracy and continual plotting: it gives one an insight into the mentality of men who, without realizing it, have found in nihilism their final confession of faith. Incapable of any true co-operation,

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with a desire to oppose all order, filled with hatred against every authority, their unrest and disquietude can find satisfaction only in some conspiratorial activity of the mind perpetually plotting the disintegration of whatever at any moment may exist. Many of them in the early days of our struggle have together with us charged against the State which is now no more, but their inner lack of discipline led most of them, even during the course of the struggle, away from the disciplined National Socialist Movement."

"The last remnant appeared to have separated itself from us after the 30th of January. The link with the National Socialist Movement was severed at the moment when the Movement itself, now representing the State, became the object of their pathological aversion. They are on principle enemies of every authority, and therefore there can be no hope at all of their conversion. Achievements which appear to strengthen the new German State do but increase their hatred, for in general one thing is common to these folk who are from principle in permanent opposition: they do not see before them the German people but the institution which guarantees order, and it is that which arouses their hatred. They are not filled with a desire to help the people, but rather by a hope which severs them from the people—the hope that the Government may fail in its work for the people's salvation. They are for that reason never prepared to admit the benefit resulting from any act: rather they are filled with the determination to deny on principle every success and on every success to trace the failures and the weaknesses which may possibly ensue."

"This third group of pathological enemies of the State is dangerous because they represent a reservoir of those ready to co-operate in every attempt at a revolt, at least

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just for so long as a new order does not begin to crystallize out of the state of chaotic confusion."

"I must now mention the fourth group, which often perhaps even against its own will does in fact carry on a truly destructive activity. The group is composed of those persons who belong to a comparatively small section (*Schicht*) of society and who, having nothing to do, find time and opportunity to report orally everything that has happened in order thus to bring some interesting and important variety into their otherwise completely purposeless lives. For whilst the overwhelming majority of the nation has to earn its daily bread in toilsome work, in certain strata of life (*Lebensschichten*) there are still folk whose sole activity it is to do nothing, only to need afterwards a rest-cure from doing nothing. The more paltry is the life of such a drone, the more eagerly will he seize upon anything which may give some interesting content to the vacuity of his mind. Personal and political gossip is eagerly swallowed and even more eagerly handed on. Since these men as a result of doing nothing do not possess any living relation to the millions which form the mass of the nation, their life is confined in its range to the circle within which they move. Every bit of gossip which strays into this circle reverberates backwards and forwards like figures reflected in two distorting mirrors. Because their whole ego is full of nothingness, and since they find a similar nothingness amongst their like, they look upon the whole world as equally empty; they come to think that the outlook of their own circle is the outlook of everyone. Their anxieties, they imagine, form the cares of the whole nation. In reality this little cloud of drones is but a State within the State; it has no contact with the life, the sentiments, the hopes and cares of the rest of the people. They are, however, dangerous because they are veritable bacillus-carriers of unrest and

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uncertainty, of rumours, assertions, lies and suspicions, of slanders and fears, and thus they contribute to produce gradually a state of nervousness which spreads amongst the people so that in the end it is hard to find or recognize where its influence stops."

"Just as in all other peoples, so in Germany they carry on their mischievous activity. For them the National Socialist Revolution was an interesting subject of conversation, and so, on the other hand, was the fight of our enemies against the National Socialist State."

"But one thing is clear: the work of reconstruction and indeed the work of our people itself is possible only if the German people in internal calm, order, and discipline follows its leaders and above all if it puts its trust in its leaders. For it is only the trust and the faith in the new State which has enabled us to attack and solve the great tasks which have been set us by our predecessors."

"Though it is true that from the outset the National Socialist régime had to take these various groups into account and has in fact taken account of them, yet for some months there has been noticeable a trend of thought which we could not afford lightly to tolerate."

"The first idle talk which one heard here and there of a new revolution, of a new upheaval, of a new revolt gradually grew in intensity to such an extent that only an irresponsible statesmanship could afford to ignore it. One could no longer simply dismiss as silly chatter all the information which came to us in hundreds and at last in thousands of reports both orally and in writing. Only three months ago the leaders of the Party were still convinced that it was simply the irresponsible gossip of political reactionaries, of Marxist anarchists, or of all sorts of idlers with which they had to deal—gossip which had no support in fact."

"In the middle of March I took steps to have prepara-

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tions made for a new wave of propaganda which was to render the German people immune from any attempt to spread fresh poison. At the same time I gave orders to certain departments of the Party administration to trace the rumours of a new revolution which were continually cropping up and to find out, if possible, the sources from which they came. The result was that certain tendencies appeared in the ranks of some of the higher leaders of the SA. which were bound to cause the gravest anxiety. At first it was a case of general symptoms, the inner connexions of which were not at once clear:"

"1. Against my express order, and in despite of declarations made to me through the Chief of Staff, Roehm, there had been such an increase in the numbers of the SA. that the internal homogeneity of this unique organization must be endangered".

"2. Education in the National Socialist *Weltanschauung* in the above-mentioned sections of individual higher SA. authorities had been more and more neglected".

"3. The natural relationship between the Party and the SA. began slowly to be weakened. We were able to establish that efforts were being made, as it seemed systematically, to withdraw the SA. more and more from the mission appointed for it by me and to use it in the service of other tasks or other interests".

"4. Promotions to posts of leadership in the SA. when they were tested showed that a completely one-sided valuation had been set on purely external skill or often only on a supposed intellectual capacity. The great body of the oldest and most loyal SA. men was always more and more neglected when appointments to the post of leader were made or when vacancies had to be filled, while a quite incomprehensible preference was shown for those who had been enlisted in the year 1933 who were

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not specially highly respected in the Movement. Often only a few months' membership of the Party, or even only of the SA., was enough to secure promotion to a higher position in the SA. which the old SA. leader could not reach after years of service".

"5. The behaviour of these individual SA. leaders who had for the greater part not grown up with the Movement at all was false to National Socialist standards and often positively revolting. It could not be overlooked that it was precisely in these circles that one source of the unrest in the Movement was discovered, in that their incomplete practical National Socialism sought to veil itself in very unseemly demands for a new revolution."

"I drew the attention of the Chief of Staff, Roehm, to these abuses and to a number of others without meeting with any appreciable help in their removal, indeed without any recognizable concurrence on his part with my objections."

"In the months of April and May there was a constant increase in these complaints, and it was then that I received for the first time reports, confirmed by official documents, of conversations which had been held by individual higher leaders of the SA. and which can only be described as 'gross impropriety'. For the first time in some official documents we obtained irrefutable evidence that in these conversations references had been made to the necessity for a new revolution and that leaders had received instructions to prepare themselves both materially and in spirit for such a new revolution. The Chief of Staff, Roehm, endeavoured to maintain that these conversations had not in fact been held and that the reports were to be explained as veiled attacks upon the SA."

"The confirmation of some of these cases through the statements of those who had been present led to the

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most serious ill-treatment of these witnesses who for the most part came from the ranks of the old SA. Already by the end of April the leaders of the Party and a number of State institutions concerned in the matter were convinced that a certain group of the higher SA. leaders was consciously contributing towards the alienation of the SA. from the Party as well as from the other institutions of the State, or at least was not opposing this alienation. The attempt to remedy this state of affairs through the normal official channels always remained unsuccessful. The Chief of Staff, Roehm, promised me personally over and over again that he would inquire into these cases and that he would remove or punish the guilty parties. But no visible change in the situation resulted."

"In the month of May numerous charges of offences committed by SA. leaders, both those of high rank and of intermediate position, were received by officials of the Party and of the State; these offences were supported by official documents and could not be denied. Provocative speeches led directly to intolerable excesses. The Minister-President Goering had already previously endeavoured, so far as Prussia was concerned, to maintain the authority of the will of the National Socialist State over the self-will of individual elements. In some other German States meanwhile the authorities of the Party and the officials had been compelled to oppose single intolerable excesses. Some of the responsible parties were taken into custody. I have before this always stressed the fact that an authoritarian régime is under special obligations. When one demands of a people that it should put blind confidence in its leaders, then for their part these leaders must deserve this confidence through their achievement and through specially good behaviour. Mistakes and errors may in individual cases

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slip in, but they are to be eradicated. Bad behaviour, drunken excesses, the molestation of peaceful decent folk -these are unworthy of a leader, they are not National Socialist, and they are in the highest degree detestable."

"I have for this reason always insisted that in their conduct and behaviour higher demands should be made of National Socialist leaders than of the rest of the people.¹ He who desires to receive higher respect than others must meet this demand by a higher achievement. The most elementary demand that can be made of him is that in his life he should not give a shameful example to those about him. I do not desire therefore that National Socialists guilty of such offences should be judged and punished more leniently than are other fellow-countrymen of theirs; rather, I expect that a leader who forgets himself in this way should be punished with greater rigour than an unknown man would be in a like case. And here I would make no distinction between leaders of the political organizations and leaders of the formations of our SA., SS., Hitler-Youth, &c."

"The resolution of the National Socialist Government to put an end to such excesses of individual unworthy elements which did but cover with shame the Party and the SA. led to a very violent counter-activity on the part of the Chief of Staff. National Socialist fighters of the earliest days, some of whom had striven for nearly fifteen years for the victory of the Movement and now as high State-officials in leading positions in our State represented the Movement, were called to account for the action which they had taken against such unworthy elements: that is to say that through Courts of Honour, composed in part of some of the youngest members of the Party or even at times of those who were not mem-

¹ German: *Volksgenossen*.

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bers of the Party at all, the Chief of Staff, Roehm, sought to secure the punishment of these oldest Party-combatants."

"These disagreements led to very serious exchanges of views between the Chief of Staff and myself, and it was in these interviews that for the first time doubts of the loyalty of this man began to rise in my mind. Though for many months I had rejected every such idea, though previously through the years I had protected this man with my person in unswerving loyalty and comradeship, now gradually warnings which I received—especially from my deputy in the leadership of the Party, Rudolf Hess—began to induce suspicions which even with the best of will I was not able to stifle."

"After the month of May there could be no further doubt that the Chief of Staff, Roehm, was busied with ambitious schemes which, if they were realized, could lead only to the most violent disturbances."

"If during these months I hesitated again and again before taking a final decision that was due to two considerations:

"1. I could not lightly persuade myself to believe that a relation which I thought to be founded on loyalty could be only a lie.

"2. I still always cherished the secret hope that I might be able to spare the Movement and my SA. the shame of such a disagreement and that it might be possible to remove the mischief without severe conflicts. It must be confessed that the last days of May continuously brought to light more and more disquieting facts."

"The Chief of Staff now began to alienate himself from the Party not only in spirit but also in his whole external manner of life. All the principles through which we had grown to greatness lost their validity. The life which

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the Chief of Staff and with him a certain circle began to lead was from any National Socialist point of view intolerable. It was not only terrible that he himself and the circle of those who were devoted to him should violate all laws of decency and modest behaviour, it was still worse that now this poison began to spread in ever wider circles. The worst of all was that gradually out of a certain common disposition of character there began to be formed within the SA. a party (*Sekte*) which became the kernel of a conspiracy directed not only against the normal views of a healthy people but also against the security of the State. The review which took place in the month of May of promotions in certain SA. districts led to the horrible realization that men without regard to services rendered to the National Socialist Party or to the SA. had been promoted to positions in the SA. solely because they belonged to the circle of those possessing this special disposition. Individual cases with which you are familiar such, for example, as that of the Standard-Leader Schmidt in Breslau, disclosed a picture of conditions which could only be regarded as intolerable. My order to proceed against the offenders was followed in theory, but in fact it was sabotaged."

"Gradually from amongst the leaders of the SA. there emerged three groups: a small group of elements which were held together through a like disposition, men who were ready for any action and who had given themselves blindly into the hands of the Chief of Staff, Roehm. The principal members of this group were the SA. leaders Ernst from Berlin, Heines in Silesia, Hayn in Saxony, and Heydebreck in Pomerania. Besides these there was a second group of SA. leaders who did not belong to the former group in spirit but felt themselves bound to obey the Chief of Staff, Roehm, solely from a

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simple conception of a soldier's duty. Over against these stood a third group of leaders who made no secret of their inner disgust and reprobation and were in consequence in part removed from responsible posts, in part thrust aside, and in many respects left out of account."

"At the head of this group of SA. leaders, who because of their fundamental decency had been hardly treated, stood the present Chief of Staff, Lutze and the leader of the SS., Himmler."

"Without ever informing me and when at first I never dreamt of any such action, the Chief of Staff, Roehm, through the agency of an utterly corrupt swindler—a certain Herr von A—, entered into relations with General Schleicher. General Schleicher was the man who gave external expression to the secret wish of the Chief of Staff, Roehm. He it was who defined the latter's views in concrete form and maintained that

1. The present régime in Germany cannot be supported.
2. Above all the army and all national associations must be united in a single band.
3. The only man who could be considered for such a position was the Chief of Staff, Roehm.
4. Herr von Papen must be removed and he himself would be ready to take the position of Vice-Chancellor, and that in addition further important changes must be made in the Cabinet of the Reich."

"As always happens in such cases there now began the search after the men for the new Government, always under the view that I myself should at least for the present be left in the position which I now hold."

"The execution of these proposals of General von Schleicher was bound, as soon as Point 2 was reached, to come up against my unalterable opposition. Both from a consideration of the facts and from a consideration

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of personal character it would never have been possible for me to consent to a change in the Reich Ministry of War and to the appointment of the Chief of Staff, Roehm, to that Ministry."

"Firstly: the consideration of the facts: for fourteen years I have stated consistently that the fighting organizations of the Party are political institutions and that they have nothing to do with the army. On the facts of the case it would be, in my opinion, to disavow this view of mine and my fourteen years of political life if I were now to summon to the head of the army the leader of the SA. In November 1923¹ I proposed that an officer should lead the army and not the man who was then the leader of my SA., Captain Goering."

"Secondly: the consideration of human character. On this point it would have been impossible for me ever to concur in the proposal of General von Schleicher. When these plans became known to me my picture of the value of the character of the Chief of Staff, Roehm, was already such that before my conscience and for the sake of the honour of the army I could no longer under any circumstances contemplate admitting him to this post: above all, the supreme head of the army is the Field Marshal and President of the Reich. As Chancellor I gave my oath into his keeping. His person is for us all inviolate. The promise which I gave him that I would preserve the army as a non-political instrument of the Reich is for me binding, both from my inmost conviction and also from the word which I have given. But, further, any such act would have been impossible for me on the human side in the face of the War Minister of the Reich. Both I myself and all of us are happy to be able to see in him a man of honour from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet. He reconciled the army with those who

¹ At the time of the *Putsch*.

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were once revolutionaries and has linked it up with their Government to-day and he has done this from the deepest convictions of his heart. He has made his own in truest loyalty the principle for which I myself will stand to my last breath."

"In the State there is only one bearer of arms, and that is the army; there is only one bearer of the political will, and that is the National Socialist Party. Any thought of consenting to the plans of General von Schleicher would be, so far as I am concerned, not only disloyalty to the Field Marshal and the War Minister, but also disloyalty to the army. For just as General von Blomberg as War Minister in the National Socialist State fulfils his duty in the highest sense of the word, so do, also, the other officers and the soldiers. I cannot demand from them that as individuals each of them should take up a definite position towards our Movement, but not one of them has lost the true position of loyal service to the National Socialist State. And, further, I could not without the most compelling cause have permitted the removal of men who as a united body on the 30th of January gave me their promise to co-operate in the salvation of the Reich and of the people. There are duties of loyalty which one dare not and ought not to violate. And I believe that above all the man who has in his own name unified the nation ought in no circumstances to act disloyally if he would not see both within and without the complete disappearance of all trust in loyalty and good faith."

"Since the Chief of Staff, Roehm, was himself uncertain whether any attempt on the lines which I have described might not well meet with resistance from me, the first plan was devised in order to achieve the desired result by compulsion. Extensive preparations were made: in the first place

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"1. Psychological conditions which should favour the outbreak of a second revolution were to be systematically created. For this end, by means of the SA. propaganda authorities themselves, the assertion was spread through the ranks of the SA. that the army intended to disband the SA., and it was later added that unfortunately I myself had been won over to the support of this plan. A wretched and infamous lie!"

"2. The SA. must forthwith anticipate this attack, and in a second revolution must remove the reactionary elements on the one hand and the opposition of the Party on the other. Authority in the State must be entrusted to the leaders of the SA."

"3. To this end the SA. should make as rapidly as possible all the necessary material preparations. Through different pretexts, e.g. by the lying statement that he was anxious to carry through a scheme of social relief for the benefit of the SA., the Chief of Staff, Roehm, succeeded in collecting contributions running into millions of marks. Twelve million marks were raised for these objects."

"4. In order to be in a position to deliver ruthlessly the most decisive blows there were formed under the title of 'Staff-Guards' groups of terrorists specially sworn in for the purpose. The old SA. man had for more than a decade gone starving in the service of the Movement; now these new formations were paid troops, and the personal character and the purpose for which they were enlisted cannot be more clearly shown than by the truly fearful list of the punishments which they had previously incurred; indeed the old, true SA. leader and SA. man now very quickly were thrust into the background in favour of those elements which had enjoyed no political training but were better qualified for the kind of work for which they were intended. At

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certain gatherings of leaders (*Führertagungen*) as well as on holiday-trips (*Erholungsfahrten*) gradually the SA. leaders concerned in the plan were brought together and dealt with individually, that is to say, that while the members of the inner circle (*Sekte*) systematically prepared the main action, the second and larger circle of SA. leaders was only given general information to the effect that a second revolution was on the way, that this second revolution had no other object than to restore to me personally my freedom of action, and that therefore the new—and this time bloody—rising—"The Night of the Long Knives" was their ghastly name for it—was exactly what I myself desired. The necessity for the initiative of the SA. was explained by reference to my own inability to come to any decision: that disability would be removed only when I was faced with an accomplished fact. Presumably it was by means of these untrue pretexts that the preparation for the scheme so far as foreign policy was concerned was given to Herr von Detten. General von Schleicher saw to this aspect of the scheme in part personally, but left the practical side of the negotiations to his intermediary (*Kurier*), General von Bredow. Gregor Strasser was brought in."

"At the beginning of June I made a last attempt and had yet another talk with Roehm which lasted nearly five hours and was prolonged until midnight. I informed him that from numberless rumours and from numerous assurances and statements of old, loyal comrades and SA. leaders I had gained the impression that by certain unscrupulous elements a National-Bolshevist rising was being prepared which could only bring untold misery upon Germany. I explained to him further that reports had also come to my ears of the intention to draw the army within the scope of these plans. I assured the Chief of Staff, Roehm, that the assertion that the SA. was

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to be dissolved was an infamous lie and that I refused to make any comment upon the lie that I myself intended to attack the SA., but that I should at any moment be ready personally to oppose any attempt to raise chaos in Germany and that anyone who attacks the State should know from the outset that he will have me for his enemy. I implored him for the last time to oppose this madness of his own accord—let him at the same time use his authority so as to stop a development which in any event could end only in a catastrophe. I raised afresh vigorous protests on the score of the impossible excesses which followed one after another, and demanded the immediate and complete elimination of these elements from the SA. in order not to dishonour, through a few unworthy individuals, the SA. itself together with millions of decent comrades and hundreds of thousands of old fighters. The Chief of Staff left this interview after assuring me that the reports were partly untrue and partly exaggerated, and that moreover he would for the future do everything in his power to set things to rights."

"The result of the interview, however, was that the Chief of Staff, Roehm, recognizing that for the undertaking which he was planning he could in no circumstances count on my personal support, now prepared to remove me personally from the scene.¹ To this end it was explained to the larger circle of SA. leaders who had been drawn into the plot that I myself was in thorough agreement with the proposed undertaking, but that I personally must know nothing about it or else that I wished on the outbreak of the rising immediately to be arrested and kept in custody for some twenty-four or forty-eight hours in order thus through the *fait accompli*

¹ German text: "*in der Erkenntnis auf meine Person bei seinem geplanten Unternehmen unter keinen Umständen rechnen zu können, nunmehr die Beseitigung meiner Person selbst vorbereitete.*"

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to be relieved from an awkward responsibility which must otherwise arise for me in the sphere of our foreign relations. This explanation is conclusively illustrated by the fact that meanwhile care had been taken to bribe the man whose task it was later to carry through my removal. Standard-leader Uhl, a few hours before his death, confessed that he had been ready to execute such an order."

"The first plan for the revolution was founded on the idea of granting leave to the SA. During this period of leave, since any plausible excuse was lacking, inexplicable riots were to break out similar to the conditions in August 1932. These would compel me to summon the Chief of Staff, who alone would be in a position to restore order; for this purpose I should have to entrust him with full executive authority. But when meanwhile it had been clearly shown that in no circumstances could my willingness to give such an order be relied upon, this plan was abandoned and direct action was now contemplated."

"That action was to begin by a blow struck without any warning in Berlin: there was to be an assault upon the Government building, I myself was to be taken into custody so that further steps, as though ordered by me, could follow without any hindrance. The conspirators calculated that commands given in my name to the SA. would immediately call into action the SA. throughout the Reich, and also that thereby there would result automatically a division in all the other forces of the State ranged in opposition to the rising."

"The Chief of Staff, Roehm, the Gruppenführer (Group-Leader) Ernst, the Obergruppenführer Heines, Hayn, and a number of others declared in the presence of witnesses that immediately there was to follow a conflict of the bloodiest kind, lasting several days, with their opponents. The economic side of such a development

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was dismissed with positively insane irresponsibility: bloody terrorism in one way or another was to provide the necessary means. Here I must deal with the view that every successful revolution provides in itself its own justification. The Chief of Staff, Roehm, and his followers declared their revolution to be a necessity because only so could the victory of pure National Socialism receive its full justification. But at this point I must assert, both in the interest of the present and of posterity, that these men no longer had any right at all to appeal to National Socialism as their *Weltanschauung*. Their lives had become as evil as the lives of those whom we defeated in 1933 and whose places we took. The behaviour of these men made it impossible for me to ask them to my house or, even if it were once only, to enter the house of the Chief of Staff in Berlin. It is difficult to conceive what would have become of Germany if these people had won the day. The greatness of the danger could not be fully realized until we received the communications which now reached Germany from abroad. English and French papers began with increasing frequency to speak of an upheaval which would shortly take place in Germany, and from the ever-growing stream of communications it was clear that the conspirators had systematically sought to foster the view in foreign countries that the revolution of the genuine National Socialists was at hand and that the existing régime was now incapable of action. General von Bredow, who as political agent in foreign affairs for General von Schleicher looked after these connexions, worked in sympathy with those reactionary circles who—though not perhaps standing in any direct connexion with this conspiracy—yet readily allowed themselves to be misused as subterranean purveyors of information for foreign Powers.”

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"Thus at the end of June I had made up my mind to put an end to this impossible development, and that, too, before the blood of ten thousand innocent folk should seal the catastrophe. Since the danger and the tension which oppressed everyone were growing intolerable, and since the authorities both in the Party and in the State were each in duty bound to take measures in self-defence, the extraordinary, sudden prolongation of the period of service of the SA. before their leave seemed to me suspicious, and consequently I decided that on Saturday 30 June I would deprive the Chief of Staff of his office and for the time being keep him in custody and would arrest a number of SA. leaders whose crimes were unquestioned. Since it was doubtful, when things had reached so threatening a climax, whether the Chief of Staff, Roehm, would have come to Berlin at all, or indeed anywhere else, I decided to go in person to a discussion amongst SA. leaders which had been announced to be held at Wiessee. Relying on the authority of my own personality and on my power of decision which had never failed me in the hour of need, I determined that there at 12 o'clock midday I would deprive the Chief of Staff of his office, I would arrest those SA. leaders who were principally responsible, and in an earnest appeal to the others I would recall them to their duty."

"However, in the course of the 29th of June I received such threatening intelligence concerning the last preparations for action that I was forced at midday to interrupt an inspection of a Workers' Camp in Westphalia in order to hold myself in readiness for all emergencies. At 1 o'clock in the night I received from Berlin and Munich two urgent messages concerning alarm-summonses:¹ firstly that for Berlin an alarm-muster had been ordered

¹ German: *Alarmnachrichten*.

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for 4 o'clock in the afternoon, that for the transport of the regular shock-formations the requisition of lorries had been ordered, and that this requisition was now proceeding, and that promptly at 5 o'clock action was to begin with a surprise attack: the Government building was to be occupied. Gruppenführer Ernst with this end in view had not after all gone to Wiessee but had remained behind in Berlin¹ to undertake the conduct of operations there."

"Secondly: in Munich the alarm-summons had already been given to the SA.; they had been ordered to assemble at 9 o'clock in the evening. The SA. formations had not been dismissed to their homes, they were already stationed in their alarm-quarters. That is mutiny! I and no one else am the commander of the SA.!"

"In these circumstances I could make but one decision. If disaster was to be prevented at all, action must be taken with lightning speed. Only a ruthless and bloody intervention might still perhaps stifle the spread of the revolt. And then there could be no question that it was better that a hundred mutineers, plotters, and conspirators should be destroyed than that ten thousand innocent SA. men should be allowed to shed their blood. For if once criminal activity was set in motion in Berlin, then the consequences were indeed unthinkable. The effect which had been produced by the fact that the conspirators purported to act in my name was proved by the distressing fact that, for instance, these mutineers in Berlin had succeeded through citing my authority in securing for their plot four armoured cars from unsuspecting police-officers and further by the fact that the plotters Heines and Hayn in Saxony and Silesia through their appeals had made police-officers doubtful which

¹ He was, in fact, in Bremen, about to start on his honeymoon.

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side they should support in the coming conflict between the SA. and the enemies of Hitler. It was at last clear to me that only one man could oppose and must oppose the Chief of Staff. It was to me that he had pledged his loyalty and broken that pledge, and for that I alone must call him to account!"

"At 1 o'clock in the night I received the last dispatches telling me of the alarm-summonses; at 2 o'clock in the morning I flew to Munich. Meanwhile Minister-President Goering had previously received from me the commission that if I proceeded to apply a purge he was to take similar measures at once in Berlin and in Prussia. With an iron fist he beat down the attack on the National Socialist State before it could develop. The necessity for acting with lightning speed meant that in this decisive hour I had very few men with me. In the presence of the Minister Goebbels and of the new Chief of Staff the action of which you are already informed was executed and brought to a close in Munich. Although only a few days before I had been prepared to exercise clemency, at this hour there was no place for any such consideration. Mutinies are suppressed in accordance with laws of iron which are eternally the same. If anyone reproaches me and asks why I did not resort to the regular courts of justice for conviction of the offenders, then all that I can say to him is this: in this hour I was responsible for the fate of the German people, and thereby I became the supreme Justiciar¹ of the German people!"

"Mutinous divisions have in all periods been recalled to order by decimation. Only one State has failed to make any use of its Articles of War and this State paid for that failure by collapse—Germany. I did not wish to deliver up the young Reich to the fate of the old

¹ German: *oberster Gerichtsherr*.

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Reich. I gave the order to shoot those who were the ringleaders in this treason, and I further gave the order to burn out down to the raw flesh the ulcers of this poisoning of the wells in our domestic life and of the poisoning of the outside world.¹ And I further ordered that if any of the mutineers should attempt to resist arrest, they were immediately to be struck down with armed force. The nation must know that its existence—and that is guaranteed through its internal order and security—can be threatened by no one with impunity! And everyone must know for all future time that if he raises his hand to strike the State, then certain death is his lot. And every National Socialist must know that no rank and no position can protect him from his personal responsibility and therefore from his punishment. I have prosecuted² thousands of our former opponents on account of their corruption. I should in my own mind reproach myself if I were now to tolerate similar offences in our own ranks. No people and no Government can help it if creatures arise such as we once knew in Germany, a Kutisker³ for example, such as France came to know in a Stavisky,⁴ or such as we to-day have once more experienced—men whose aim is to sin against a nation's interests. But every people is itself guilty if it does not find the strength to destroy such noxious creatures. If people bring against me the objection that only a judicial procedure could precisely weigh the measure

¹ A literal translation of an amazing metaphor.

² German: *verfolgt*—"pursued"?

³ Ivan Baruch Kutisker defrauded the Prussian State Bank of 14,000,000 marks. Sentenced to five years' penal servitude in July 1926, he died in the following year.

⁴ Serge Stavisky, the financier responsible for the issue of fraudulent bonds in the name of the Credit Municipal of Bayonne, shot himself at Chamonix in Jan. 1934. The discovery of the fraud caused the fall of the Chautemps Government at the end of that month.

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of the guilt and of its expiation, then against this view I lodge my most solemn protest. He who rises against Germany is a traitor to his country: and the traitor to his country is not to be punished according to the range and the extent of his act, but according to the purpose which that act has revealed. He who in his heart purposes to raise a mutiny and thereby breaks loyalty, breaks faith, breaks sacred pledges, he can expect nothing else than that he himself will be the first sacrifice. I have no intention to have the little culprits shot and to spare the great criminals. It is not my duty to inquire whether it was too hard a lot which was inflicted on these conspirators, these agitators and destroyers, these poisoners of the well-springs of German public opinion and in a wider sense of world opinion: it is not mine to consider which of them suffered too severely: I have only to see to it that Germany's lot should not be intolerable. A foreign journalist, who enjoys the privileges of a guest in our midst, protests in the name of the wives and children of those who have been shot and awaits the day when from their ranks there will come vengeance. To this gentleman I can say only one thing in answer: women and children have ever been the innocent victims of the criminal acts of men. I, too, have pity for them, but I believe that the suffering inflicted on them through the guilt of these men is but a minute fraction in comparison with the suffering that perhaps ten thousand German women would have had to endure if this act had been successful. A foreign diplomat explains that the meeting of Schleicher and Roehm was of course of an entirely harmless character. That matter I need not discuss with anyone. In the political sphere conceptions of what is harmless and what is not will never coincide. But when three traitors in Germany arrange and effect a meeting with a foreign statesman which they

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themselves characterize as 'serviceable', when they effect this meeting after excluding every member of their staff, when they give strict orders that no word of this meeting shall reach me, then I shall have such men shot dead even when it should prove true that at a consultation which was thus kept secret from me they talked of nothing save the weather, old coins, and like topics."

"The penalty for these crimes was hard and severe. Nineteen higher SA. leaders, thirty-one leaders and members of the SA., were shot, and further, for complicity in the plot, three leaders of the SS., while thirteen SA. leaders and civilians who attempted to resist arrest lost their lives. Three more committed suicide. Five who did not belong to the SA., but were members of the Party, were shot for taking part in the plot. Finally there were also shot three members of the SS. who had been guilty of scandalous ill-treatment of those who had been taken into protective custody."

"In order to prevent political passion and exasperation venting itself in lynch justice on further offenders when the danger was removed and the revolt could be regarded as suppressed, as early as Sunday 1 July strictest orders were given that all further retribution should cease. Thereby from the night of Sunday 1 July the normal state of affairs was re-established. A number of acts of violence which do not stand in any connexion with the plot will be brought before the ordinary courts for judgement."

"These sacrifices may indeed be heavy, but they will not be vain if from them once and for all results the conviction that every attempt at treason¹ will be broken down without respect of person. If at some hour or another fate should summon me from my place, then I confidently hope that my successor will not act other-

¹ German: *jeder Versuch eines Hoch- oder Landesverrats*.

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wise, and if he too must give place to another, that the third after us will be ready to protect the security of people and of nation with no less resolution."

"If in the two weeks that now lie behind us a part of the foreign press in place of any objective and just report of events has flooded the world with untrue and incorrect assertions and communications, I cannot admit the validity of the excuse that it was impossible to obtain any other information. In most cases it needed only a short telephone call to the authorities concerned in order to show that most of these assertions could not be sustained. When in particular the report was spread that among the victims of the conspiracy there were included even members of the Cabinet of the Reich, it would not have been difficult to establish that the contrary was the case. The assertion that the Vice-Chancellor, von Papen, that the minister Seldte, or other members of the Cabinet of the Reich had been connected with the mutineers is most strongly contradicted by the fact that one of the first intentions of the mutineers was the murder of these men. Similarly all reports of any complicity in the plot on the part of any one of the German princes or of any pursuit of them is free invention. If finally during the last few days an English paper can report that I was at present suffering from a nervous breakdown, it would have needed only a small inquiry to establish the truth. I can only assure these anxious reporters that neither in the War nor after the War have I ever suffered such a breakdown, but this time I have indeed suffered the severest breakdown of the trust and faith which I had placed in a man for whose protection I had done everything in my power, for whom I had actually sacrificed myself."

"But at this point I must at the same time confess that my confidence in the Movement and especially in the

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SS. has never wavered. And now, too, my confidence in my SA. has been restored to me. Three times they had the misfortune to have leaders—the last time even a Chief of Staff—whom they believed it was their duty to obey and who have deceived them, to whom I gave my confidence and who betrayed me. But three times over I have had the opportunity of seeing that at the moment when any act was discovered to be treasonable the traitor stood alone, deserted by all. Just as disloyal as was the conduct of this small group of leaders, so great in the decisive hour was the loyalty to me of these two National Socialist organizations. If the SS. in these days, although with profound feelings of regret, performed their highest duty, the conduct of the millions of honest SA. men and SA. leaders was not less decent: they who stood outside this community of traitors never wavered for a second in their conception of their duty.”

“When I consider this fact I am convinced that at last the present Chief of Staff—to whom I am bound by old-time comradeship in our fight—will succeed in rejuvenating the organizations of the SA. in accordance with the principles which I have laid down, and will make them a yet stronger member¹ of the body of our Movement. For never will I consent to the destruction of something which not only remains for ever inseparably bound up with the fights and the victory of the National Socialist Movement, but which also has to its credit immeasurable services rendered during the fashioning of the new Reich.”

“In these days which have been days of severe trial both for me and for its members the SA. has preserved the spirit of loyalty. Thus for the third time the SA. has proved that it is mine, just as I will prove at any time

¹ German: *Glied der Bewegung*. I am not sure of the translation: does *Glied* here mean “link”?

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that I belong to my SA. men. In a few weeks' time the brown shirt will once more dominate the streets of Germany and will give to one and all clear evidence that because it has overcome its grievous distress the life of National Socialist Germany is only the more vigorous."

"When in March of last year our young Revolution stormed through Germany, my highest endeavour was to shed as little blood as possible. To millions of my former opponents, on behalf of the new State and in the name of the National Socialist Party, I offered a general amnesty; millions of them have since joined us and are loyally co-operating in the rebuilding of the Reich."

"I hoped that it might not be necessary any longer to be forced to defend this State yet again with arms in our hands. But since fate has now none the less put us to this test, all of us wish to pledge ourselves with only the greater fanaticism to hold fast to that which was formerly won at the price of the blood of so many of our best men and which to-day had to be maintained once more through the blood of German fellow-countrymen. Just as one and a half years ago I offered reconciliation to our former opponents, so would I from henceforth also promise forgetfulness to all those who shared in the guilt of this act of madness. Let them bethink themselves, and remembering this melancholy calamity in our new German history let them devote themselves to the task of reparation. May they now recognize with surer insight than before the great task which fate sets us which civil war and chaos cannot perform. May we all feel responsible for the most precious treasure that there can be for the German people: internal order, internal and external peace, just as I am ready to undertake responsibility at the bar of history for the twenty-four hours in which the bitterest decisions of my life were made, in which fate once again taught me in the

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midst of anxious care with every thought to hold fast to the dearest thing which has been given us in this world—the German people and the German Reich!”¹

The instructions given to the SA. under the new Chief of Staff, Lutze, are translated into English in the “Manchester Guardian” for 2 July 1934.

*In an interview with Mr. G. Ward Price, reported in the “Daily Mail” for 6 August 1934, Mr. Price asked: “Are you satisfied now that the Party is completely united?” Hitler replied: “It is stronger and more solid than ever it was.”*²

In the light of the Roehm Purge Hitler’s Proclamation to the Parteitag at Nuremberg in 1934 has a special interest. The National Socialist Revolution, he said, was now completed, but “no revolution can continue as a permanent condition, otherwise the result must be complete anarchy. The purpose of a revolution can be only through an act of popular (völkisch) self-help and self-defence to crush resistance which opposes an expedient and therefore a natural and necessary development, whether that resistance arises from the general inertness of the time, from interested parties bound up with old traditions, or from ill will. But where such happenings recur in continuous succession, such risings are not inspired by the force of compelling ideas or the constraint of the necessities of life, they are instigated rather by the criminal ambition of individual usurpers struggling for power. This state of recurrent revolution must lead to the destruction of the life of the people, and of

¹ F.Z., 15 July 1934.

² Cf. a citation from a report of an interview with Hitler (see *The Times* of 12 July 1934) in which Hitler said: “Conspiracy had become a *forma mentis*, the *Putsch* a custom.”

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the State, and also of economic life. They are not the explosions of a nation's will to maintain its own existence against oppression, they are simple struggles for power on the part of politicians out for booty. True revolutions can be conceived only as the execution of a new mission to which in this way the people gives its historic sanction."

"A revolution in itself can therefore never realize a programme: it can only give free course to those forces which have devoted themselves to a definite programme and have promised its realization. Revolutions destroy only power-conditions: it is evolution alone which alters material conditions." . . .

"Just as the world cannot live on wars, so peoples cannot live on revolutions. In both cases one can at most create the conditions for a new life. But woe to the people if the act of destruction is committed not in the service of a better and therefore a higher idea, but obeys only the nihilistic instinct to destroy and therefore as its consequence produces no better reconstruction but only perpetual hatred."

"Revolutions," *he said later in the same speech*, "have always been rare in Germany. The Age of Nerves of the nineteenth century has with us found its final close. In the next thousand years there will be no other revolution in Germany."¹

Later in the same speech Hitler said: "Every leader must recognize that as a National Socialist must be a model, he must give to the people what he rightly expects from the people itself. Loyalty, obedience, readiness for sacrifice, modesty—these are virtues which are to be expected not only from the led but still more from the leaders. The people will never bear a grudge against us if under the compulsion of necessity we burn out what

¹ *F.Z.*, 6 Sept. 1934.

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must be burned out. It will fail to understand only if in silence we allow that to remain in our midst which in the last resort could never be tolerated in the people itself."¹

In a speech at Hamburg on 17 August 1934 Hitler said:

"The National Socialist Movement has conquered the Reich. It is not possible that Germany should be ruled otherwise than in accordance with the will and the views of this *Weltanschauung*. But it is certain that the education of people and Government in every sphere and in all positions into the spirit of this *Weltanschauung* will still demand many, many years. . . . The evolution through which under the National Socialist Government in the coming decades the gradual building up of the Reich must be completed until it finally becomes the new German State of the people demands in our domestic life National Socialist discipline, order in the highest degree, and absolute calm. It is my resolute determination personally to call to account anyone who may venture to hinder this evolution or even to stop it by violence. And I will not begin with the principle of giving orders to shoot small people who have done things unwittingly because they have been misled: in any such case I shall bring the responsible criminals before the authority of the National Socialist State and of its leaders and crush them."²

There is a reflection of the Roehm Purge in an Address to SA. and SS. men at the Parteitag in Nuremberg on 9 September 1934 when Hitler said:

"A few months ago a dark shadow clouded the Movement. Many of our foes believed that they could see the time coming in which the power of the National Socialist

¹ *F.Z.*, 6 Sept. 1934. ² *F.Z.*, 19 Aug. 1934.

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Party would perhaps find its end. I have summoned you here, my comrades, to prove three things:

1. The SA. has just as little to do with this shadow as any other institution of the Party.
2. To show to all that my relation to you, my comrades, is precisely the same to-day as it was fourteen years ago.
3. To show to our enemies that the Party stands and that its SA. and SS. stand as guarantors of the National Socialist Revolution."

"They all deceive themselves who think that even a rift has broken the unity of our single Movement. The Movement stands as firmly as this block of men whom I see before me. . . . The SA. man and the SA. leader can never be anything but loyal, obedient, disciplined, modest, ready for sacrifice: if he were otherwise he could not be an SA. man."¹

Note

This is no place for any critical discussion of the speech which Hitler delivered to the Reichstag on 13 July 1934. It raises many difficulties: some of those difficulties are considered in the pamphlet, *Hitler rast* (see Bibliography), pp. 46 sqq. So far as I am aware no proof was ever produced that the "conspirators" had had any relations with a foreign Power. Cf. Jean François, *L'Affaire Röhm-Hitler*, pp. 198-9.

There were some escapes of those who might have been removed: Brüning left Germany —there is a report that he was warned by Goering; Treviranus, minister under Brüning and Schleicher, left the Tennis Club at Wannsee in haste and made his way to England. von Bredow returned from the Hotel Adlon to his home knowing what awaited him there: he had no desire to outlive his chief, Schleicher. von Papen, arrested, was spared, though his advisers and intimates von Bose, Jung, and von der Decken perished.

¹ *F.Z.*, 10 Sept. 1934.

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Von Blomberg, addressing the army, wrote: "The Führer with soldierly decision and exemplary courage has himself attacked and crushed the traitors and murderers. The army, as the bearer of arms of the entire people, far removed from the conflicts of domestic politics, will show its gratitude through devotion and loyalty. The good relationship towards the new SA. demanded by the Führer will be gladly fostered by the army in the consciousness that the ideals of both are held in common. The state of emergency (*Alarmsustand*) is terminated everywhere." Dated 1 July 1934.

On 2 July 1934 it was officially announced that the President of the Reich, von Hindenburg, had telegraphed to Hitler: "From the reports presented to me I realize that through your determined action and through the courageous intervention of your own person you have nipped in the bud¹ all treasonable plots. You have saved the German people from a grave danger. For this I express to you my profound thanks and my sincere recognition. With best greetings—von Hindenburg."

To Goering von Hindenburg telegraphed: "For your energetic and successful action in crushing the treasonable attempt I express to you my thanks and my recognition. With comradely greetings—von Hindenburg."

The communication published by the *Reichspressestelle* of the NSDAP. on 30 June 1934 is reproduced in the pamphlet, *Hitler rast* (see Bibliography), pp. 59-60: it is translated into French in Jean François, *L'Affaire Röhm-Hitler* (see Bibliography), pp. 209-10. There is another account of Hitler's action at the time of the "Purge" printed in *Hitler rast*, pp. 61-2: it is there stated to come from an eyewitness. Goering's account, given at a special conference for German journalists, is printed *ibid.*, pp. 62-4. For a list of the victims, *ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

¹ German: *im Keime ersticht*.

14. RELIGION

Note

The Treatment of Religion by Hitler in "Mein Kampf"

I know of no work which has sought to collect from *Mein Kampf* all the widely scattered passages in which Hitler discusses the subject of religion. I have endeavoured in this note to summarize the evidence; it may appear from such a summary that there was greater justification than has sometimes been realized for those who thought that National Socialism and the Christian Churches could come to an agreement and could co-operate in the national reconstruction.

Hitler from the first recognized the preponderant significance of the spoken over the written word: the force which set in motion all the great historical avalanches, whether political or religious, was from the beginning of time the spell of the spoken word.¹ The great mistake of the German Movement in Austria was that it attacked the Catholic Church: it was true that, while Czech priests placed the interest of the Czech people above the interest of the Church, the German priests failed to champion the national cause: the impression was thus created that the Catholic clergy was grossly injuring German rights;² the Church appeared to have no sympathy with the German people, but to have placed itself unjustly on the side of the enemy. The "Free-from-Rome" Movement seemed, if it could be successful, to promise to overcome the unhappy religious division in Germany, and through such a victory the internal strength of the Empire and of the German nation could win only the greatest profit. But this failure of the Catholic clergy was the result of the German vice of "objectivity": the Pan-German Movement in Austria ought to have asked itself this one question: Is the maintenance of Austrian *Deutschtum* possible under the Catholic faith or not? If the answer to that question was "Yes", then the political party should not have concerned itself with religious

¹ p. 116 (German), p. 100 (English). Hitler here had apparently in mind the oral teaching of Christ.

² p. 119 (German), p. 102 (English).

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matters, it should not have intervened in the confessional sphere; if the answer was "No", then a religious reformation should have been begun—and that was not the work of a political party.¹ "Anyone who believes that one can attain to a religious reformation through the roundabout method of a political party shows only that he has not the glimmering of an idea how religious conceptions are formed, much less of how dogmas are fashioned and of their effects in the life of a Church. One cannot serve two masters, and the foundation or the destruction of a religion is essentially a harder task than the foundation or destruction of a State, not to speak of a Party. To a political leader the religious doctrines and institutions of his people should ever be inviolable. The Pan-German Movement in Austria failed because its fight against the Catholic Church made it impossible amongst a number of those of the lower and middle classes, and thus robbed it of countless of the best elements which the nation could boast."²

In these considerations, based upon the ill-success of the Pan-German Movement in Austria, we have already the plan of the National Socialist Government: there is to be no open attack upon the Church: it is to be seen whether *Deutschtum* cannot be maintained under the Catholic faith: hence the Concordat.

In considering the question of the use of force in support of a philosophy Hitler says that "every *Weltanschauung*, whether it be more of a religious or of a political character—and often the boundary in these cases is hard to establish—fights less for the negative destruction of the hostile world of ideas, but rather for the positive enforcement of its own view." Attack is always more effective than defence. Every attempt to fight with violent means a *Weltanschauung* must fail in the long run unless the fight takes the form of an attack in support of a new mental outlook. Brutal violence used persistently and ruthlessly against one view of life will be successful only if it is inspired by a rival view. Bismarck failed in his attack upon Socialism precisely because he lacked the platform of another *Weltanschauung*: and this same lack later rendered the attack against Marxism ineffective.³

"And often the boundary is hard to establish": here is the

¹ p. 124 (German), p. 107 (English).

² p. 127 (German), p. 109 (English).

³ p. 189 (German), p. 153 (English).

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whole problem which will face the National Socialists when they come into power: is the *Weltanschauung* which will be ceaselessly proclaimed "of a religious or a political character"?

After reading much of the violent anti-Christian propaganda of later National Socialists, it is refreshing to turn to the pages of *Mein Kampf*: Hitler compares the greatness of those who set before men high ideals with the passing fame of practical politicians: the higher, the mightier, the ideal the more impossible becomes its complete fulfilment. It is not by the realization of his aims that the idealist must be judged but by their rightness, by their influence upon the development of humanity. If it were otherwise, the founders of religions would not be included amongst the greatest men on this earth although their ethical aims would never be even approximately realized. The religion of love is itself in practice but a pale reflection of the purpose of its exalted Founder: its significance lies in the direction which it sought to give to human civilization in general, to its mode of life, and its ethical development.¹

Human weaknesses and sins must not blind us to the greatness of the Christian Church. Undoubtedly there have always been unscrupulous rogues who did not hesitate to make of religion an instrument of their political designs. But it would assuredly be wrong to make religion or a denomination responsible for a number of rascals who exploit religion as they would probably exploit anything else in the service of their lower instincts.² If one compares the magnitude of the organization as it stands before one with the average faultiness of men in general, one is forced to admit that the proportion of good to bad is greater here than anywhere else. Certainly, even amongst the priests, there are to be found those for whom their sacred office is but a means to satisfy their political ambition . . . but for one such unworthy representative there are a thousand and more worthy pastors loyally devoted to their mission, who in our false and debased age rise like small islands above the universal morass.³

Were National Socialists in Germany reminded of this passage when the German Press was conducting its campaign of scanda-

¹ p. 230 (German), p. 182 (English).

² p. 125 (German), p. 107 (English).

³ p. 126 (German), p. 108 (English).

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lous and obscene abuse against the Catholic Church at the time of the Immorality Trials?¹

During the years since 1933 the National Socialists have often contrasted "Positive Christianity" with the antiquated dogmas of the Christian Church. But the "Bible" of the National Socialists expressly declared the necessity of dogma if the Church was to maintain its hold upon its members. In the period before the War, Hitler points out, the attack on the dogmatic foundations of the separate churches grew ever more violent. But without such foundations in this world of men the practical survival of a religious faith is unthinkable. The great mass of a people is not composed of philosophers, and for the masses faith is often the sole foundation for any moral outlook on the world (*Weltanschauung*) whatever. The various substitutes for such a faith have not in their result proved so adapted to their purpose as to enable us to regard them as usefully taking the place of the former religious confessions. But if religious teaching and faith are really to keep their hold on the people generally, then the absolute authority of the content of this faith must form the foundation of all effective action. . . . What fundamental laws are for the State, such are its dogmas for every religion. Through dogmas the purely intellectual idea which is variable and can be interpreted in countless different ways is clearly defined and is thus brought into a form without which it could never grow into faith. Otherwise the idea would never pass beyond a metaphysical conception, never, to put it shortly, be more than a philosophical opinion. In itself the attack against dogmas thus resembles very closely the attack against the general legal foundations of the State, and just as this attack could only end within the State in complete anarchy, so the other attack would be bound to end in a worthless religious nihilism.

For the politician the valuation of a religion should be determined less by any faults which may cling to it than by the worth of any obviously better substitute. So long as such a substitute is apparently lacking, the existing institution can be destroyed only by fools or criminals.²

For the German people the consequences of the weakening of

¹ Cf. N. Micklem, *National Socialism and the Catholic Church*, London, 1939, pp. 158-61.

² pp. 293-4 (German), pp. 225-6 (English).

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religious faith, as shown in the moral life of the nation, were "not favourable".

Later in *Mein Kampf* Hitler returns to a consideration of the importance of dogma for the Church. The word "religious" is just as vague and undefined as the word *völkisch*. It is very difficult to form any precise conception of the significance of the term: it can be grasped only at the moment when it is associated with a clearly defined form explaining its practical effect (*Auswirken*). It is a very easy matter to describe a man as "profoundly religious": to a very few people it may convey a more or less clear picture of the state of a man's soul. But since the great mass of the people is composed neither of philosophers nor of saints, such a completely general religious idea, so far as the individual is concerned, will for the most part mean only freedom to think and act as he will, without leading to that activity which arises from the inner religious aspiration directly a clearly defined faith is formed from the purely metaphysical, unlimited world of thought. . . . A purely emotional institution must give place to the strength of an apodeictic faith. This faith is above all else the battle-factor which opens up a breach and clears the path for the recognition of the fundamental truths of religion.

Without this clearly circumscribed faith religiosity in its indefinite many-sidedness would be not merely without value for human life, but would probably contribute towards a general disorganization.¹

Nowhere in any modern work on the religious question in National Socialist Germany have I seen any adequate reference to these remarkable passages.

It is not without interest to observe that the history of the Christian Church provided Hitler with models for his own Movement. The greatness of every mighty organization as representing the incorporation of an idea in this world lies in its religious fanaticism in which, fanatically convinced of its own right, it triumphs intolerantly over every other force. If an idea is essentially right and is in this way prepared for the struggle and thus enters into the battle on this earth, then it is unconquerable and every persecution will only lead to an increase of its inner strength. The greatness of Christianity did not lie in any attempts to come

¹ pp. 416-17 (German), pp. 318-19 (English).

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to terms with similar philosophical views of the ancient world, but in the remorseless, fanatical proclamation and championship of its own teaching.¹

Christianity could not be content to build up its own altar, it must of necessity go on to destroy the pagan altars. Only as a result of this fanatical intolerance could there be formed the apodeictic faith: this intolerance is in fact the essential precondition for faith.² Into the far freer atmosphere of the ancient world with the appearance of Christianity there came the first spiritual terrorism. Since then the world has been oppressed and dominated by this compulsion. Compulsion can only be broken by compulsion and terror with terror. Only when this is done can the work of reconstruction be begun, and the new state of affairs created. *Weltanschauungen* must declare their infallibility.³

The celibacy of the priest can provide the model of sexual continence demanded of an age which is no longer content to breed horses, cats, and dogs but which will learn to breed men. If hundreds of thousands of priests can voluntarily take upon themselves vows of celibacy at the behest of the Church, men in the National Socialist State must "refrain in silence".⁴

But in another respect the celibacy of the Church is significant: it meant that the clergy must constantly be reinforced not from its own ranks but from the mass of the people. And herein lies the incredibly vigorous strength of this aged institution. It thus maintains its instinctive contact with the emotions of the people and thus are assured the astonishing youthfulness, the mental adaptability, the iron (*stahlerne*) strength of will which are embodied in the Church.⁵ Here is the model for the Movement.

¹ p. 385 (German), p. 294 (English).

² p. 506 (German), p. 378 (English).

³ p. 507 (German), p. 379 (English). The whole passage, pp. 505-7 (pp. 378-9 English), should be read carefully: from it, it has been concluded (Miles Ecclesiae, *Hitler gegen Christus*, Paris, 1936, p. 13) that if words have any meaning Hitler has said here that National Socialism and Christianity cannot exist together side by side. This may be doubted: would Hitler have spoken of Christianity as a *Weltanschauung* "of infernal intolerance"? Is it not more probable, considering the extreme caution with which religious matters are discussed in *Mein Kampf*, that the foe intended here is Marxism?

⁴ p. 449 (German), p. 340 (English).

⁵ p. 481 (German), p. 361 (English).

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The Church in its wisdom had studied the psychological appeal made upon worshippers by their surroundings. If the National Socialist speaker chose the evening for his addresses, in the Church, the artificially produced twilight casting its secret spell upon the congregation, incense, burning candles were all designed to have the same effect.¹ Psychology must similarly be studied by the Movement.

But as Hitler looked back upon German history he saw the danger which religion presented for Germany. Germany had over and over again proved that it could fight for phantoms till it was bled white: to-day Nationalists (*völkische Kreise*), in their "God-abandoned blindness", were ready to stir up differences between the Churches and thus give to Marxists their opportunity.² Those who would drag the national Movement into participation in religious disputes are worse foes of the German people than the internationally minded Communists.³ Still to-day religious sentiments are more deeply seated in the German people than all considerations of national or political expediency.⁴ It will always be the first duty of the leaders of the National Socialist Movement to oppose with the greatest vigour any attempt to make the Movement serve the interests of such religious struggles; they must immediately expel from the ranks of the Movement those who would make propaganda for any such purpose.⁵ It cannot be permitted that any inexperienced member of the Movement should imagine that he can do that which Bismarck failed to achieve: the Movement is quite incapable of solving a problem on which the centuries and the greatest statesmen have suffered shipwreck.⁶ "In the ranks of our Movement the most loyal Catholic must be able to sit side by side with the most loyal Protestant without either of them having to suffer the smallest conflict of conscience with his religious convictions." Hitler was assured that the mighty struggle which they were waging in common against the destroyer of Aryan humanity had taught both Catholic and Protestant mutual respect and mutual esteem.⁷

¹ p. 532 (German), p. 395 (English).

² p. 633 (German), p. 462 (English).

³ p. 631 s.f. (German), p. 461 (English).

⁴ p. 632 (German), p. 461 (English).

⁵ Ibid.; cf. p. 379 (German), p. 289 (English).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

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These passages are important if one would understand the religious policy of the National Socialist Government when it came to power in 1933.

Apart from the fact that religion had been used as a means for advancing political ends and party interests,¹ Hitler's main charge against the Churches was that they had sinned against "the likeness of the Lord" in ignoring race and the purity of the blood of the nation. Instead of plaguing Hottentots and Kaffirs with missions which they neither desire nor understand, the Churches have a work to do at home to save their own people from a bodily and moral leprosy.² Both Christian confessions look on unconcerned at the desecration and destruction of a noble and unique creature (Aryan man) which by God's grace has been given to the earth. For the future of the earth it is of no significance whether the Protestants conquer the Catholics or the Catholics the Protestants: the only significance consists in the question whether Aryan man is preserved or whether he dies out. And yet both Churches to-day do not fight against the destroyer of Aryan man but mutually seek to annihilate each other. Everyone who is nationally minded (*der völkisch Eingestellte*) should have the most sacred duty, each in his own confession, to see to it that one should not merely talk with lip-homage of the will of God, but should also in fact fulfil the will of God and not allow God's work to be put to shame.³ There are, indeed, two passages in *Mein Kampf* which in particular suggest the possibilities of future conflict; there is the statement that "political parties have nothing to do with religious questions so long as these do not, as alien to the people (*volksfremd*), undermine the customs and morals of their own race",⁴ and the further assertion that foreign policy is only a means to an end, and that the end is exclusively the advancement (*Förderung*) of our own national life (*Volkstum*). The sole guiding consideration is: Does this serve the interests of our people now or in the future, or will it injure it? Before this test "considerations of party politics, of religion, of humanity—in a word every other consideration—can have no place whatever

¹ Cf., e.g., p. 294 (German), p. 226 (English); p. 643 top (German), p. 468 (English).

² pp. 445-6 (German), pp. 337-8 (English).

³ p. 630 (German), p. 460 (English).

⁴ p. 127 (German), p. 109 (English).

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(*scheiden restlos aus*)."¹ It is a frank declaration of National Socialist policy.

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From the very extensive literature on this subject a few books may be noted:

- (i) The best general study of the subject in English is A. S. Duncan-Jones (Dean of Chichester), *The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Germany*. Gollancz, London, 1938 (with an important appendix of documents).
- (ii) For the Catholic Church the two essential works are N. Micklen, *National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church*. Oxford University Press, London, 1939, and R. d'Harcourt, *The German Catholics*, translated from the French by R. J. Dingle. London, Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1939. For Austria after the *Anschluß* cf. also M. Power, *Religion in the Reich*. London, Longmans, 1939.

(iii) For the background of the struggle there may be mentioned: Constitution of the Evangelical Churches:

O. E. Rohn, *Lutherische und reformierte Kirchenverfassung im Deutschland der Nachkriegszeit: ein Vergleich*. Erlangen dissertation, 1933 (Juristische Fakultät), Ochsenfurt am Main, Buchdruckerei Fritz & Rappert (with bibliography).

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(iv) For studies covering part only of the period:

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¹ p. 687 (German), p. 497 (English).

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Karl Barth, *Theological Existence to-day! A Plea for theological Freedom*. Translated by R. Birch Hoyle, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1933.

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For attempts to prove that National Socialism may be compatible with the historic Christianity two specially significant books may be mentioned: on the Catholic side Bishop Alois Hudal, *Die Grundlagen des Nationalsozialismus*. Leipzig and Vienna, Günther, 1937; in what sense does National Socialism use the term *Weltanschauung*? Is it necessary to conclude that the term must be extended beyond the political sphere?¹ (On this book cf. Germanicus, *Der Dolchstoß gegen die deutschen Bischöfe* (= Die deutsche Revolution, Periodische Schriftenreihe, Heft 2), Prag, 1937.) On the Protestant side D. C. Fabricius, *Positive Christianity in the Third Reich*. Püschel, Dresden, 1937.

For an (incomplete) list of convictions during the religious struggle cf. Miles Ecclesiae, *Hitler gegen Christus*, Paris, 1936, pp. 166-91; for convictions under the "Pulpit Paragraph" dating from Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* (Criminal Code, para. 130a), cf. *ibid.*, pp. 135-42, and see N. Micklem, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

The essential incompatibility between historic Christianity and National Socialism in the view of Rosenberg is well illustrated by an article on "Weltanschauung und Glaubenslehre", published in *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte* ix (1938), pp. 1042-9.

I have not translated the conversations with Hitler reported by Hermann Rauschning, *Gespräche mit Hitler*, New York, Europa Verlag, 1940, pp. 48-57; of these there is already an English version: *Hitler speaks*, London, Thornton Butterworth, 1939, pp. 55-65.

Perhaps as a curiosity one may be permitted to refer to a "German Christian" work, *Nationalsozialismus und positives Christentum*. Weimar, 1937 (British Museum: 3911 dd 36), which contains a detailed comparison of Hitler with Jesus. Hitler possesses the capacities of soul and mind and the distinctive traits of character of Luther, Goethe, Frederick the Great, and Bismarck rolled into one to form a model personality (p. 161); Hitler is no merely national redeemer: he is a world saviour. "He is the chosen of God, the champion and representative of true Christianity. He is in the twentieth century the saviour of

¹ Cf. F. Taeschner, *Der Totalitätsanspruch des Nationalsozialismus und der deutsche Katholizismus* (in the series Reich und Kirche), Münster, Aschendorff, 1934.

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a world standing on the brink of the abyss. If the world, if the peoples have ears to hear Hitler, then there can still be for them salvation and a new future; if not, then they will perish in blood and tears together with their religions, churches and civilizations." (p. 47).

Chronological Outline

In order to provide a framework within which Hitler's views on the religious struggle may be set, I have included a chronological outline of the outstanding phases in the relations between the National Socialist Government and the Christian Churches.

I. THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH¹

1933. 3 Apr.—5 Apr. Congress of German Christians held in Berlin: it declares for one Evangelical Church for the whole Reich: demands the introduction of the Führer-principle into the organization of the Church and acceptance of the "Aryan Paragraph".²

17 Apr., Ludwig Müller (army chaplain, born 1883), a friend of Hitler, visits Hitler and discusses the religious situation. He reports that Hitler did not wish to start religious warfare and that Müller was to see to it that in future the religious struggle was not to be carried on after the manner of the political revolution.

¹ For the German Christians and the trends of thought behind the movement cf. P. F. Douglass, *God among the Germans*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935, pp. 87-115; A. S. Duncan-Jones, *The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Germany*, London, Gollancz, 1938, pp. 32 sqq. In 1930 Dr. Wieneke of the Cathedral at Soldin proclaimed a faith which should combine the Swastika and the Cross: the Church was to support the National Socialist Movement. It was proposed to found a body of "Evangelical Nationalists". Hitler "with his shrewd instinct for names and slogans" (Duncan-Jones) said: "Let them be called German Christians, because it is the soul of the people which must be born again." I do not know the authority for this: I quote from Duncan-Jones, op. cit., p. 33.

² For the German Christian Programme cf. Duncan-Jones, op. cit., p. 35; J. Hossenfelder, *Unser Kampf*, Berlin, Grevenmeyer, 1933, pp. 6-7.

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Henceforth Müller acts as Hitler's representative.¹

Hitler's appointment of Müller ran as follows² (dated 25 Apr. 1933):

"Inasmuch as the events of the last few days have made it necessary to take a stand in relation to a series of questions which concern the relation of the State to the Evangelical Church, I appoint as my representative with full powers to deal with the affairs of the Evangelical Church in so far as these questions pertain to it Army Chaplain Müller of Königsberg. He has the special commission to promote all efforts directed towards the creation of our Evangelical German National Church. Adolf Hitler."

22 Apr. Appointment of Walter Bohm of Hamburg as State Commissar for the province of Mecklenburg-Schwerin by Minister-President Granzow. Bishop Rendtorff of Mecklenburg-Schwerin protests. 25 Apr. After a conference with the Reich Minister of the Interior the Commissar is withdrawn.³

23 Apr. Hermann Kapler, President of the German Church Federation, is authorized to carry through a reorganization of the constitution of the Church: with him are associated Bishop Marahrens (Lutheran, Hanover) and Dr. Hesse (Elberfeld, Reformed). Hitler saw Kapler and repeated the declaration made in his speech of 23 Mar. 1933.

20 May. Kapler's Committee issues the "Manifest of Loccum."⁴

23 May. Müller is appointed *Schirmherr*—"Protector"—of the German Christians. He is to be sponsored as "Reichsbishop" of the new Church.⁵

¹ C. S. Macfarland, *The New Church and the New Germany*, New York, Macmillan, 1934, p. 28. For Ludwig Müller cf. Duncan-Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

² I cite the translation given in P. F. Douglass, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

³ Cf. P. F. Douglass, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-3.

⁴ On this cf. H. Weinel, *Die Deutsche Evangelische Kirche*. Gotha, Klotz, 1933.

⁵ Conditions laid down by the German Christians for the future Reichsbishop: (i) he must be a member of the German Christian Movement; (ii) he must have Hitler's approval and confidence, and also (iii) the confidence of the whole Church.

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- 27 May. The Manifest of Loccum is approved by the Church Federation. Dr. von Bodelschwingh accepts nomination as Reichsbishop.¹

Müller demands appointment of himself: "the Reichsbishop must belong to the SA. of Jesus Christ." The German Christians begin a campaign alleging that the leaders of the Evangelical Church are hostile to National Socialism.

- 24 June. Dr. Rust, Reichskultusminister, appoints Dr. Jaeger State Commissar for Church affairs in Prussia: Jaeger nominates a number of sub-commissars, thus practically taking the administration of the Church out of the Church's hands. On this Dr. Bodelschwingh retires from his office of Reichsbishop.

Jaeger puts the Prussian Church under police supervision. Pastors are dismissed as being hostile to the Government.²

Protests pour in: von Hindenburg has an interview with Hitler. Hitler places Church affairs in the hands of Dr. Frick, Minister of the Interior. The State Commissars are dismissed.

- 28 June. Müller appoints himself Chairman of the German Church Federation.

- 2 July. The 2 July is appointed by the General Superintendent of the Prussian Church as a Day of Penitence and Prayer. Hossenfelder, leader of the German Christians, appointed by Jaeger Vice-President of the Evangelical Church Council, proclaims it a Day of Praise and Thanksgiving "because God through the intervention of the State has led the Church into right paths".

- 7 July. Müller appointed by Jaeger head of the Church of the Old Prussian Union.

- 11-23 July. Campaign for election of a Reichsbishop,³ i.e. for the election of electors who will choose the members of a Synod to "acclaim" a Reichsbishop. Candidates: Müller and von Bodelschwingh.

¹ This nomination—in order to forestall the German Christians—was regarded by some as premature. Cf. Macfarland, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5.

² For letter of Otto Dibelius, General Superintendent of the Mark of Brandenburg, cf. Macfarland, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

³ For speech of Hess cf. Duncan-Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

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- 14 July. Law published creating the new Constitution for the German Evangelical Church.¹
- 22 July. Hitler speaks on the eve of the election.
- 23 July. The election results in a victory for the German Christians.
- 29-30 July. Meeting of adherents of the German Faith Movement at Eisenach. They ask for legal recognition of their right to exist (see 13 Oct., *infra*).²
- Aug. The Senate of the Prussian Church appoints Müller "Landesbischof"—Bishop of Prussia.

Elections for the Synods of the Evangelical State Churches to choose representatives for the General Synod.

- 25 Aug. Müller's interpretation of the National Church.³
- 5 Sept. Meeting of the Synod of the Evangelical Church of Prussia. Müller is "acclaimed" first bishop of Prussia: there would be no more synods; the Führer-principle must prevail: the "Aryan Paragraph" is to be applied to all pastors. All political suspects are to be expelled from office.

The "Gospel and Church" group—the representatives of the section which later formed the Confessional Church—leaves the Synod.⁴

The Church Senate is entrusted with the former powers of the General Synod and is authorized to enact laws modifying the constitution of the Church.

- 21 Sept. First German National Synod held at Wittenberg.

¹ Text in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 309-14; English translation, Macfarland, op. cit., pp. 181-6.

² For the German Faith Movement cf. P. F. Douglass, op. cit., ch. iv. For the profession of faith adopted at Eisenach cf. M. Bendiscioli, *La Germania religiosa nel 111° Reich*, Brescia, 1936, p. 69 (English translation—see Bibliography—p. 73).

³ Translated in Macfarland, op. cit., pp. 46-7.

⁴ For the decree of the Synod (dated 6 Sept.) see the translation in Macfarland, op. cit., pp. 71-2; translation of the protest of the "Gospel and Church" Group, *ibid.*, pp. 73-4. For the application of the "Aryan Paragraph" see the protest of Berlin pastors, *ibid.*, pp. 69-71, the unanimous and explicit statement against its application to the Church by the Theological Faculty of the University of Marburg (translated *ibid.*, pp. 187-91). That of the Theological Faculty of the University of Erlangen (translated *ibid.*, pp. 192-3) was neither unanimous nor definite. See further *ibid.*, pp. 74-5.

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27 Sept. Müller chosen as Reichsbishop by the Synod: he appoints his Spiritual Ministry which is charged with the re-codification of Church Law.

Müller's final word at the Synod: "The political Church struggle is over, the struggle for the soul of the people now begins."¹

13 Oct. Decree of Hess (see p. 378), National Socialists need not belong to any religious confession. (see 29-30 July, *supra*.)

13 Nov. German Christian Demonstration in the Sportpalast, Berlin, under chairmanship of Bishop Hossenfelder. Krause, a layman, creates a sensation by his speech. The Old Testament to be abandoned, the New Testament revised: a radical revision must be made of the whole theology of the Rabbi Paul, &c.—The unity of the German Christians is broken: before the storm of protest Müller capitulates: Krause is deprived of office. The *Pfarrernotbund*—the Pastors' Emergency League—is formed out of which grew the Confessional Church.

16 Nov. The National Synod suspends all acts of provincial synods (which means that the application of the "Aryan Paragraph" to the Church is suspended; cf. 5 Sept. above).

19 Nov. The pastors of the Emergency League read from their pulpits a protest against the Church Government: it had failed to defend the faith.

General controversy aroused: Evangelical Church leaders declare against Hossenfelder.

4 Dec. Müller forbids pastors to belong to ecclesiastical parties, leagues, or groups.

19 Dec. Müller on his own responsibility hands over the whole Evangelical Youth Movement—the *Evangelische Jugend Deutschlands* under Erich Stange—to Baldur von Schirach: its members—more than 700,000 in 1933—become part of the Hitler Youth.² Ultimatum of Bishops Meiser (Bavaria) and Würm (Württemberg): in the absence of a theological member in the Spiritual Ministry as required by

¹ For the "Bishop Controversy" cf. Duncan-Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-6.

² For the significance of this step cf. Duncan-Jones, *ibid.*, pp. 61-7, and see P. F. Douglass, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-75.

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Article 7 of the Constitution the position of the Reichsbishop and the acts of the Spiritual Ministry are illegal.

1934. 4 Jan. Müller annuls the order of 16 Nov., thus reimposing on the Church of Prussia the "Aryan Paragraph" and by the so-called "Muzzling Order" forbids pastors to introduce into their sermons references to the Church controversy or to publish books or pamphlets on the subject under penalty of suspension and loss of one-third of their income.

7 Jan. Protest of the Pastors' Emergency League, drawn up at Halle, read in pulpits.¹

13 Jan. Rust extends Muzzling Order to the German universities.

25 Jan. [Hindenburg was understood to have appealed to Hitler.] Meeting of representatives of Church opposition with Hitler together with representatives of the German Christians led by Müller, Frick, Minister of the Interior, presiding. Goering intervenes: the Secret Police report remarks made by Niemöller in a telephone conversation which are interpreted as signifying hostility to the State. The Bishops capitulate, and on 27 Jan. declare themselves to be in agreement with Müller and promise to resist the Opposition in their rejection of Müller's orders.²

The early months of 1934 are marked by the rise of a free Synodical Movement: 3-4 Jan., Synod at Barmen (repudiates the authority of any ecclesiastical Führer); 19 Feb., Synod in the Rhineland (adopts Barmen statement); March, Synod of Berlin-Brandenburg. 5 Apr., Synod at Dortmund (Westphalia) claims to be the constitutional Church of Westphalia: under Koch a "Confessional" Church formed.

March. Interview of Meiser and Würm with Hitler. The bishops revoke their declaration of submission of 27 Jan.

13 Apr. Müller annuls orders of 4 Jan.

¹ Extract translated in Bendiscioli, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-7. English translation—see Bibliography—p. 97.

² The account of this meeting given in Duhm, *Der Kampf um die deutsche Kirche*, viii, pp. 295 sqq., is not accessible to me. The Bishop's declaration is translated in Bendiscioli, *op. cit.*, p. 108. For the conference cf. Duncan-Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-1; G. N. Shuster, *Like a Mighty Army* (see Bibliography), pp. 121-3.

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19 Apr. Jaeger appointed Legal Member of the Spiritual Ministry and head of the Church Chancery.

Müller proceeds with the incorporation of other churches in the Reichskirche, and attacks the Church in Württemberg.

22 Apr. Conference at Ulm. The Confessional pastors declare themselves to be the constitutional "Evangelical Church of Germany".

29-31 May. Confessional Synod of the Evangelical Church of Germany held at Barmen. The "Council of Brethren" created.

18 July. Hitler interviews Jaeger and Müller: out of 28 churches 22 were already merged in the Reichskirche.

9 Aug. Müller summons the Second National Synod in Berlin. The Synod transfers its powers to Müller and enacts a form of oath for all pastors and church officials imposing an obligation to accept conscientiously all the orders of the German Evangelical Church.¹ The Synod "legalizes" the incorporation of the Churches of Hanover, Württemberg, and Bavaria.

Sept. Popular support of the bishops of Württemberg and Bavaria prevents the incorporation of their churches.²

19 Sept. Müller speaks at Hanover: the goal was a German National Church free from Rome. "Hitler had said that he had no desire to make the slightest attempt to touch the innermost core of the Evangelical Church. Within the Church (*im Innern der Kirche*) its own rights still stood."³

23 Sept. Meeting of the National Synod. Installation of Müller as Reichsbishop.⁴

New attack on the Churches of Württemberg and Bavaria.

20 Oct. Confessional Synod at Dahlem. Council of Brethren formed to lead Evangelical Church with an executive Inner Council.⁵

¹ For form of oath see translation in G. N. Shuster, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

² See Duncan-Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 sqq.

³ *F.Z.*, 20 Sept. 1934.

⁴ The protest of the Confessional Synod is translated in the *New York Times* of 24 Sept. 1934.

⁵ The Dahlem Protest is translated in the *New York Times* of 21 Oct. 1934 and in Bendiscioli, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-8, English translation, pp. 114-15.

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- 26 Oct. Jaeger resigns from his "Church political functions".
Müller appoints a Council of Bishops in Jaeger's place.
- 28 Oct. The Court declares all acts of Jaeger in Bavaria to have been illegal.
- 30 Oct. Interview of bishops with Hitler: "he took no further interest in the dispute and would leave the Church to deal with its own problems."
- 6-7 Nov. Two decrees published by Frick prohibiting further discussion of Church question in the Press, in pamphlets, or in books.
- 8 Nov. Great Confessional demonstration in Berlin demands the resignation of Müller. 18 Nov. Müller refuses to resign.
- 22 Nov. "Provisional Church Government" formed for the Confessional Church.
- 25 Nov. Müller rescinds all orders issued since January.
- 26 Nov. Karl Barth suspended on refusal to take oath; 21 Dec. Dismissal of Barth by disciplinary Court on action by Rust, Kultusminister. Final dismissal June 1935 (cf. *The Observer*, 30 June 1935).
- Dec. Frick reissues veto on any public discussion of religious questions.¹
1935. Jan. Müller is summoned to an interview with Hitler. Hitler (according to the *Daily Telegraph*, 12 Jan. 1935) told Müller that he might regard himself as still enjoying his confidence, but that he must restore order in the Church without the appointment of a State Commissioner.
- Feb. German Christians revolt against Müller.
- 27 Feb. Müller has interview with Hitler at Berchtesgaden. It is suggested that one of the members of the Reich Cabinet should be appointed *Minister in evangelicis*.² The "Provisional Government" of the Church protests against the new paganism.
- 11 Mar. Law published creating special departments for the management of the finance of the Church in Prussia.³ Rust orders professors and lecturers of Theological Faculties in Universities to take no side publicly in the Church dispute.⁴

¹ Cf. *The Times* and *Daily Telegraph* for 4 Dec. 1934.

² *The Times*, 1 Mar. 1935.

³ See W. Hoche, *Die Gesetzgebung des Kabinetts Hitler*, Heft 12 (1935), pp. 702-3.

⁴ See *F.Z.*, 16 Mar., 1935.

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Arrest of over 700 Prussian pastors.¹

28 Mar. First pastor sent to a Concentration Camp (Dachau)

Apr. State grants are withdrawn in Baden (the first case).²

10 Apr. The Provisional Church Administration appeals to Hitler.³

26 Apr. Great German Faith meeting in the Sportpalast, Berlin. "God has revealed Himself to us through Adolf Hitler."

27 Apr. Württemberg pastors send telegram to Hitler protesting against the new paganism.⁴

14 May. Speech by Hess in Stockholm (for his travesty of the religious situation see R. Hess, *Reden*, Munich, Eher, 1938, p. III).

2 June. Frick says: "The Church conflict can no more be settled with the policeman's truncheon than the Jewish question can be settled by smashed windows."

4 June. Third Confessional Synod at Augsburg.

26 June. The Courts having in many cases upheld the protests of the Church, the Government withdraws Church questions from the ordinary courts and makes all legal questions subject (without the right of appeal) to the decision of a Bureau of the Ministry of the Interior.⁵

19 July. Creation of a Reich Ministry for Church Affairs. Appointment of Kerl as minister.⁶

4 Aug. Kerl appoints himself head of the new legal bureau (*Beschlußstelle in kirchlichen Rechtsangelegenheiten*). See 26 June.

24 Sept. Prussian Confessional Synod meets in Berlin. Stahn who represented Kerl threatens "swift and stern measures". The Synod rejects the legal bureau and defends Jewish membership of Churches.

¹ For accounts of arrests at this time cf., e.g., *The Times*, 8, 10, 11 Apr.; *M.G.*, 17 Apr.; *The Times*, 18, 22, 24 Apr.; *M.G.* 24, 27 Apr.; *The Times*, 29, 30 Apr.; *M.G.* 4 May; *F.Z.*, 10 May; *The Times*, 25 May; *M.G.*, 25, 27 May 1935.

² See *F.Z.*, 9 Apr. 1935.

³ Duncan-Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁴ *M.G.*, 29 Apr. 1935.

⁵ For text see *F.Z.*, 28 June, and cf. *The Times* of 28, 29 June 10 July 1935.

⁶ Text in *F.Z.* and *V.B.*, 20 July 1935.

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24 Sept. Publication of the Law for the Safeguarding of the German Evangelical Church.¹

Kerrl's plan to proceed through Church Committees.

14 Oct. Formation of the Reich's Church Committee: at its head Dr. Zoellner.² The affirmation of the Committee: "We affirm the National Socialist development of the people on the basis of Race, Blood and Soil."

The Confessional Synod refuses to acknowledge the new Church Committee.³

28 Oct. Propaganda Ministry imposes a censorship before publication on all Church periodicals.

"Hitler acting at the wish of Dr. Schacht (President of the Reichsbank) has had country and district leaders advised that 'Hitler will lead the Party along the path of positive Christianity and not along the false path of anti-Christian doctrine'." Statement issued by Kerrl.⁴

Nov. Secret Police prohibit the inauguration of two colleges for reformed theology.⁵

Regional Church Committees continue to be formed.⁶

27 Nov. Kerrl has an interview with Hitler.

28 Nov. The trust funds of the Confessional Church confiscated, Kerrl threatens to dissolve the Confessional organization.

30 Nov. Censorship before publication imposed on all writings or picture material multigraphed for distribution (cf. 28 Oct. 1935). Order of Kerrl through police.

¹ Text in *F.Z.*, 29 Sept. 1935 or in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, iii (1937), pp. 265-6. Translation in *The Times*, 30 Sept. 1935.

² Composition of Reich's Church Committee: see *F.Z.*, 16 Oct., and *The Times* of the same date.

³ For speeches of Kerrl at this time see (i) speech to the Press, *F.Z.* and *V.B.* of 18 Oct. 1935; (ii) speech (16 Oct.) before the *Wirtschaftsrat* of the *Deutsche Akademie* on National Socialism and Faith, *V.B.*, 18 Oct. 1935, or *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, iii, pp. 267-70; (iii) at Limburg, *F.Z.*, 29 Oct. 1935.

⁴ Cf. *New York Times*, 29 Oct. 1935.

⁵ See *The Times*, 2, 5, 9, 11 Nov. 1935.

⁶ Cf., e.g., *F.Z.*, 8 Nov. 1935 (Church of Nassau-Hesse); *F.Z.*, 27 Nov. 1935 (Saxony); *F.Z.*, 29 Nov. See in *F.Z.*, 29 Nov. 1935 an article on the form and functions of these Church Committees and cf. *F.Z.*, 13 Dec. 1935.

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2 Dec. All executive or administrative functions on the part of Church associations or groups is prohibited.¹ This order gives Kerl dictatorial powers.

4 Dec. Protest of Berlin-Brandenburg Confessional Synod. Niemöller forbidden to speak anywhere in the Reich.

Kerl through the police threatens that defiance, if persisted in, will lead to charges of high treason.

6 Dec. Marahrens (Hanover) declares for Kerl and deserts the Confessional Church.

20 Dec. Where administrations have been formed under the law of 24 Sept. 1935 the Provisional Government and Councils of Brethren of the Confessional Church are forbidden (save for the Rhineland and Westphalia).²

1936. 19 Jan. Niemöller publishes his pamphlet *Die Staatskirche ist da*: it is confiscated by the police.

21 Jan. Kerl speaks in Hanover. Hitler and Jesus.³

14 Feb. Formation by the Reich's Church Committee of a new appeal court in disciplinary cases.⁴

17 Feb. Reich Confessional Synod meets at Oeynhausen. The protest against the Committees breaks up the unity of the Provisional Church Administration. New Council of Brethren and Executive Committee appointed.

13 Mar. The re-formation of the Confessional executive: Bavaria, Württemberg, and Hanover not represented.⁵

22 Mar. "Lutheran Church of Germany" formed: Council and executive appointed (Bavaria, Württemberg, Hanover, Saxony, and Mecklenburg).

Reventlow leaves German Faith Movement "for National Socialist reasons and religious motives";⁶ Hauer also resigns.⁷ Müller joins Movement for a single National Church

¹ Text in *F.Z.* or *V.B.*, 3 Dec. 1935. For Kerl's address to the Press see *V.B.*, 3 Dec. 1935. For comment on the order see *F.Z.*, 4 Dec. 1935. and cf. *The Times*, 4 Dec. 1935.

² Cf. *F.Z.*, 24, 25 Dec. *Berliner Tageblatt*, 22 Dec. 1935 for studies of the religious situation. Text of order *F.Z.*, 21 Dec. 1935.

³ See *F.Z.*, 22 Jan. 1936.

⁴ On this court cf. *F.Z.*, 15, 27 Feb., 14, 30 May, 23 July 1936; 10 Jan. 1937.

⁵ Cf. *New York Times*, 14 Mar. 1936.

⁶ *F.Z.* 27 Mar. 1936.

⁷ *F.Z.*, 10 Apr. 1936

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combining Protestants and Catholics¹ and rewrites the Sermon on the Mount.²

End of April: Conciliatory measures adopted "at the wish of the Führer in view of the election results".³ [Parishes from which pastors had been expelled had returned a disproportionate number of "Noes" at the plebiscite.]

May. The new Provisional Government of the Confessional Church addresses a direct appeal to Hitler on the subject of the new paganism.

15 May. Hess forbids higher National Socialist officials to hold office in any church body or religious organization.⁴

June. Olympic Games: peace in the Church struggle.

July. The Confessional Memorandum sent in May to Hitler is published in the foreign press after a police raid on the offices of the Confessional Church.⁵

Aug. Confessional Protest against the new paganism is read from Confessional pulpits.⁶

Dec. The Reich's Church Committee protests against the new paganism. (First protest of the bishops following Kerrl.)⁷

National Socialist Teachers' Union forbids to teachers membership of any religious association.⁸

Hitler from Berchtesgaden issues a warning against the new paganism.⁹

The Prussian Confessional Synod demands the immediate resignation of Kerrl's administration.¹⁰

1937. 1 Jan. Confessional Manifesto read in churches protests against order excluding from the German universities students attending Confessional Church training courses.

¹ *F.Z.*, 23 Apr. 1936.

² *The Times*, 8 Apr. 1936; L. Müller, *Deutsche Gottesworte*, Weimar, Verlag Deutsche Christen, 1936.

³ Cf. *The Times*, 27 Apr. 1936.

⁴ *New York Times*, 16 May 1936.

⁵ Extracts from the Memorandum translated in *M.G.*, 5 Aug. 1936.

⁶ Translated text in *New York Times*, 23 Aug. 1936; cf. *The Times*, 24 Aug. 1936.

⁷ *New York Times*, 9 Dec. 1936.

⁸ *F.Z.*, 15 Dec. 1936.

⁹ *New York Times*, 15 Dec. 1936.

¹⁰ *New York Times*, 23 Dec. 1936.

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9 Jan. The Reich's Church Committee announces the arrest of nine Lübeck pastors by the Secret Police.

Feb. Dr. Zoellner prevented by Secret Police from visiting pastors in Lübeck.

13 Feb. Resignation of the Reich's Church Committee.¹

14 Feb. It is announced that a decree will be published.²

15 Feb. Kerl reports to Hitler in Berchtesgaden.

Hitler intervenes and orders a free election by the Church.³

A semi-official statement is issued that Reich authorities will exercise no influence on the forthcoming Synod elections.

[For Kerl's speech to members of the provincial Church Committees before Hitler's intervention cf. *New York Times*, 21 Feb. 1937: "The primacy of the State must be acknowledged in the Church as well. The principles of this State—race, blood and soil—are taboo (sacrosanct) for the Church as well." "The Church must be cleansed of scoundrels and Jewish-born pastors." Cf. *The Times*, 16 Mar. 1937: Hitler as "the bearer of a new revelation". Kerl denied that he had characterized as "ridiculous" the belief in Christ as the Son of God.]

The result of Hitler's intervention was the restoration of Evangelical unity of action: Lutherans rejoin Confessionals.

22 Feb. Interview of Kerl with Hitler.

26 Feb. The Confessional Synod states its conditions for procedure at the election.

Frick and Kerl forbid publication of the names of those leaving the Church.

2 Mar. Dibelius protests against Kerl's speech.

Hitler hands over to Frick the framing of regulations for the conduct of the election.

20 Mar. As an interim arrangement between 13 Feb. and the election the whole administration of the Evangelical Church

¹ For the Committee's letter of protest cf. *New York Times*, 26 Feb. 1937.

² For the form of Kerl's intended decree cf. *The Times*, 19 Feb. 1937.

³ Text: *Berliner Tageblatt*, 16 Feb. 1937; translation, *Daily Telegraph*, 16 Feb. 1937. For the National Socialist view of Hitler's action cf. an article in the *V.B.* for 17 Feb. 1937, and see also *F.Z.*, 21 Feb. 1937.

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is delegated to Dr. Werner, head of the Church Chancery (see 11 Dec. 1937).

Apr. Conference of leading German Christians at Oberhausen: its statement declares that "Hitler's word is God's law and thus has Divine authority in the shape of decrees and laws".¹

6 Apr. Lutherans and Confessionals appoint a new Interim Reich Church administration.

20 Apr. Muhs is appointed as Secretary of State in Ministry for Church Affairs. Increasingly he determines policy.

30 May. National Confessional Synod issues instructions to pastors.²

June. Frick makes it a crime to contribute money to the Confessionals or to any organization not approved by Kerrl.³

Progressive reduction of State subsidies to Church announced in Bavaria.

25 June. All Church finances throughout the Reich are placed under Kerrl.⁴

1 July. Niemöller arrested.

5-6 July. Conference of Lutherans and Confessionals meets at Cassel and draws up an appeal to the State asking for a personal hearing: a common declaration is read in the churches on 11 July.

[The Oecumenical Conference held at Oxford.]

29 Aug. Message from Confessional leadership read in churches: announces that the appeal to the State had remained unanswered.⁵

17 Oct. Prussian Superior Court decides that the Confessional Church is no longer legally part of the German Evangelical Church.

7 Nov. Lutheran and Confessional protest (signed by 96 pastors) against Rosenberg is not read in churches since Goebbels had threatened that pastors would be brought before the People's Court on charge of treason. Concluding paragraph ran: "If Herr Hitler fails to give a guarantee of

¹ *Daily Telegraph*, 10 Apr. 1937. For Niemöller's protest cf. *eichspost*, 27 May 1937.

² See translation in *New York Times*, 31 May 1937.

³ Text, *F.Z.*, 17 June 1937. ⁴ Cf. *F.Z.*, 1, 2 July 1937.

Cf. *New York Times*, 29 Aug.; *The Times* and *M.G.*, 30 Aug.

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the freedom of belief, then our faith in the Führer will crumble."¹

Army chaplains send a petition to Hitler.²

- 11 Dec. Kerrl's order delegating the powers of the State administration of the Church to Werner (see 20 Mar. 1937).³

[Kerrl in speeches at Fulda (23 Nov.) and at Hagen (30 Nov.) suggests the gradual withdrawing from the Church of all State subsidies.⁴ On the article in *Das Schwarze Corps* (organ of the SS.) of 8 Dec. see *The Times*, 9 Dec. 1937.]

1938. Feb. Secret Circular Letter issued by Cultural Education Department: "The world in which we live . . . is no business whatever of the Churches. In these affairs only National Socialism counts."⁵

- 2 Mar. Sentence passed on Niemöller: he is released but is immediately taken into "protective custody" by the Secret Police and is held in a concentration camp (on the trial cf. Duncan-Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-54).

Apr. The Civil Servants' Oath to be taken by the clergy by 31 May. A long controversy follows this order:⁶ does it imply the recognition of National Socialist ideology?⁷

July. Time-limit for taking oath extended to 30 Sept.

Sept. [Munich Crisis.] Confessionals issue a form of prayer for peace to be used in churches on 30 Sept.

- 29 Oct. Lutheran bishops summoned before Kerrl: Confessional form of prayer is said to be treasonable (*Landesverrat*). Negotiations in progress for confining the traitors in a concentration camp. Bishops ordered to sign a declaration condemning the Confessionals. The Bishops (Marahrens, Wurm, and Meiser) sign the declaration. The salaries of the Confessionals are stopped.⁸

Cited from the *Daily Herald*, 8 Nov. 1937.

² See *New York Times*, 9 Nov. 1937, and translation in *New York Times*, 28 Nov. 1937, and cf. Mackensen's speech reported in *Le Temps*, 7 Mar. 1937: "Le vrai soldat allemand doit être chrétien."

³ Text, *F.Z.*, 12 Dec. 1937.

⁴ *F.Z.*, 25 Nov. 1937 and 2 Dec. 1937.

⁵ *Sunday Times*, 27 Feb. 1938.

⁶ Form of oath given in *F.Z.*, 29 May 1938.

⁷ Cf. *M.G.*, 30 May 1938.

⁸ For translations of documents cf. *Documents of the German Church Struggle, 1938-39*, ed. D. F. Buxton, published by The

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1939. Feb. Hess forbids Party officials to take any part in Church affairs.¹

18-21 Mar. Werner issues four decrees.:

- (i) Consistories empowered to transfer pastors to other parishes against their will.
- (ii) Abolishes the right of a parish to choose its own minister.
- (iii) Gives to minorities in a parish the right to demand the use of church premises.
- (iv) Introduces Leadership Principle by giving dictatorial powers to the President of the Consistory.²

28 May. Confessional protest read in churches: legality of Werner's decrees denied.

11 June. Appeal of Confessionals to all Evangelical pastors to declare themselves either for the Confessional Church or for the German Christian Movement.

July. Theological schools of the Universities of Heidelberg, Leipzig, and Rostock closed by Rust.

II. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

1933. 18 Feb. *Germania* and other Catholic journals (temporarily) suspended.

13 Mar. Editor in chief of the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* arrested; offices of the *Kölnische Zeitung* occupied by SA. and three of the staff arrested. Other Catholic newspapers suppressed.

23 Mar. The Centrum—the Catholic Centre Party—votes for the Enabling Bill (*Ermächtigungsgesetz*).

28 Mar. At an episcopal Conference at Fulda the bishops formally raise the ecclesiastical ban on National Socialism.³

6 May. Dr. Brüning succeeds Kaas as leader of the Centrum with power to reorganize the Party.

Friends of Europe (= War Time Series: "The Europe of Tomorrow," No. 4/5).

¹ *Daily Telegraph*, 1 Mar. 1939.

² Two further orders were issued on 13 Apr.: a disciplinary order and an order whereby all Church officials (not clergy) are to be treated as civil servants and will therefore be subject to the "Aryan Paragraph". *F.Z.* 20 Apr. 1939.

³ Cf. G. N. Shuster, *Like a Mighty Army*, New York and London, Century Co., 1935, pp. 186-7.

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22 June. Dr. Ley states that the Catholic Workers' Associations and similar organizations are to be regarded as enemies of the State.

End of June. By this time all the leaders of the Bavarian People's Party were in prison.

1 July. The Sterilization Law approved by the Cabinet.

4 July. Bavarian People's Party dissolves itself.

5 July. The Centre Party dissolves itself.¹

18 July. Some Catholic organizations (e.g. The People's Association for Catholic Germany, The Peace-Fellowship of German Catholics) go into voluntary liquidation.

20 July. The Concordat signed.

25 July. The Sterilization Law published.

Aug. A number of Catholic journals suppressed.

10 Sept. The Vatican ratifies the Concordat.

10 Oct. Agreement by the Government that Catholic Youth Associations should act in co-operation with the Hitler Youth: no pressure should be put upon members to join the Hitler Youth.

Dec. Cardinal Faulhaber's sermons preached in Munich during Advent.²

1934. 24 Jan. Rosenberg appointed as Director of National Socialist *Weltanschauung*.

Early in the year: Cardinal Schulte (Cologne) discusses with Hitler the position of the Catholic Youth Associations.

9 Feb. Rosenberg's *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* is placed on the Index by the Vatican.

End of February: Cardinal Schulte protests against the new paganism of Rosenberg.

Easter. Letter of the Pope promises support to the Catholic Youth Associations.

Apr. No member of the Labour Front (*Arbeitsfront*) can be at the same time a member of any artisan or vocational Church Association.

7 June. The bishops' joint pastoral may not be read from church pulpits; journals publishing it are confiscated by the police.

¹ Cf. Shuster, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-3.

² See Bibliography, p. 343 *supra*.

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- 26 June. Hitler promises the bishops that he will stop propaganda for the new paganism.
- 17 Aug. Hitler speaks at Hamburg.
- 27 Aug. Hitler speaks to the Germans of the Saar.
- Oct. Catholic scholars publish a series of *Studies* exposing the errors of Rosenberg in his *Mythus*.
1935. A pagan Peasants' Calendar for 1935 is published.
- 9 Jan. Bürckel, Hitler's plenipotentiary for the Saar, declares against a *Kulturkampf* and with this declaration Hitler expresses his agreement.¹
- 1 Mar. The Plebiscite in the Saar.
- 9 Mar. The "Currency Trials" begin.
- 24 Apr. Amann, President of the Reich Press Chamber, issues two decrees which practically kill the Catholic Press.²
- 2 May. Speech of Baldur von Schirach: "Every Youth Association outside the Hitler Youth offends against the spirit which is the spirit of the State."
- June. Rosenberg's answer to the *Studies* (see Oct. 1934) published: *An die Dunkelmänner unserer Zeit*.
- 17 July. Goering attacks "political Catholicism".³
- 23 July. Himmler forbids confessional associations to have any share in sport or politics: no uniforms, no flags, no marches.
- 20 Aug. The printing of the bishops' pastoral is forbidden.
- Sept. Members of the SS. to take no leading part in any religious organization.
- Nuremberg Parteitag. Hitler: "Neither to-day nor yesterday has the Party entertained the least aggressive intention towards Christianity."
- 22 Nov. The offices of the Bishop of Berlin, Monsignor Banasch, are searched by the police and he and some of his staff are arrested on a charge of betraying State secrets.
1936. This year sees the systematic attack upon the Confessional schools: all education must be education into the faith of National Socialism, while Immorality Trials take the place of the "Currency Trials".

¹ Cf. N. Micklem, *National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church*, London, Oxford University Press, 1939, p. 116, who refers to *V.B.*, 12 Jan. 1935, which is inaccessible to me.

² R. D'Harcourt, *The German Catholics*, London, Burns, Oates & Washbourne 1939, pp. 164 sqq.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 180-5.

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- 7-8 Feb. Secret police arrest the President of the Reich Union of Catholic Youth Associations and other officials of the movement throughout the Reich.
- 20 Feb. Action is taken against the Catholic Young Men's Association in the Rhineland and Westphalia on the charge of co-operation with Communism. The Vatican and the Archbishop of Cologne protest. Hitler replies that he cannot intervene as the cases are in the hands of the Public Prosecutor.
- 28 Aug. The bishops assembled at Fulda send a memorial to Hitler.¹
- 4 Nov. Cardinal Faulhaber has an interview with Hitler.
- 15 Nov. The bishops' message on the danger to Catholic youth.²
- 1 Dec. Law on the Hitler Youth: "The whole youth of Germany within the territory of the Reich is included in the Hitler Youth."
1937. 3 Jan. Reading of the Christmas pastoral from pulpits.³ A note of conciliation: the common struggle against Bolshevism. The slow destruction of the Confessional schools continues.
- 14 Mar. Issue at the Vatican of the Papal Encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge*.
- 21 Mar. Palm Sunday: the Encyclical is read in German pulpits.
- Rome had spoken: the struggle continues, alike in Germany and after the *Anschluß* in Austria. The situation remains essentially the same after the Encyclical had declared the attitude of the Church. For accounts of the later period of the struggle see the Bibliography, p. 341 *supra*.

RELIGION—I. CHRISTIANITY

(The extracts in this section are arranged in chronological order.)

There is surprisingly little in the speeches of Hitler on the subject of Christianity or of the treatment by National Socialism of the Christian Churches. Here Hitler has exercised a diplomatic restraint and has left the attack to

¹ D'Harcourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-9.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 236 sqq.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 229-35.

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others. In the earlier days he was more outspoken. Dietrich Eckart had written in the "*Völkischer Beobachter*" of 11 August 1921, "Tear in pieces that lascivious Bible of Satanism—the Old Testament"; Hitler was but following in the steps of his teacher when he said "Luther's translation of the Bible may have been of use to the German language; it irreparably injured the German people's power of judgement. God in Heaven! what a cloud of glory now hangs over the satanic Bible!"¹

In the Programme of the National Socialist Party (adopted at a mass-meeting held on 25 February 1920 in the Hofbräuhaus-Festsaal in Munich) Point 24 defined the religious attitude of the NSDAP. (see p. 107 *supra*).

At a conference of all district organizers held at Bamberg on 14 February 1923, Hitler formally appointed Gottfried Feder to be the final judge of all questions connected with the Programme. In his commentary Feder wrote: "For the rest, it must be our principle not to drag 'religious' questions into general political statements of our cultural policy. . . . These problems must be studied with the greatest thoroughness. The same may be said of all the coarse, stupid attacks on Christianity. Expressions such as 'Christianity has only done harm' merely show that the man who utters them has neither human nor political intelligence. One may indeed blame the Church for meddling in politics, and all good Christians will disapprove of the cruelties practised in the name of the Cross by the Inquisition and of the trials for witchcraft, but it is wrong to abuse in general terms the greatest phenomenon in human history because of the perversities and erroneous ideas and defaults of individuals. The Christian religion has uplifted and strengthened millions upon millions, and brought them to God by the way of suffering."

¹ Conrad Heiden, *A History of National Socialism*, London, 1934, p. 88.

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*It may, however, be noted that this exposition of the National Socialist creed continues: "This is not the place to discuss all the problems, all the hopes and desires as to whether the German nation may at some time discover some new form for its religious beliefs and experiences." These are matters "which surpass the scope of even such a revolutionary Programme as that of National Socialism."*¹

*In May 1923 Hitler said: "We do not want to have any other God—only Germany."*²

*For the first number of the "Völkischer Beobachter" published after the raising of the veto on the paper (dated 26 February 1925), Hitler wrote an article headed: "A New Beginning."*³ *In this he said:*

"Here I must in especial protest against the attempt to drag religious disputes into the Movement or even to equate the Movement with religious disputes. I have always objected to the general term 'volkie' (*völkisch*), since the extraordinarily vague interpretation of this idea opens wide the door to positively harmful attempts.⁴ Even in its early days the Movement in consequence placed a higher value upon its clearly outlined programme and upon the unified direction which it gave to its fight than upon a concept which, through the lack of any clear definition, laid itself open to more or less empty interpretations."

"When to-day from different quarters the attempt is

¹ G. Feder, *Hitler's Official Programme and its Fundamental Ideas*, London, 1934 (reissue 1938), pp. 107-8.

² Cited from the *Bayrischer Kurier*, Nr. 142, 25 May 1923, by Miles Ecclesiae, *Hitler gegen Christus*, Paris, 1936, p. 25.

³ Reprinted in the interesting collection of *Dokumente aus dem Kampf der Bewegung*, published in *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, ix (1938), pp. 643-56 at pp. 647-9; also reproduced in the Hitler-Youth periodical *Wille und Macht* for 1 Sept. 1937.

⁴ Cf. *MK.*, pp. 397-8, 415-17, 515 (German); pp. 303-4, 317-19, 384 (English).

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being made to implicate the 'volkie' Movement in religious concerns, I see in this attempt the beginning of its end."

"Religious reformations cannot be made by political children, and in the case of these gentlemen it is very rarely that anything else than that is in question."

"I have perfectly clear views on the possibility of beginning such a struggle, but I am doubtful whether the gentlemen who take part in such a struggle are equally clear what the probable end will be."

"It will at any rate be my supreme task to see to it that in the newly awakened NSDAP. the adherents of both Confessions can live peacefully together side by side in order that they may take their stand in the common fight against the power which is the mortal foe of any true Christianity."

"No Movement has waged the struggle against the Centrum—the Centre Party—and the groups associated with it more energetically than our old Party, yet not from religious considerations but solely on political grounds. And similarly to-day the fight against the Centrum must not be waged because it professes to be 'Christian' or even 'Catholic', but solely because a party which allies itself with atheistic Marxism for the oppression of its own people is neither Christian nor Catholic."

"Not on religious grounds do we declare war on the Centrum, but exclusively for national-political reasons."

"History will pronounce judgement and decide who is destined to succeed—those who are for a *Kulturkampf* or ourselves."¹

¹ In December 1931 in an interview with the Berlin correspondent of the "*Corriere della Sera*", Hitler said that the National Socialist Party could be neither Catholic nor Protestant, but wished to live in peace with both religions. The Centrum was attacked as a political party, but not as representative of the Catholic religion which it professed to be. The practical policy of the Centrum was

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In Hitler's first wireless message to the German people after coming into power (1 February 1933) he said: "The National Government will preserve and defend those

un-Christian. "We cherish the hope that the Catholic Church will one day refuse to recognize the Centrum as its authorized representative." (*F.Z.*, 8 Dec. 1931.)

Hitler, talking to a small party at his flat in Munich in October 1932 is reported to have said:

"Naturally, practical politics demands that, for the time being at least, we must avoid any appearance of a campaign against the Church." He was careful to emphasize again that he was a Politiker, with no ambition to become a prophet. But National Socialism, he said, was a *Weltanschauung* and in fact a religion which was now building itself up and disseminating itself, except that its forms of activity and of propaganda were different. In ancient Rome, for example, Christianity had been able to mobilize masses in a way that the old polytheistic religions never could. "And now in turn", he added, "National Socialism is able to influence greater masses at once than the Church possibly can". . . .

"Oh yes, Ludecke, if you want to see my meaning illustrated, you need only go to the funeral of a fallen Nazi and watch the Storm Troopers ranked about the grave. Watch their faces, blank while the priest is reading the service"—and here he stopped long enough to imitate a priest mumbling the litany, fingering an imaginary rosary, and spreading his hands in blessing (an excellent performance, as always)—"and then see them light up when the Nazi leader lifts the flag and begins to speak words of flame over the dead."

"Yes, National Socialism is a form of conversion, a new faith, but we don't need to raise that issue—it will come of itself. Just as I insist on the mathematical certainty of our coming to power, because might always attracts might, and the traditional wings, whether they be Right or Left, constructive or destructive, will always attract all the activist elements, leaving only a juiceless pulp in the middle—just so do I insist on the certainty that sooner or later, once we hold the power, Christianity will be overcome and the 'Deutsche Kirche' established. Yes, the German Church, without a Pope and without the Bible—and Luther, if he could be with us, would give us his blessing."

"Hitler was ablaze now, and I could see the ideas of Rosenberg's Mythos working in him. He shouted with passionate energy: 'Of course, I myself am a heathen to the core!' . . .

"No, Ludecke, we don't need to declare this fight openly. It would be political stupidity to show the masses too many enemies

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basic principles on which our nation has been built up. They regard Christianity as the foundation of our national morality and the family as the basis of national life."¹

*In a speech delivered at Stuttgart on 15 February 1933 Hitler professed that the desire of the National Socialist Government was "to fill our whole culture once more with a Christian spirit, and that not only in politics. We want to burn out the harmful features in our theatre and our literature."*²

In his speech to the Reichstag on 23 March 1933 Hitler said:

"The Government, being resolved to undertake the political and moral purification of our public life, are

at once. The political victory can only follow if the fight is concentrated against the fewest possible number of enemies—for the time being, the Marxists and the Jews. Then will come the turn of the Reaktion, and the end of that will mean the end of the Christian Church—and the opening of our own temples, our own shrines. The French Revolution, Bolshevism, all of Marxism, in fact, our whole deformity and atrophy of spirit and soul would never have come into being except for this oriental mumunery, this abominable levelling mania, this cursed universalism of Christianity which denies racialism and preaches suicidal tolerance". . . .

"Jesus Christus," he said thoughtfully, in a quieter, almost solemn voice. "It is the tragedy of the Germanic world that no German 'Heiland' was born among us; that our organic spiritual evolution was suddenly violently interrupted; that Jesus was judaized, distorted, falsified, and an alien Asiatic spirit was forced upon us. That is a crime we must repair." (Kurt G. W. Ludecke, *I knew Hitler*, London, Jarrolds, 1938, pp. 465-6.)

¹ This is the authorized translation as given in the collection of Hitler's speeches (Feb.-July 1933) issued under the title, *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, Berlin, Liebherr and Thiesen, p. 6. The German text is (*Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i, Berlin, 1935, p. 4): "Sie wird das Christentum als Basis unserer gesamten Moral, die Familie als Keimzelle unseres Volks- und Staatskörpers in ihren festen Schutz nehmen."

² Summary of this speech in *F.Z.*, 17 Feb. 1933.

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creating and securing the conditions necessary for a really profound revival of religious life."

"The advantages of a personal and political nature that might arise from compromising with atheistic organizations would not outweigh the consequences which would become apparent in the destruction of general moral basic values. The National Government regard the two Christian Confessions as the weightiest factors for the maintenance of our nationality. They will respect the agreements concluded between them and the federal States.¹ Their rights are not to be infringed. But the Government hope and expect that the work on the national and moral regeneration of our nation which they have made their task will, on the other hand, be treated with the same respect. They will adopt an attitude of objective justice towards all other Confessions. But they cannot permit that the fact of belonging to a certain Confession or a certain race should constitute a release from general legal obligations or even a licence for the commission with impunity or the toleration of crimes.² It will be the Government's care to maintain honest co-operation between Church and State; the struggle against materialistic views and for a real national community is just as much in the interest of the German nation as in that of the welfare of our Christian faith."³

¹ i.e. the Concordats concluded with Bavaria in 1924, with Prussia in 1929, and with Baden in 1932.

² Note that at this point a sentence is omitted in the authorized English translation which occurs in the German text: *Die nationale Regierung wird in Schule und Erziehung den christlichen Konfessionen den ihnen zukommenden Einfluß einräumen und sicherstellen* ("The National Government will allow and secure to the Christian Confessions the influence which is their due both in the school and in education").

³ Authorized English translation: *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, pp. 19-20; German text in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i, p. 29.

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"The Government of the Reich, who regard Christianity as the unshakable foundation of the morals and moral code of the nation, attach the greatest value to friendly relations with the Holy See and are endeavouring to develop them."¹

*When discussing the effect of the passing of the Enabling Bill (see p. 420) Hitler said: "The Government will only make use of these powers in so far as they are essential for carrying out the vitally necessary measures. . . . The rights of the Churches will not be diminished, and their relationship to the State will not be modified."*²

*On 20 July 1933 the Concordat with the Holy See was signed; the Reich was represented by the Vice-Chancellor Von Papen and Rome by the Papal Secretary Pacelli, the present Pope. In the preamble to this Concordat it is stated that "His Holiness Pope Pius XI and the President of the German Reich, inspired by the common wish to secure and promote the existing friendly relations between the Holy See and the German Reich and wishing to regulate permanently the relation between the Catholic Church and the State for the whole extent of the German Reich in a manner which shall be satisfactory for both parties, have determined to conclude a solemn agreement which shall supplement the Concordats already concluded with individual German States, and which for the other States shall secure a uniform treatment of the questions which are the subject of this agreement"*³

This is no place in which to discuss in detail the clauses of the Concordat, but two of those clauses must be noted: article 31 defines the nature of the confessional associations

¹ Authorized English translation *ibid.*, p. 25; German text *ibid.*, p. 34.

² Authorized English translation *ibid.*, p. 26; German text *ibid.*, p. 36.

³ For the Concordat see p. 345 *supra*.

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which can claim the protection of the State: that protection will be given to those Catholic organizations and associations (Verbände) which serve exclusively religious, purely cultural, or philanthropic, objects.¹ Associations which serve in addition to religious, cultural, or philanthropic objects other ends, such as social or professional ends, can rely on such protection from the State "only to the extent that they are able to guarantee that their activities will be independent of any political party".

Article 32 provides that in view of the peculiar circumstances existing in Germany and having regard to the assurances, created by the provisions of this present Concordat, that legislation will protect the rights and liberties of the Catholic Church in the Reich and its States, the Holy See will issue regulations which will exclude both the clergy and the religious Orders from membership in the political parties and from action on behalf of such parties.

On the day after the signing of the Concordat² Hitler (in a speech to men of the SA. at Dortmund, 9 July 1933)³ said: "The parties are destroyed finally. They will never return. We are living guarantors that the age of these corrupt party-organizations will never come back. I can proudly profess that we have performed a mighty achievement in German history. Who would have believed that within five months of our assumption of power the Centrum would capitulate? This is for us a ground for satisfaction, since we desire that the fight in the religious camps should come to an end. We are happy that in Rome yesterday we succeeded in signing a Concordat on the basis of which all political action in the parties will be forbidden to priests for all time, happy

¹ The German text is *Organisationen und Verbände, die ausschließlich religiösen, rein kulturellen und karitativen Zwecken dienen*.

² It did not become part of the law of the German State until 12 Sept. 1933; see *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i, p. 326.

³ Summary in *F.Z.*, 11 July 1933.

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because we know what is wanted by millions who long to see in the priest only the comforter of their souls and not the representative of their political convictions. Thus the political fight for power is finished."

On 14 July 1933 the Constitution for the United German Evangelical Church became law,¹ and on 19 July 1933 Hitler wrote to Reichsbishop Müller:² "I want to thank you warmly now that the great work of Reform and unification of the Evangelical Churches has been brought to a happy conclusion."

"It is not merely that for many years past I have personally worked for the constitution of a single church for the Reich, but you, as the man in whom I had set my confidence, have done extraordinary service towards the realization of this great idea."

"In spite of all hostility, history will one day bear witness that you and the German Christians have willed, helped forward, and finally effected one of the most decisive acts in the moulding of the religious life of our people."

Hitler on 22 July, the evening before the Evangelical Church Election, spoke on the wireless; he said:

"If I take up any position towards the elections in the Evangelical Church I do this solely from the standpoint of the political leader, that is to say, I am not moved to do so by questions of faith, dogmatics, or doctrine. These are purely internal Church affairs. But over and above these questions there are problems which compel the politician and the responsible leader of a people publicly to make known his position. They embrace 'volkie' (*völkische*) and State interests in their relation to the Confessions."

¹ German text of the Constitution in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i, pp. 309-14.

² Text of the letter in *F.Z.*, 24 July 1933.

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"National Socialism has always affirmed that it is determined to take the Christian Churches under the protection of the State. For their part the Churches cannot, for a second, doubt that they need the protection of the State, and that only through the State can they be enabled to fulfil their religious mission. Indeed, the Churches demand this protection from the State. On the other hand, in consideration for this protection, the State must require from the Churches that they in their turn should render to it that support which it needs to secure its permanence. Churches which fail to render to the State any positive support in this sense are for the State just as worthless as is for a Church the State which is incapable of fulfilling its duties to the Church. The decisive factor which can justify the existence alike of Church and State is the maintenance of men's spiritual and bodily health, for if that health were destroyed it would mean the end of the State and also the end of the Church. Therefore the State cannot afford to be indifferent to the religious affairs of its day and neither can, on the other hand, the Churches be indifferent to 'volkie'-political events and changes. Just as formerly Christianity and later the Reformation had their gigantic political effects, so will every political-'volkie' upheaval affect also the destiny of the Churches. Only a fool can imagine that, for example, the victory of Bolshevism could be irrelevant for the Catholic or the Evangelical Church and that therefore it would not disturb or even prevent the former activities of bishops or superintendents. The assertion that such dangers could be overcome through the action of the Churches alone is untenable; it is contradicted by the facts. Neither the Catholic Church nor the Evangelical, nor the Russian-Uniate Church has been able or would be able to stay the advance of Bolshevism. Wherever there has not been

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created a concrete 'volkic'-political defence to counter that advance there the victory of Communism is already won, or at least the battle is still undecided."

"It is thus clear that the Churches themselves must take up a definite position towards such 'volkic'-political revolutionary movements. This the Roman Church in the Lateran Treaties has done for the first time in a clear and unequivocal form towards Fascism. The German Concordat which has now been signed is the second equally clear step in this sphere. It is my sincere hope that thereby for Germany, too, through free agreement there has been produced a final clarification of spheres in the functions of the State and of one Church. As a National Socialist I have the most earnest wish that it may be possible to reach with the Evangelical Church also a no less clear settlement."

"But this presupposes that, if it is at all possible, the place of the many Evangelical Churches should be taken by a united Reichskirche. The State has no interest in negotiating with twenty-five or thirty Churches, all the more since it is convinced that, in face of the gigantic tasks of the present time, here, too, it is only a concentration of all forces which can be regarded as effective. The powerful State can only wish to extend its protection to such religious organizations as can in their turn become of use to it."

"And in fact amongst the congregations of the Evangelical Confessions there has arisen in the 'German Christians' a Movement which is filled with the determination to do justice to the great tasks of the day and has aimed at a union of the Evangelical Churches of the German States and at a union of Confessions. If this question is now really on the way towards solution, in the judgement of history no false or stupid objections will be able to dispute the fact that this service was ren-

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dered by the 'volkie'-political revolution in Germany and by that Movement within the Evangelical Confessions which clearly and unequivocally professed its allegiance to this national and 'volkie' Movement at a time when unfortunately, just as in the Roman Church, many pastors and superintendents without reason opposed the national uprising in the most violent, indeed often in a fanatical, way."

"In the interest of the recovery of the German nation which I regard as indissolubly bound up with the National Socialist Movement I naturally wish that the new Church elections should in their result support our new policy for People and State. For since the State is ready to guarantee the inner freedom of the religious life, it has the right to hope that in the Confessions those forces will be given a hearing which are for their part determined in their resolve to do all in their power for the freedom of the nation. But this will never be secured by petrified religious forces which have turned their backs upon the world and who count as of no significance the phenomena and events of their day: it can be secured only through the forces of a living Movement. These forces I see primarily marshalled in that part of the Evangelical communion (*Kirchenvolk*) which in the German Christian Movement has consciously taken its stand on the ground of the National Socialist State—not in an enforced submission but in a living affirmation! The inner religious questions of the individual Confessions are not in any way concerned in this: it is not my task to adopt any attitude towards them."¹

At a meeting of National Socialist leaders at Bad Godesberg on 27 August 1933 Hitler said that "the unity of the Germans must be secured through a new Welt-

¹ *F.Z.*, 23 July 1933.

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anschauung, since Christianity in its present form was no longer equal to the demands which were to-day made on those who would sustain the unity of the people."¹

*On 13 October 1933 Hess, as deputy of Hitler, issued the following decree: "No National Socialist may suffer any detriment on the ground that he does not profess any particular faith or confession or on the ground that he does not make any religious profession at all. Each man's faith is his own affair, for which he answers to his own conscience alone. Compulsion may not be brought to bear in matters of conscience."*²

In a speech in the Sportpalast in Berlin on 24 October 1933 Hitler said³ that alongside of the fight for a purer morality the Government had taken upon themselves the fight against disintegrating factors in the religious life of Germany. "Without pledging ourselves to any particular Confession, we have restored to faith its pre-requisites because we were convinced that the people needs and requires this faith. We have therefore undertaken the fight against the atheistic movement, and that not merely with a few theoretical declarations: we have stamped it out. And above all we have dragged the priests out of the depths of the political party struggle and have brought them back again into the Church. It is our determination that they shall never return to a sphere which is not made for them, which dishonours them, and which of necessity brings them into opposition to millions of people who in their hearts wish to hold to the faith

¹ Text cited by Miles Ecclesiae, *Hitler gegen Christus*, Paris, 1936, p. 29. Quoted by W. Gurian, *Hitler and the Christians*, London, 1936, p. 50, "according to the uncontradicted report published by several 'German Christian' journals" cf. p. 393 *infra*.

² Text in G. Herrmann, *Religionsfreiheit*, 1. Teil, p. 19.

³ Text in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, 1, p. 125.

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but who desire to see the priests serving God and not a political party."

*Two days later (26 October 1933), in a speech at Cologne, Hitler claimed that the Government "had succeeded in withdrawing from politics thousands upon thousands of priests and in bringing them back again into the Church, a result which but a few months ago many would have regarded as impossible."*¹

C. F. Macfarland in his book, The New Church and the New Germany (see p. 341 supra), writes (pp. 50 sqq.):

Bishop Mueller told me [in 1933] that, while serving as a sort of liaison representative of the Chancellor, he had three times suggested intervention at important points, but that Hitler had refused to comply. He said he knew that the Chancellor himself was very anxious that the people should not turn National Socialism into a substitute for Christianity, and that he desired especially to have the youth rightly guided in this direction.

...
I had been told that His Excellency was desirous of learning my impressions as the result of the inquiry, and he confirmed this near the beginning of the interview. He said at once that he would gladly welcome a statement of my judgements. I gave them freely and frankly both as related to the inner situation of the Church in Germany and to world Christian bodies, leaving with him, in the form of a memorandum, an expression of personal judgement on the latter.

His Excellency said, in substance, that the State had simply asked the separated Churches in the several provinces to be unified. These several State Churches went back to a time when the States in which they

¹ Short summary of the speech in *V.B.*, 27 Oct. 1933.

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existed were separate countries with their own rulers. There was no longer any reason for this separation and they should therefore be united as all other agencies of the nation are. The State, however, has nothing to do with matters of faith and the inner organization of the Church.

I said that I had not been able to find in his book or any other utterances by His Excellency any exposition of what he considered to be the relation of Church and State, and asked whether he would define it for me. What would be the attitude of the State if the Church should take action (barring treason or disloyalty) at cross purposes with the State?

The Chancellor answered at considerable length, the substance of his analysis being about as follows: The State and the People are one and the same body. The German Church and the People are practically the same body. Therefore there could be no issue between Church and State. The Church, as such, has nothing to do with political affairs. On the other hand, the State has nothing to do with the faith or inner organization of the Church. The election of November 12th would be an expression of church constituency, but not as a Church.

I then asked, Suppose a body of pastors, say two thousand, should take action (barring treason) opposing the action of the State? The Chancellor's answer was that that would be an affair for the Church and congregations to settle with the pastors.

His Excellency went on to say:¹

"The whole German people has been touched by the National Renaissance. Already, from this point of view, it has become impossible to speak of intervention by the

¹ "The following is the substance of the Chancellor's observations, translated from the German notes of his counsellor, Dr. Thomsen, who suggested its inclusion in this volume."

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Government of the Reich in church life. Government and people in Germany are not opposed, but are identical. The election of November 12th will constitute the best proof of it. The Government of the Reich participates in the internal organization of the Evangelical Church only in so far as the conclusion of pacts is concerned by which the Evangelical Church is established on a new basis. While the structure of the German Empire was undergoing fundamental changes, there remained twenty-six Evangelical State Churches in Germany. The result was that side by side with the political unity of the German people there was great diversity in the Evangelical Church. There was therefore a pressing obligation to clarify organization in this field. Through it the Evangelical Church in Germany received its true freedom and independence. Any intervention whatever of the Government of the Reich in the internal organization of the Evangelical Church or any influence upon its doctrine was out of the question. The Government of the Reich has unfortunately had to intervene in some isolated instances where, through intensification of opposing conceptions, there was a danger of public disturbance."

Answering further the inquiry as to the reactions of the Government towards utterances by pastors who did not agree with the position or action of the Government on church matters, the Chancellor said that such a reaction on the part of evangelical ecclesiastics was not at all directed against the Government of the Reich. It was expressed rather, in the sense of the ecclesiastical profession, as a religious offence, and indeed as much against dogma as against church leaders and church people. When there are opposing currents within the pastorate, the church people will undoubtedly make clear their own influence by levelling the differences of

opinion. The duty of the Government is to co-operate in the solution of such conflicts. The office of the Chancellor of the Reich has been directed to the conservation of the church life of the people. He has given enough proof of that. His only wish is that a Christian education may be transmitted to the people.

Concerning the inner conflict of the Church, between the "German Christians" and the "New Reformation Movement", the seriousness of which he did not appear to have appreciated, the Chancellor's attention was called to the fact that the pastors in the latter body felt that they had not had sufficient opportunity to put their case before him. They had personal confidence in him and would like to talk with him in his personal capacity. The Chancellor at once authorized me to tell any such pastors that if they asked for a hearing he was entirely ready to act as an "intermediary".

*In his New Year Message on 1 January 1934 Hitler said: "Not only in the economic sphere but also in the other spheres of the nation's life we have, during the past year, fought an unceasing battle against the symptoms of degeneracy in our people. The religious, moral, and ethical signs of the time spoke a language that compelled us so to act. While we destroyed the Centre Party, we have not only brought thousands of priests back into the Church, but to millions of respectable people we have restored their faith in their religion and in their priests. The union of the Evangelical Church in a single Church for the whole Reich, the Concordat with the Catholic Church, these are but milestones on the road which leads to the establishment of a useful relation and a useful co-operation between the Reich and the two Confessions."*¹

¹ V.B., 2 Jan. 1934.

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Speaking in the Reichstag on 30 January 1934, Hitler reviewed the economic changes which had resulted from a year of National Socialist Government and concluded with the statement: "But there is one unalterable fact: Past conditions will never return!" He then proceeded: "No less decisive is the adjustment of the relations between the new State and the two Christian Confessions."

"Imbued with the desire to secure for the German people the great religious, moral, and cultural values rooted in the two Christian Confessions, we have abolished the political organizations but strengthened the religious institutions. For an agreement with the powerful National Socialist State is of more value to a Church than the struggle between confessional political associations, which, with their policy of compromise determined by coalition, must always obtain personal advantages for party adherents by sacrificing the ideal of a really inner religious training and affirmation of the faith of the people."

"But we all live in the hope that the union of the Protestant Churches and Confessions to form an All-German Protestant Church may really satisfy the longings of those who believed that the confusion in Protestant life constituted a source of weakness in the Protestant faith as such."

"While the National Socialist State has thus, in the course of the last twelve months, shown its respect for the strength of the Christian Confessions, it expects the Confessions to show the same respect for the strength of the National Socialist State."¹

The legislation introducing enforced sterilization was opposed by the Catholic Church. To this opposition Hitler

¹ Authorized English translation, pp. 12-13; German text, *V.B.*, 31 Jan. 1934. This part of the speech is not included in the extract cited in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, ii (1936), pp. 3-4.

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made answer in this speech of 30 January 1934. "Another heavy burden," *he said*, "is the host of those who, owing to their hereditary predisposition, only contribute to the negative side of national life. In this case the State will have to adopt really revolutionary measures. The National Socialist Movement rendered a great service even in the past year by adopting legislation for this first attack on this menacing gradual decay of the people. When objections are raised, especially in clerical circles, and opposition started against this legislation, my reply is as follows:"

"It would have been more to the point, more honest and more Christian, in past decades not to support those who intentionally destroyed healthy life than to rebel against those who have no other wish than to avoid disease. Moreover, a policy of *laissez faire* in this sphere is not only cruelty to the individual guiltless victims but also to the nation as a whole. If things continue to develop as they have done for the last hundred years the number of those under the care of the State would one day threaten to approach that of those who are, after all, the only maintenance of the community. It is not the Churches who provide for the hosts of these unfortunates but the people that has to do so. If the Churches were to declare themselves ready to take over the treatment and care of those suffering from hereditary diseases, we should be quite ready to refrain from sterilizing them. But so long as the State is condemned to raise from its citizens enormous sums which are increasing from year to year—and which already amount to more than 350,000,000 marks in Germany—for the maintenance of these unfortunates, it is compelled to adopt the remedy which both prevents such an undeserved suffering being handed down to posterity, and also obviates the necessity of having to deprive millions of healthy

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people of what is absolutely necessary to them in order artificially to keep alive millions of unhealthy people."¹

*On 26 June 1934 Hitler received the Catholic bishops and assured them that he would take action through the authorities of the Party and the State against the new pagan propaganda.*²

*When Hitler spoke at Hamburg on 17 August 1934, and drew a picture of Germany as it was before the National Socialists came into power, he said that the great danger which threatened the country was a profound cleavage between workmen and the intellectuals—a division into two distinct bodies, each with its own outlook on the world. "That such a development was indeed possible was proved by the analogy of the religious schism in the German people." Here as in the economic sphere two Weltanschauungen divided the nation.*³

In the same speech Hitler said: "The National Socialist State professes its allegiance to positive Christianity.⁴ It will be its honest endeavour to protect both the great Christian Confessions in their rights, to secure them from interference with their doctrines (Lehren), and in

¹ Authorized English translation, pp. 18-19; German text *V.B.*, 31 Jan. 1934. For the National Socialist attitude to the protest of the Catholic Church against the Sterilization Law cf. W. Gross, "Aufgabe und Anspruch der nationalsozialistischen Rassengesetzgebung", *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, vi (1935), pp. 593-606, in which the alternative is set before the Church: either accept the law or go *aus dieser Schicksals-, Raum- und Geschichtsgemeinschaft der Menschen*. If the law is not accepted then there is a duty *gegenüber jedem solchen Sabotageakt brutal [zu] verteidigen die Geschlossenheit des deutschen Volkes und Staates* (at p. 602).

² On the authority of a later statement of the Bishop of Münster, Count Galen. Cf. W. Gurian, *Der Kampf um die Kirche im Dritten Reich*, Lucerne, 1936, p. 101 [English translation: *Hitler and the Christians* (see p. 342), p. 143].

³ *F.Z.*, 19 Aug. 1934.

⁴ German: *bekannt sich zum positiven Christentum*.

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their duties to constitute a harmony with the views and the exigencies of the State of to-day."¹

In his speech at Koblenz (on 26 August 1934)² to the Germans of the Saar Hitler said: "I know that here and there the objection has been raised: Yes, but you have deserted Christianity. No, it is not we that have deserted Christianity, it is those who came before us who deserted Christianity. We have only carried through a clear division between politics, which have to do with terrestrial things, and religion, which must concern itself with the celestial sphere. There has been no interference with the doctrine (Lehre) of the Confessions or with their religious freedom (Bekennntnisfreiheit), nor will there be any such interference. On the contrary the State protects religion, though always on the one condition that religion will not be used as a cover for political ends."

"There may have been a time when even parties founded on an ecclesiastical basis were a necessity. At that time Liberalism was opposed to the Church, while Marxism was anti-religious. But that time is past. National Socialism neither opposes the Church nor is it anti-religious, but on the contrary it stands on the ground of a real Christianity. And we have no other desire than to be true to that position. I know that there are thousands and tens of thousands of priests who are not merely reconciled to the State of to-day but who gladly give to the State their co-operation, and I am convinced that this co-operation will grow ever closer and more intimate. For their interests cannot fail to coincide with ours alike in our fight against the symptoms of degeneracy in the world of to-day, in our fight

¹ *F.Z.*, 19 Aug. 1934.

² *V.B.*, 28 Aug. 1934.

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against a Bolshevist culture, against an atheistic movement, against criminality, and in our struggle for a consciousness of a community in our national life, for the conquest of hatred and disunion between the classes, for the conquest of civil war and unrest, of strife and discord. These are not anti-Christian, these are Christian principles! And I believe that if we should fail to follow these principles, then we should not be able to point to our successes, for the result of our political battle is surely not unblest by God."

In his Proclamation at the opening of the Parteitag at Nuremberg on 5 September 1934¹ Hitler said:

"Three years ago what was Germany?—and what is it to-day? We have done our best to bring about the reconciliation of the Confessions with the new State. So far as the Evangelical Confessions are concerned we are determined to put an end to existing divisions, which are concerned only with the forms of organization, and to create a single Evangelical Church for the whole Reich. We are convinced that it is not right to make a virtue out of that consideration and regard for the individual German States which circumstances forced upon Martin Luther, especially at a time when the States themselves have ceased to exist. And we know that were the great German reformer with us to-day he would rejoice to be freed from the necessity of his own time and, like Ulrich von Hutten, his last prayer would be not for the Churches of the separate States: it would be of Germany that he would think and of the Evangelical Church of Germany. And in the same way we sought to reach a frank and honourable relation with the second great Christian Confession. Though on either side there may be setbacks when memories of past conflicts are

¹ *F.Z.*, 6 Sept. 1934.

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recalled, yet we cannot doubt that in the end here, too, success will crown the efforts made during the last year."

In the speeches of the year 1935 there is an almost complete silence upon religious questions; only in an address to the "Old Guard" of the National Socialist Party on 11 August, delivered at Rosenheim in Bavaria,¹ Hitler bitterly attacked those "who thought that they alone had secured a lease of Heaven's blessing": "What we are we have become not against, but with, the will of Providence. And so long as we are true and honourable and of good courage in fight, so long as we believe in our great work and do not capitulate, we shall continue to enjoy in the future the blessing of Providence."

In the published speeches of the year 1936 there does not seem to be any explicit reference to the religious question, but in this year one evening in Berlin, speaking of the enmity of the Catholic Church to National Socialism, Herr Hitler is reported to have said that he proposed to deal once for all with the claims of the Catholic Church:

"Do not suppose that I am going to make the same mistake that Bismarck did. Bismarck was a Protestant and therefore did not know how to get the better of the Catholic Church. Providence has caused me to be Catholic, and I know therefore how to handle this Church. If she will not accommodate herself to us, I will let loose upon her a propaganda that will exceed her powers of hearing and of sight. I will set in motion against her the Press, the wireless, and the film. I will bring back to life the forgotten atrocities of her history, and I will show the people how the parson really lives and is debauched. I know how to handle these fellows and how they are to be caught out. They shall bend or

¹ Summary of the speech in *V.B.*, 12 Aug. 1935.

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break—but, since they are no fools, they will bow their heads.”¹

In October 1935 the Bishop for the Reich appointed under the Constitution of 1933 (see p. 345 supra) had given place to a Committee, the Reichskirchenausschuß. When this body resigned, on 15 February 1937, Hitler issued an order in which he stated that since the Committee for the constitution of a single Church for the whole Reich “had failed to produce an agreement between the groups of the German Evangelical Church, the Church should now in complete freedom create for itself according to its own decision the new constitution and thereby a new order. I therefore empower the Reich Minister for Church Affairs (Kerrl) to this end to prepare the election of a new General Synod and to take the necessary measures in that behalf.”² But there is no reference to this order in the speeches of the year 1937.

On 21 March 1937—Palm Sunday—the Papal Encyclical “Mit brennender Sorge” was read from the pulpit in Catholic Churches; this condemned National Socialist racial doctrine and also the failure of the German State to observe the terms of the Concordat. Hitler’s answer was given in his speech delivered in Berlin on the May Day festival.³ The alternative was, he said, “Bend or break!” “We cannot permit that this authority, which is the authority of the German people, shall be attacked by any other power whatever. That applies also for all

¹ Cited from N. Micklem, *National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church* (see p. 341 supra), pp. 157–8. Dr. Micklem’s note is: “I have no published authority for this statement. Since it is entirely in character, and, except in respect of the film, exactly corresponds with Herr Hitler’s practical policy, and since it is familiar in Germany, I think it fair to reproduce it.”

² *Berliner Tageblatt*, 16 Feb. 1937.

³ *F.Z.*, 3 May 1937.

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Churches. So long as they concern themselves with their religious problems the State does not concern itself with them. But so soon as they attempt by any means whatsoever—by letters, Encyclicals, or otherwise—to arrogate to themselves rights which belong to the State alone we shall force them back into their proper spiritual, pastoral activity. They have no title to criticize the morals of a State when they have more than enough reason to concern themselves with their own morals.¹ For the morals of the German State and of the German people the leaders of the German State will be responsible—of that we can assure all anxious folk both within and without Germany. For this people must remain sound; with its soundness stands or falls our own existence. It is for the generation now growing up that we live; they are our care and them we will guard and protect in the face of everyone. Many may regret that our youth is not so divided now as it was formerly, that it can no longer be broken up into class organizations, into confessional organizations, and so on. Such times are past! We will see to it that our youth shall be the strong support of Germany's future."

This speech explains Hitler's statements in his address to the Youth of Germany delivered on the same day: "There is only one German people, and therefore there can be only one German youth. There can be only one German Youth Movement, because there is only one education for German youth and there is only one training of German youth. And the few who perhaps still secretly believe that there may yet come a time when the German people, beginning from its Youth, may once more be split asunder—they will find that they are mistaken. This Reich stands and it will build itself up in the future upon its Youth. And this new Reich will give its Youth

¹ Cf. N. Micklem, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-61.

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to no one, but will itself take that Youth and will give it its own education and training."¹

*The German Press took no notice of Hitler's two protests against utterances of Cardinal Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, but the Berlin correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" (5 June 1937) wrote on Friday 4 June that he had learned from a reliable source that Herr Hitler, when he addressed the Nazi leaders on Wednesday, said to them: "The Church organization is the work of human hands, and human hands can destroy it. If it is destroyed, true faith may emerge purified." With this may be compared Hitler's judgement of the National Socialist achievement as expressed in a speech delivered at Würzburg on 27 June 1937:*² "This has not been the work of man alone. If Providence had not guided us, I should often not have discovered these dizzy paths. That our critics should understand. We National Socialists, too, have deep in our hearts our own faith. We cannot do otherwise. No man can mould the history of peoples or of the world unless he has upon his will and his capacities the blessing of Providence."

In a speech at Regensburg on 6 June 1937 Hitler spoke of the social achievement of National Socialism: the National Socialist Movement was, he said, the best guarantee for a truly social German community of the people. "The Movement does not ask, What are you? Who are you? Have you money? What have you learned? Whence have you come? Have you a fortune? Have you a business? Are you an employer or a workman? Or are you perhaps a Catholic or else a Protestant or of some other creed? It puts but one question: Are you German and do you

¹ *V.B.*, 3 May 1937.

² *F.Z.*, 28 June 1937.

wish to be German? And that is to say, Are you decent and do you wish to be decent? Will you work as an honourable man in the midst of your people? Above all will you, if necessary, place the interests of your people before your own interests? If your answer is 'Yes', then we welcome you. But I will never allow anyone to divide this people once more into religious camps, each fighting the other. In this field we have experiences enough in German history: we do not need to collect any others. They have been the most lamentable experiences possible. Formerly our people numbered 18.5 millions, and after the Thirty Years War only 3.6 millions remained. I believe that many who are not pleased that we have at last created a single people would like to bring once more upon Germany another experience such as that. This attempt will also fail: never, never again will they destroy the German people and the German Reich". . . .

"You, my Brown Guard, will regard it as a matter of course that this German people should go only by the way which Providence ordained for it when it gave to Germans a common language. So we go forward with the profoundest faith in God into the future. Would that which we have achieved have been possible if Providence had not helped us? I know that all the work of men is difficult and transitory when it is not blessed by this Omnipotence (*Allmacht*). But if this Omnipotence blesses a work, as it has blessed this work of ours, then men cannot destroy it. So long as the supporters of the Movement carry firmly in their hands this flag, no power of our opponents will ever be able to wrest it from us. . . . So we can be strong in faith, that faith which inspired me in the years 1918-19 when I for the first time unfurled this flag with the confidence that we must succeed in building up a new Germany. To-day more than ever

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are we of this faith, for this new Germany stands, and clearly marked before it lies its path into the future."¹

In the "Manchester Guardian", 7 June 1937, Hitler is reported to have said in this speech: "God did not divide us, only human beings did." This does not occur in the German report of the speech.

*On 7 September 1937 Hitler said that "membership of a Church (Konfession) could no longer be regarded as a factor which was capable of contributing towards the building up or maintenance of social life."*²

*Speaking of the Winter Help Campaign on 5 October 1937 Hitler said: "This Winter Help Work is also in the deepest sense a Christian work. When I see, as I so often do, poorly clad girls collecting with such infinite patience in order to care for those who are suffering from the cold while they themselves are shivering with cold, then I have the feeling that they are all apostles of a Christianity—and in truth of a Christianity which can say with greater right than any other: This is the Christianity of an honest confession, for behind it stand not words but deeds."*³

At the time of the Anschluss with Austria Hitler "is understood to have said" that "the [Catholic] Church [in Austria] will never have cause to regret its loyalty to the great German Reich";⁴ but on 31 March 1938 Hitler bases his confidence that the Reich will maintain itself on the ground that it "is not filled with the designs of the Confessions and associations"; "in it live only the longing and the will of the German people."⁵ There are to be,

¹ *F.Z.*, 8 June 1937.

² *V.B.*, 8 Sept. 1937. Cf. speech of 24 Feb. 1939, *V.B.*, 25 Feb. 1939 and see p. 378 *supra*.

³ *F.Z.*, 7 Oct. 1937.

⁴ *The Times*, 29 Mar. 1938.

⁵ *F.Z.*, 1 Apr. 1938.

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as he said in his proclamation at the Nuremberg Parteitag on 6 September 1938, "no interests of the classes, the Confessions or the professions, no economic interests, only Germany."¹

A deeply interesting and illuminating passage, to which there is no parallel in the speeches of these years, occurs in an address on the character of art in a National Socialist State which was delivered at Nuremberg on 6 September 1938. An attempt has been made at translation into English, though it must be admitted that the making of an English version was more than usually difficult.

"The proof of the endowment of a true artist is always to be found in the fact that his work of art expresses the general will of a period. Perhaps that is most clearly shown in architecture. . . . The religious mystical world of the Christian Middle Ages, turning inwards upon itself, found forms of expression which were possible only for that world—for that world alone could they be of service. A Gothic stadium is as unthinkable as a Romanesque railway station or a Byzantine market-hall. The way in which the artist of the Middle Ages, of the beginnings of the modern world, found the artistic solution for the buildings which he was commissioned to create is in the highest degree striking and admirable. That way, however, is no evidence that the conception of the content of life held by the folk of his day was in itself either absolutely right or absolutely wrong; it is evidence only that works of art have rightly mirrored the inner mind of a past age. It is therefore quite comprehensible that in so far as the attempt is made to carry on the life of that past age, those who search for solutions of artistic problems can still seek and find there fruitful suggestions. Thus one can easily imagine that, for in-

¹ V.B., 7 Sept. 1938.

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stance, in the sphere of religion men will always work backwards to the form-language of a period in which Christianity in its view of the world appeared to meet every need. On the other hand, at the present moment the expression of a new view of the world which is determined by the conception of race will return to those ages which in the past have already possessed a similar freedom of the spirit, of the will, and of the mind. Thus, naturally, the manifestation in art of a European conception of the State will not be possible through civilizations, as, for example, the civilization of the Far East, which—because foreign to us—have no message for our day, but will rather be influenced in a thousand ways through the evidences and memories of that mighty imperial Power of antiquity which, although in fact destroyed fifteen hundred years ago, still as an ideal force lives on and works on in the imaginations of men. The more nearly the modern State approaches to the imperial idea of the ancient World-Power, so more and more will the general character of that civilization be manifested in its influence upon the formation of the style of our own day."

Our buildings should reflect the spirit of National Socialist Germany; those who give commissions for buildings should not falsify that spirit and thus call in question the foundations of their own *weltanschaulich* existence. "National Socialism is a cool-headed doctrine of realities; it mirrors clearly scientific knowledge and its expression in thought." Since we have won the heart of our people for this doctrine "we do not wish to fill their minds with a mysticism which lies outside of that doctrine's goal and purpose." "National Socialism is not a cult-movement—a movement for worship; it is exclusively a '*volkic*' political doctrine based upon racial principles. In its purpose there is no mystic cult, only

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the care and leadership of a people defined by a common blood-relationship. Therefore we have no rooms for worship, but only halls for the people—no open spaces for worship, but spaces for assemblies and parades. We have no religious retreats, but arenas for sports and playing-fields, and the characteristic feature of our places of assembly is not the mystical gloom of a cathedral, but the brightness and light of a room or hall which combines beauty with fitness for its purpose. In these halls no acts of worship are celebrated, they are exclusively devoted to gatherings of the people of the kind which we have come to know in the course of our long struggle; to such gatherings we have become accustomed and we wish to maintain them. We will not allow mystically-minded occult folk with a passion for exploring the secrets of the world beyond to steal into our Movement. Such folk are not National Socialists, but something else—in any case something which has nothing to do with us. At the head of our programme there stand no secret surmisings but clear-cut perception and straightforward profession of belief. But since we set as the central point of this perception and of this profession of belief the maintenance and hence the security for the future of a being formed by God, we thus serve the maintenance of a divine work and fulfil a divine will—not in the secret twilight of a new house of worship, but openly before the face of the Lord.”

“There were times when a half-light was the necessary condition for the effectiveness of certain teachings: we live in an age when light is for us the fundamental condition of successful action. It will be a sorry day when through the stealing in of obscure mystic elements the Movement or the State itself issues obscure commissions. . . . It is even dangerous to issue any commission for a so-called place of worship, for with the building

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will arise the necessity for thinking out so-called religious recreations or religious rites, which have nothing to do with National Socialism. Our worship is exclusively the cultivation of the natural, and for that reason, because natural, therefore God-willed. Our humility is the unconditional submission before the divine laws of existence so far as they are known to us men: it is to these we pay our respect. Our commandment is the courageous fulfilment of the duties arising from those laws. But for religious rites we are not the authorities, but the Churches! If anyone should believe that these tasks of ours are not enough for him, that they do not correspond with his convictions, then it is for him to prove that God desires to use him to change things for the better. In no event can National Socialism or the National Socialist State give to German art other tasks than those which accord with our view of the world."¹

By far the fullest treatment of the religious problem to be found in the reported speeches of Hitler was given in the Reichstag on 30 January 1939. That treatment is so surprising in some of its statements that the whole of it is here translated.

"Amongst the accusations which are directed against Germany in the so-called democracies is the charge that the National Socialist State is hostile to religion. In answer to that charge I should like to make before the German people the following solemn declaration:"

"1. No one in Germany has in the past been persecuted because of his religious views (*Einstellung*), nor will anyone in the future be so persecuted."

"2. The National Socialist State since 30 January 1933 from public monies derived from taxation through

¹ F.Z., 8 Sept. 1938.

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the organs of the State has placed at the disposal of both Churches the following sums:

In the fiscal year 1933	.	130 million Reichsmark.		
" " 1934	.	170	"	"
" " 1935	.	250	"	"
" " 1936	.	320	"	"
" " 1937	.	400	"	"
" " 1938	.	500	"	"

In addition to this there has been paid over some 85 million Reichsmark each year from contributions of the separate States, and some 7 million Reichsmark from contributions of the parishes and parish-associations."

"Apart from this the Churches are the greatest landed proprietors after the State. The value of their property in land and forests represents more than some 10 milliards of Reichsmark, while the annual income from this landed property is to be estimated as over 300 million Reichsmark. To this must be added countless gifts, testamentary dispositions, and above all the sums arising from collections in the churches. Further, the Church in the National Socialist State is in many ways favoured in regard to taxation, and for gifts, legacies, &c., it enjoys immunity from taxation."

"It is therefore, to put it mildly—effrontery when especially foreign politicians make bold to speak of hostility to religion in the Third Reich. But if it be true that the German Churches regard this position as intolerable, then the National Socialist State is at any time ready to undertake a clear separation between Church and State as is already the case in France, America, and other countries. I would allow myself only one question: what contributions during the same period have France, England, or the United States made through the State from the public funds?"

"3. The National Socialist State has not closed a

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church, nor has it prevented the holding of a religious service, nor has it ever exercised any influence upon the form of a religious service. It has not exercised any pressure upon the doctrine nor on the profession of faith of any of the Confessions. In the National Socialist State anyone is free to seek his blessedness after his own fashion."

"It is, however, true that if priests, instead of being servants of God, prefer to regard as their mission the abuse of our present Reich, its institutions or its leaders, then the National Socialist State will relentlessly force them to realize that no one will be suffered to destroy this State, and that priests so soon as they set themselves beyond the law will by the law be brought to account precisely in the same way as any other German citizen. But it must be at this point established that there are ten thousands and ten thousands of priests of all the Christian Confessions who perform their ecclesiastical duties just as well as or probably better than the political agitators without ever coming into conflict with the laws of the State. To protect these the State regards as its task; the destruction of the enemies of the State it regards as its duty."

"4. The National Socialist State is neither prudish nor mendacious. But there are definite moral principles which must be maintained in the interest of the biological health of the nation; violations of these principles we will not permit. Pederasty or offences against children will be punished by law in this State whoever commits these crimes. Five years ago when leaders of the National Socialist Party were guilty of these crimes, they were shot. If other persons, whether in private or public life, or even if priests commit the same offences, they will be punished according to law either with imprisonment or penal servitude. Other offences of priests

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against their vows of celibacy, &c., do not concern us; there has never been a word on this subject in our Press."

"Apart from this, this State has only once intervened in the internal regulation of the Churches, that is when I myself in 1933 endeavoured to unite the weak and divided Protestant Churches of the different States into one great and powerful Evangelical Church of the Reich.¹ That attempt failed through the opposition of the bishops of some States; it was therefore abandoned. For it is in the last resort not our task to defend or even to strengthen the Evangelical Church through violence against its own representatives."

"If these foreign countries and in particular certain democratic statesmen champion with such energy the cause of individual German priests, that action can have only a political ground, for these same statesmen were completely silent when in Russia hundreds of thousands of priests were massacred or burnt; they are completely silent when in Spain tens of thousands of priests and nuns are slaughtered in a bestial way or are even, while still living, thrown into the flames."

"They could not—they cannot—deny these facts, but they are silent; they say not a word, while many National Socialist and Fascist volunteers offered themselves to General Franco in order to help him to stay the further spread of this Bolshevist blood-intoxication over Europe, that is, over the greater part of civilized humanity. Of

¹ On 4 July 1933 the Dean of Chichester (A. S. Duncan-Jones) had an interview with Hitler in the course of which he said: "I am a Catholic, I have no place in the Protestant Church." "Incidentally he had told me that he had not wished to intervene. On my protesting that he had in fact done so, his reply was: 'They were all at sixes and sevens. Something had to be done.'" A. S. Duncan-Jones, *The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Germany*, London, 1938, p. 161.

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this fact the democratic statesmen should take notice. For it was anxiety for European culture and for true civilization which caused Germany to take sides in this fight of Nationalist Spain against its Bolshevist destroyers. It is a sorry sign of the mentality in several countries that there people are utterly unable to comprehend an action springing from such unselfish motives. But Germany has taken part in the revolt of General Franco only from the warm desire that he might succeed in freeing his country from a danger to which Germany itself formerly all but fell a victim."

"It cannot therefore be sympathy with or pity for persecuted servants of God which has mobilized the interest of democratic citizens in certain priests who in Germany have come into conflict with the law: no, it is interest in the enemy of the German State. But on one point it is well that there should be no uncertainty: the German priest as servant of God we shall protect, the priest as political enemy of the German State we shall destroy. We believe that in this way we shall best avoid a development which, as the course of events in Spain has shown, might otherwise only too easily lead to a defensive action on an incalculable scale. Further, I would wish to explain one point of principle: it appears that in certain circles abroad it is thought that a specially vigorous expression of sympathy with those elements which in Germany have come into conflict with the law might have as a consequence an alleviation of their position. Perhaps it is hoped through certain methods of publicity to be able to exercise a terroristic influence on the German Government. This idea is based upon a profound mistake. In the support given from abroad to actions directed against the State we see the conclusive confirmation of their treasonable character. For the mere opposition to a régime has never extorted from the

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democratic countries any sympathy; nor indeed has such sympathy been aroused by the persecution or punishment of a political offender. For when was there in Germany a stronger opposition than that formed by the National Socialists? Yet never was an opposition oppressed, persecuted, and harried with baser means than was that of the National Socialist Party. But to our honour we can assert that never on that account have we enjoyed the pity or the support of such a foreign power. This support therefore seems to be intended only for those who are planning to destroy the German Reich. In consequence of this, in every single case we shall in this sympathy see only the compelling reason for an intensification of our measures."¹

*In his speech to the "Old Guard" at Munich on 24 February 1939 Hitler said: "If positive Christianity means love of one's neighbour, i.e. the tending of the sick, the clothing of the poor, the feeding of the hungry, the giving of drink to those who are thirsty, then it is we who are the more positive Christians. For in these spheres the community of the people of National Socialist Germany has accomplished a prodigious work."*²

Note I

I append a translation of the Law for the Safeguarding of the German Evangelical Church of 24 September 1935.

"In accordance with the will of the members of the Evangelical Church the union of the separate State Churches in a German Evangelical Church has been completed and secured in a constitution.

"Yet the Government of the Reich has been forced to observe with the deepest concern that since the Union, through the conflict of Church groups amongst each other and against each other, a state of affairs has gradually arisen which tears asunder the unity of the membership of the Church, damages the individual's

¹ *F.Z.*, 1 Feb. 1939.

² *V.B.*, 26 Feb. 1939.

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freedom of faith and conscience, harms the community of the people and exposes the existence of the Evangelical Church itself to the greatest dangers."

"The Government of the Reich, earnestly desiring as soon as possible to be able to entrust to a Church at peace within itself the ordering of its own affairs, in accordance with its duty as trustee and recognizing that this task cannot be left to any one of the conflicting parties, has determined upon the following law for securing the future of the German Evangelical Church and for the introduction of an order which will enable the Church to determine its questions of faith and confession in complete freedom and calm. This law is herewith promulgated:

"The Reichs-Minister for Church Affairs, with a view to the restoration of ordered conditions in the German Evangelical Church and in the Evangelical Churches of the separate States, is hereby empowered to issue ordinances with binding legal force. The Ordinances will be published in the Reich Law Gazette."

24 September 1935.

The Führer and Chancellor of the Reich

ADOLF HITLER.

The Reichs-Minister for Church Affairs

KERRL."¹

Note II

Cf. H. Goering, *Reden und Aufsätze*, Munich, Eher, 1938, pp. 116-17 (speech in the Prussian Staatsrat 18 June 1934), or in *F.Z.*, 20 June 1934; pp. 212 sqq. (at the Silesian Gautag 26 Oct. 1935) or in *F.Z.*, 29 Oct. 1935.

On the necessary claim to totality implied by a *Weltanschauung* cf. J. Goebbels, *Signale der neuen Zeit*, 3rd edn., Munich, Eher, 1937, pp. 30-2, 101-2, 105, 239.

RELIGION. II. HITLER'S FAITH

It remains to give a few short extracts illustrating Hitler's faith as it has been expressed in his public speeches: that faith centres in the will of Providence as expressed in the experience of the German people; in the duty of self-help if

¹ Text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, iii (1937), pp. 265-6.

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man is to secure the help of God; in the supreme power of an undaunted faith, which can believe that disasters may be sent to nations as chastisements with the purpose of bringing them to self-realization and a change of heart.

In a speech before the Representatives of German Agriculture (5 April 1933) Hitler said:

"If the German people has to-day behind it millennia—for two millennia of which the history is known—millennia of changing destiny, it cannot be the will of Providence that the fight was waged for these millennia before our day so that suddenly a people should now itself cut the thread of its own life and not enter upon the millennia of the future. This great struggle of the past would have been purposeless if we now were to give up the struggle for the future."¹

In a speech delivered to old members of the Party at Munich on 8 November 1933 Hitler said:

"I believe that Providence would never have allowed us to see the victory of the Movement if it had the intention after all to destroy us at the end."²

In a speech to National Socialist women at the Nuremberg Parteitag of 1936 [11 September 1936] Hitler said:

"I believe in Providence and I believe Providence to be just. Therefore I believe that Providence always rewards the strong, the industrious, and the upright."³

In a speech at Rosenheim on 11 August 1935 Hitler said:
"Fifteen years ago I had nothing save my faith and my will. To-day the Movement is Germany, to-day this

¹ *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 221-2.

² *V.B.*, 10 Nov. 1933.

³ Cited from the *Manchester Guardian*, 14 Sept. 1936.

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Movement has won the German nation and formed the Reich. Would that have been possible without the blessing of the Almighty? Or do they who ruined Germany wish to maintain that *they* have had God's blessing? What we are we are, not against but *with* the will of Providence. And so long as we are loyal, honest, and ready to fight, so long as we believe in our great work and do not capitulate, we shall also in the future have the blessing of Providence. . . . And if in the future, too, fate wishes to put us once more to the test, such hammer-blows of Providence should make us only the harder, the more steadfast."¹

*In the final speech at the Nuremberg Parteitag of September 1937 Hitler said: "For us the truth of a wise old saying can really stand as proven: 'Often the deepest love of Providence towards its creatures is expressed in chastisement.'"*²

In a speech to the "Old Guard" of the Party delivered at Munich on 19 March 1934 Hitler said:

"Whatever the attitude of the individual may be towards this or that detail which does not please him, yet I would have everyone say to himself: We have experienced a miracle, something unique, something the like of which there has hardly been in the history of the world. God first allowed our people to be victorious for four and a half years, then He abased us, laid upon us a period of shamelessness, but now after a struggle of fourteen years he has permitted us to bring that period to a close. It is a miracle which has been wrought upon the German people, and we would not fall into the fault which possessed the German people at the end of

¹ *V.B.*, 12 Aug. 1935.

² *Berliner Tageblatt*, 15 Sept. 1937.

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the war-years: we would not be ungrateful. What has come to pass during the last year is so unheard of that it must constrain us to profound humility. It shows us that the Almighty has not deserted our people, that He received it into favour at the moment when it rediscovered itself. And that our people shall never again lose itself, that must be our vow so long as we shall live and so long as the Lord gives us the strength to carry on the fight."¹

In his proclamation to the German People on 1 January 1939 Hitler said:

"The National Socialist Movement has wrought this miracle. If Almighty God granted success to this work, then the Party was His instrument."²

In his closing speech at the Parteitag in Nuremberg in September 1936 Hitler said: "The Party must above all be the supporter of the optimism which is so familiar to us National Socialists. Every vice can be more easily mastered, its effects can be more readily destroyed, than pessimism and the consequences of pessimism. Woe to him who has not faith: he sins against the meaning of the whole of life. . . . It was the miracle of faith which saved Germany". . . .

"That is why the Party must over and over again break through to the heart of the mass of our people: the mass of the people is the best, the strongest supporter of our faith. It is the people alone which bears in itself the courage, the bravery, the confidence which nature gives to primitive creatures for the maintenance of their life. If the generals had always been as courageous as the grenadiers have ever had to be many a battle had not been lost. And if the politicians are as strong in

¹ F.Z., 21 Mar. 1934.

² V.B., 1 Jan. 1939.

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faith as the mass of the people is loyal, then as leaders of their peoples they are invincible."¹

In a speech at Coburg on the 15th anniversary of the "Deutscher Tag" (cf. p. 131 supra), 15 October 1937, Hitler said:

"Remain strong in your faith, as you were in former years. In this faith, in its close-knit unity our people to-day goes straight forward on its way and no power on earth will avail to stop it. This conviction makes me strong to speak in your name before the rest of the world . . . and to defend the nation's right to live (*Lebensrecht*). And this conviction gives me, too, the inner assurance that the fight for this—our people's right to live—will be brought to a successful finish. This unity of spirit² gives to a nation immense strength, a strength that is greater than external arms. For the first time in our history a German can rise to speak before the world in the name of the whole people. For the first time in the face of the world a German in the name of his people can make those claims which on our part can admit of no abatement because their realization is essential for the life of the German people."³

At the Harvest Thanksgiving Festival on the Bückeberg held on 3 October 1937 Hitler said:

"If we pursue this way, if we are decent, industrious, and honest, if we so loyally and truly fulfil our duty, then it is my conviction that in the future as in the past the Lord God will always help us. In the long run He never leaves decent folk in the lurch. Often He may test them, He may send trials upon them, but in the

¹ *F.Z.*, 16 Sept. 1936.

² German: *diese innere Geschlossenheit*.

³ *F.Z.* 17 Oct. 1937.

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long run He always lets His sun shine upon them once more and at the end He gives them His blessing."¹

In a speech at Frankfurt a. M. on 16 March 1936 Hitler said: "Build on your own strength and hope not for the help of others. If you do, then you do not deserve that help at all. You must be anchored in yourself and must set yourself with feet firmly planted on this oscillating world. Only so can you appeal to your God and pray Him to support and bless your courage, your work, your perseverance, your strength, your resolution, and with all these your claim on life."²

In a speech at Hamburg on 20 March 1936 he said: "In this world him who does not abandon himself the Almighty will not desert. Him who helps himself will the Almighty always also help; He will show him the way by which he can gain his rights, his freedom, and therefore his future."³

In March 1933 Hitler began a speech with the text "Except the Lord build the house they labour in vain". . . . "The truth of that text was proved if one looks at the house of which the foundations were laid in 1918 and which since then has been in building. God's blessing was not with the builders and they have built the house very badly. . . . The beginning of their work was founded on a lie, on perjury and breach of faith.

¹ *F.Z.*, 4 Oct. 1937.

² *V.B.*, 18 Mar. 1936.

³ *V.B.*, 22 Mar. 1936. Hitler constantly insists on this theme of self-help: "It is not Heaven", he said in September 1933 (*V.B.*, 5 Sept. 1933), "which gives to the peoples life, freedom, and bread, but it is through their own labours and their own virtues that they must win their life and their existence. They must ever win them afresh in order to possess them." In his address to the Reich Railway Society (*Reichsbahngesellschaft*) on 23 Sept. 1933 he said (*F.Z.*, 24 Sept. 1933): "No one helps us if we do not help ourselves."

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And we have experienced since then how, from this lie, of necessity new suffering and misfortune must develop. Lie upon lie followed the first great lie, and now they are not afraid to disown their own work. With brazen effrontery they come before the nation and state: 'We have no responsibility for what has happened.' When we to-day are asked about our programme we can only give one reply: We want to make a fresh beginning with a truth. . . . And the first thought contained in this truth is this: a people must understand that its future lies only in its own strength, in its capacity, its industry, its courage. The world will not help, the people must help itself. Its own strength is the source of life. That strength the Almighty has given us to use: that in it and through it we may wage the battle of our life. . . . The others in past years have not had the blessing of the Almighty of Him Who in the last resort, whatever man may do, holds in His hands the final decision. Lord God, let us never hesitate or play the coward, let us never forget the duty which we have taken upon us". . . .

"One must be able to say once again: People, hold your heads high and proudly once more! You are no longer enslaved and in bondage, but you are free again and can justly say: We are all proud that through God's powerful aid we have become once more true Germans."¹

In his speech on May Day 1933 Hitler said:

"We want honestly to earn the resurrection of our people through our industry, our perseverance, our will. We ask not of the Almighty 'Lord, make us free!' -we want to be active, to work, to agree together as brothers, to strive in rivalry with one another to bring about the

¹ *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 5 Mar. 1933. Cf. the prayer on p. 410 *infra*.

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hour when we can come before Him and when we may ask of Him: 'Lord, Thou seest that we have transformed ourselves, the German people is no longer the people of dishonour, of shame, of war within itself, of faintheartedness and little faith: no, Lord, the German people has become strong again in spirit, strong in will, strong in endurance, strong to bear all sacrifices.'"

" 'Lord, we will not let Thee go: bless now our fight for our freedom; the fight we wage for our German people and Fatherland.' "

In a speech to the Party Leaders at the Nuremberg Parteitag on 11 September 1936 Hitler said:

"We have lived through so much hardship that we have but one petition to make of the grace and favour of Providence: Spare our children that which we had to endure."²

Hitler closed his speech in the Reichstag on 20 February 1938 with the prayer:

"In this hour I would ask of the Lord God only this: that, as in the past, so in the years to come He would give His blessing to our work and our action, to our judgement and our resolution, that He will safeguard us from all false pride and from all cowardly servility, that He may grant to us to find the straight path which His Providence has ordained for the German people, and that He may ever give us the courage to do the right, never to falter, never to yield before any violence, before any danger."³

In a speech at Würzburg on 27 June 1937 Hitler said:

"We have faith in our people and beyond that in the Movement which represents this people of the future,

¹ *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 150-1.

² *V.B.*, 13 Sept. 1936.

³ *F.Z.*, 21 Feb. 1938.

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the Movement in which our whole faith found its first expression and in which it will find its consummation. . . . I see clearly what man can do and where his limitations lie, but I am convinced that men who are created by God should live in accordance with the will of the Almighty. However weak the individual may be in the last resort in his whole being and action when compared with the omnipotence and will of Providence, yet at the moment when he acts as this Providence would have him act he becomes immeasurably strong. Then there streams down upon him that force which has marked all greatness in the world's history.¹ And when I look back only on the five years which lie behind us then I feel that I am justified in saying: That has not been the achievement of men alone! If Providence had not guided us I could often never have found these dizzy paths. And that should be recognized especially by our critics! Thus it is that we National Socialists, too, have in the depths of our hearts our faith. We cannot do otherwise: no man can fashion world-history or the history of peoples unless upon his purpose and his powers there rests the blessing of this Providence."²

In a speech delivered in Berlin on 9 October 1934 Hitler said:

"The people must be able to have faith in something. If you take away from it the belief in international solidarity, then you must give it in its place the belief in national solidarity. If you destroy men's confidence in the national community of the people, then men will seek after another community, and then once more they will fall a victim to those who as international parasites and wreckers only lie in wait for the time when they can

¹ German: *die alle großen Erscheinungen der Welt ausgezeichnet hat.*

² *V.B.*, 28 June 1937.

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break up the framework of the people's lives in order to transform the world into a universal chaos. But the meaning of a community of the people can be only this: through waging in common the life-battle, in good fortune and in ill fortune alike, by service and by sacrifice to guarantee the preservation of all."¹

¹ *F.Z.*, 10 Oct. 1934.

15. CONSTITUTION

I. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST STATE

The Weimar Constitution has never been formally abrogated; no single National Socialist statement of the new Constitution has taken its place. It was through the forms of the Weimar Constitution that the National Socialists came to power. But over and over again National Socialists have insisted that their assumption of power—the *Machtübernahme*—was no mere change of government, it was a fundamental Revolution, the triumph of a *Weltanschauung* which was bound to refashion the whole State according to its own principles. True, the Weimar Constitution has not been abrogated by any formal legislation, but in a changed Germany it has been superseded,¹ and in so far as individual clauses of that Constitution are still regarded as valid, that validity depends not upon the force of the original enactment: it is based upon a Reception of former law into the new body of National Socialist law, a Reception which rests upon the will of the Führer. The Constitution is in fact in process of development: it is coming into being by a natural growth—not by any single legislative enactment: it keeps pace with the *Volkwerdung*—the coming into being of the community of the German people—the conscious *Volksgemeinschaft*.

The period of the glorification of the State as the supreme end in itself is closed: at the centre of the constitutional law of the Reich stands the People and not the State. The State is not an end: it is but a means, it is an instrument of the National Socialist Movement, "an instrument (*Organ*) in the hand of Adolf Hitler".² Just as the Weimar Constitution fully reflected the principles of the Liberalistic period with its insistence on Parliamentaryism, on the "fundamental rights" of the individual which could be asserted against the State, with its "objectivity" permitting freedom of expression to differing political parties representing varying political standpoints;³ so the new Constitution must mirror

¹ Cf., e.g., Carl Schmitt, *Staat, Bewegung, Volk*, Hamburg (1934), pp. 5 sqq.

² Carl Schmitt, *V.B.*, 19 Feb. 1934.

³ Cf. Frank, *F.Z.*, 9 July 1933.

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the sole supremacy of an essentially intolerant *Weltanschauung* which fanatically denies the values of the Liberalistic age. The individual can no longer assert his "fundamental rights":¹ he must be reminded that his duties to the community of the people are paramount; for other political parties than the National Socialist Movement there can be no place; Parliamentaryism, together with its principle of authority coming from below, must be superseded by a principle of personal responsibility with authority coming from above. Government through the decisions of majorities is incompatible with the new *Weltanschauung*: in its stead the principle of Leadership must prevail.

For the English student of the new Constitution it is precisely the application of the Leadership principle—the *Führerprinzip*—which forms the greatest difficulty, for the essential link which in National Socialist theory of the State unites the people with the Führer is a purely mystical conception. The people on a basis of common blood creates a community and as such possesses a spirit—a *Volksgeist*—which is no mere opinion of the moment but is rooted in national history and national character. That spirit of the people may indeed be falsified and misled—to it "public opinion" may at any given time be no safe guide: it remains, however, anchored in the subconsciousness of the people until the time when a Leader arises who is profoundly inspired by a realization of the uncorrupted *Volksgeist* which he can then evoke once more from the people's subconsciousness, and by this power of evocation demonstrates his autonomous immediate title to Leadership.² That title is not conferred upon him by any human authority: "he is his own best evidence, his witness is within." Through his own personality he awakes the unquestioning absolute loyalty of the people as his followers.³ He is no representative to whom the people has given a mandate: he is the incarnation of the Spirit of the people, and it is only through his interpretation that the people is led to a full realization of itself. He is what he is through the people whose blood-knit community he interprets: the people recognizes its own

¹ Freisler, *F.Z.*, 1 Mar. 1939; and cf. Otto Koellreutter, *Deutsches Verfassungsrecht*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 81 sqq; 2nd edition, 1936, pp. 84 sqq.

² Cf. Hess, *V.B.*, 17 May 1936.

³ The German people constitutes a *Vertrauensgemeinschaft*. Frank, *V.B.*, 1 Feb. 1934.

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calling through his leadership. It is this mystic faith—this National Socialist "Mythos"—which can alone explain the new constitutional theory of the German State.¹

The National Socialist Party preceded the National Socialist State: it had before 1933 constructed what was practically a State within the State.² The Party was not the creation of the State; it owes nothing to the State. It has formed the State and continues to inspire it with its own fanatical passion: in its hierarchical organization it stands beside the State in complete independence, though it has the right to call upon the State for assistance. So far as concerns the National Socialist idea and *Weltanschauung*, together with the general principles determining the character of the Government, it stands *above* the State.³ The Party and the State form a unity, but that does not mean that they are thereby identified: "Party and State are distinguished but not separated; they are united, but not fused."⁴ Each has its own sphere. The words of the Führer spoken at the *Parteitag* of 1934 (see Addendum, p. 662), "The State does not give orders to us, it is we who give orders to the State", have created much difficulty. They were originally given their natural meaning and it was concluded that

¹ On this "Mythos" of the National Socialist State cf. R. Bonnard, *Le Droit et l'État dans la doctrine nationale-socialiste*, Paris, 1936, pp. 92 sqq. It is, of course, a "faith": thus W. Willmsky (*Volk und Führer*, Leipzig, 1936) admits that the denial of a unified will of the people can be supported by good arguments, but "that denial must be wrong otherwise the National Socialist conception of the People could not be true: if Volk—People—is to constitute a political principle, then this political People must have a single (*einheitlichen*) will". Thus Professor Paul Schnabel of the University of Halle can say: "National Socialism does not demand from its adherents that they should be convinced (*überzeugt*) of the rightness of its doctrine but that they should believe in it. A refutation of the Mythos of National Socialism there cannot be, for National Socialism is a faith (*Glaubenssache*)." Cited from the *Mitteldeutsche Nationalzeitung* in Miles Ecclesiae, *Hitler gegen Christus*, Paris, 1936, p. 27. "Our religion would not exist, were it not for our blood", Ley, at Cologne on 15 Dec. 1933.

² On this *Staat im Unstaate* cf. Anton Lingg, *Die Verwaltung der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei*, Munich, 1939, p. 4.

³ Cf. Frank, *F.Z.*, 19 June 1938.

⁴ Carl Schmitt, *Staat, Bewegung, Volk* (see p. 422), p. 21; cf. A. Lingg, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-6.

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the Party gave its orders to the State.¹ But this was soon seen to be incompatible with National Socialist constitutional theory: it was explained that the words meant that "the ministers commissioned by the Führer . . . who possess his confidence are responsible to him alone for securing that the fundamental ideas of National Socialism are realized in every sphere".² As Goebbels said: every member of the Party who held an office in the State must regard himself first of all as a National Socialist, must mould his actions on the principles of the Party, and co-operate closely with the Party officials.³

As against the "objectivity" of the administration under the Weimar Republic the whole civil service is now "politicized":⁴ it must be penetrated with the National Socialist *Weltanschauung*, and the close interaction of Party and State is secured by the appointment of officials of the Party organization to corresponding

¹ In June 1933 Staatsrat Waldmann of the Württemberg Staatsministerium published certain fundamental principles which should govern the civil service, among which he stated that the administration of the Party should be so developed alongside of the State that everywhere the control of the Movement over the State authorities could be exercised and thus take the place left vacant by the cessation of parliamentary control. *F.Z.*, 13 June 1933.

² Frick (Reichsminister des Innern), *Der Neubau des Dritten Reiches*, Berlin, Heymann (no date) [1934], p. 14. Cf. G. Nesses, *Partei und Staat* (= *Der deutsche Staat der Gegenwart*, ed. Carl Schmitt, Heft 20), Hamburg, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1936, pp. 27-8.

³ *Deutsche Verwaltung*, 1934, p. 284 (cited from Nesses).

⁴ Cf. the very interesting work of Hans Gerber (Professor in the University of Tübingen), *Politische Erziehung des Beamtentums im Nationalsozialistischen Staat*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1933. Hitler nowhere in his speeches deals in any detail with the reform and "purification" of the civil service of the Reich; it would therefore be out of place to treat of that subject here, but reference may be made to F. M. Marx, *Government in the Third Reich*, 2nd edn., New York and London, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937, ch. 5; E. R. Huber, *Verfassung*, Hamburg, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1937, § 23; and in the series *Das Recht der nationalen Revolution*, edd. G. Kaisenberg and F. A. Medicus: H. Seel, *Erneuerung des Beamtentums* (= Heft 4), and *Die Neuordnung des Beamtenrechts* (= Heft 8); H. Seel and A. B. Krause, *Der Behördenangestellte im Neuen Reich* (= Heft 7), Berlin, Heymann, all three published in 1933.

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posts in the State service (the system of *Personalunion*) and by drafting "old fighters"¹ of the Movement into the civil service of the State. There is a tendency in National Socialist writing to regard the State as a mere mechanism, a means to carry into execution the will of the Party: this is, it would appear, dangerous doctrine, for the National Socialist aim is to inspire the entire administration of the State with an active and passionate devotion to the principles of the Party.² Further, the deputy of the Führer controls the nomination and promotion of all State officials subject to the final approval of the Führer,³ and thus, in the words of Neesse,⁴ "brings the influence of the Party to bear upon the State". In short, in the National Socialist Constitution there is no opportunity of escaping from the fact that the Party is the primary element, the State is but secondary.

And in the *Führerstaat* the principle of leadership and of personal responsibility everywhere replaces the deliberative body and the decision by the vote of the majority. While the Reichsrat has been abolished,⁵ the Reichstag has been transformed: its members are, it is true, elected, but here, it has been explained, the majority decision is "purely formal":⁶ the Reichstag, dissolved at the will of the Führer, reassembles as the result of a plebiscite not to discuss proposed legislation but, it may be, to pass laws drafted by the Party,⁷ and, in any event, to reassert without debate its confidence in the Führer and in his policy. The National Socialist Reichstag indeed closely resembles the Roman Senate of the Later Empire: it has been styled "the most

¹ For the differentiation between "Old Fighters" and "Old Guard" cf. the regulation issued by the Führer's deputy on 8 May 1934, and cf. Neesse, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

² On the necessity for "sub-leaders" (*Unterführertum*) cf. E. R. Huber, *Wesen und Inhalt der politischen Verfassung*, Hamburg, 1935, p. 82; Otto Koellreutter, *Deutsches Verfassungsrecht*, Berlin, 1935, p. 131.

³ Order of 24 Sept. 1935. Text in W. Hoche, *Die Gesetzgebung des Kabinetts Hitler*, Heft 15, p. 161.

⁴ Cf. W. Stuckart and G. Neesse, *Partei und Staat (= Schriften des N.S. Rechtswahrerbundes in Oesterreich*, Heft 6), Vienna, Deutscher Rechts-Verlag, 1938, pp. 23-30.

⁵ By the law of 14 Feb. 1934.

⁶ Cf. Otto Koellreutter, *Deutsches Verfassungsrecht*, Berlin, 1935, p. 146; 2nd edition, 1936, p. 147. ⁷ e.g. the Nuremberg Laws.

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highly paid male chorus in the world". It is only in the German law-courts that the principle of decision by the single Leader-personality has not yet been applied.¹

And above Party and State alike there stands the Führer: it is through *Führertum* that the people is brought to political unity. From the unity of the people which has been already created by Nature the Führer creates the conscious political people in its readiness for action and thereby creates the "volkic" State. It is on this achievement that is based the confidence which is reposed in him. From this achievement there arises that totality of power in the State which belongs to the Führer. All State functions are united in him. His is the authority of the Government through which are determined the leading political aims, through which the supreme political decisions are made. His is the legislative authority which he exercises in close co-operation with his immediate collaborators. His is the authority in foreign affairs: it lies with him to determine foreign policy, with him rests the conclusion of alliances and treaties, the decision on war and peace. His is the supreme military command, and he is therefore commander-in-chief of the German people's army whose construction is his work. He stands at the head of the entire domestic executive authority which is exercised by the administration in his name and by his commission. In this capacity he sets up the courts which in independence within the framework of the political unity of the people administer justice (*Recht sprechen*). His is an inalienable and illimitable supreme authority which is manifested with especial clearness in moments of actual political danger. The entire power of the State, internal and external alike, is united in the hand of the Führer: and as the holder of this power he is sovereign.²

¹ For the suggestion that the principle should also be applied in the judicial sphere cf. R. Freisler, "Etwas über Führertum in der Rechtspflege", *Schriften der Akademie für Deutsches Recht, Sonderdruck* No. 1, Berlin, 1935; and cf. *F.Z.*, 9 Oct. 1934 (Lent); *F.Z.*, 9 Dec. 1934 (Freisler); *F.Z.*, 3 Jan. 1935 (Kisch); *F.Z.*, 25 Apr. 1935 (Dieckhoff on "Deutsche und englische Rechtspflege").

² Translated from E. R. Huber, *Wesen und Inhalt der politischen Verfassung*, Hamburg, 1935, pp. 82-3. Cf. his article on "Das Staatsoberhaupt des deutschen Reiches", *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, xciv (1935), pp. 202-29.

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And if that indeed is so, we can understand the terse definition of Dr. Frank, who in May 1936 declared: "Our Constitution is the Will of the Führer."¹

The Principal Laws creating the unified National Socialist State

1. 24 March 1933. The so-called Enabling Law (*Gesetz zur Behebung der Not von Volk und Reich*). Text in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 42-3.² The validity of the law was prolonged until 1 April 1941 by a law of 30 January 1937. Text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, v (1938), pp. 56-7.
2. Laws for co-ordinating the German States (*Länder*) with the Reich ("Gleichschaltung"), see p. 267.
3. 1 December 1933. Law for securing the unity of Party and State. Text in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 90-1; English translation in J. K. Pollock and H. J. Heneman, *The Hitler Decrees*, 2nd edn., Ann Arbor, Michigan p. 26, or in W. E. Rappard, W. R. Sharp, H. W. Schneider, J. K. Pollock, S. N. Harper, *Source Book of European Governments*, New York, Van Nostrand, 1937, part iv, pp. 67-8.
4. 1 August 1934. Law on the Head of the German Reich (after von Hindenburg's death). Text in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, ii (1936), pp. 24-5; English translation in J. K. Pollock and H. J. Heneman, op. cit., p. 25, or in *Source Book*, part iv, p. 18.
5. 30 January 1934. Law on the New Structure of the Reich. Text in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, ii (1936), p. 101; English translation in J. K. Pollock and H. J. Heneman, op. cit., p. 22, or in *Source Book*, part iv, pp. 16-17.
6. 30 January 1935. The German Municipal Code. Text in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, iii (1937), pp. 126-51; English translation in *Source Book*, part iv, pp. 34-65.
7. 15 September 1935. The laws passed at Nuremberg on German citizenship and on the defence of German Blood and German Honour. Text in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, iii (1937), pp. 153-5; English translation in *Source Book*, Part iv, pp. 77-83.

¹ *V.B.*, 20 May 1936.

² English translation appended. See Note.

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Note

LAW FOR REMOVING THE DISTRESS OF PEOPLE AND REICH¹

24 MARCH 1933

(The so-called "Enabling Law")

"The Reichstag has enacted the following law which with the approval of the Reichsrat is hereby promulgated after establishment of the fact that the requirements for legislation effecting changes in the Constitution have been observed:

Article I. Laws for the Reich (*Reichsgesetze*) can be enacted by the Government of the Reich as well as through the procedure contemplated in the Constitution of the Reich. This applies also to the laws specified in Articles 85, § 2, and 87 of the Constitution of the Reich.

Article II. The Laws for the Reich enacted by the Government of the Reich can deviate from the Constitution of the Reich so far as they have not for their subject the institution of the Reichstag and Reichsrat as such. The rights of the President of the Reich remain unaffected.

Article III. The laws for the Reich enacted by the Government of the Reich shall be drafted by the Chancellor of the Reich and published in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*. They come into effect, unless it be otherwise provided, on the day following their publication. Articles 68 to 77 of the Constitution of the Reich do not apply to the laws enacted by the Government of the Reich.

Article IV. Treaties of the Reich with foreign States which relate to matters which form the subject of Reich legislation do not need the approval of the bodies participating in legislation.² The Government of the Reich issues the directions which are needed for the execution of these treaties.

Article V. This law comes into effect on the day of its publication. It becomes inoperative on 1 April 1937. It further becomes inoperative when the present Government of the Reich is succeeded by another Government.

Berlin 24 March 1933.

The Reichspresident, VON HINDENBURG.

¹ *Gesetz zur Behebung der Not von Volk und Reich.*

² i.e. Reichstag and Reichsrat: cf. Weimar Constitution, Art. 45, § 3.

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The Reichschancellor, ADOLF HITLER.

The Reichsminister for the Interior, FRICK.

The Reichsminister for Foreign Affairs, FREIHERR VON NEURATH.

The Reichsminister of Finance, GRAF SCHWERIN VON KROSIGT.¹

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E. R. Huber, *Wesen und Inhalt der politischen Verfassung*. Hamburg (= Der deutsche Staat der Gegenwart, Heft 16), 1935.

¹ Weimar Constitution: Article 85, Law approving of the Budget. Article 87, Law authorizing a loan. Articles 68-77, General provisions on procedure of legislation. On the Law cf. F. A. Medicus, *Programm der Reichsregierung und Ermächtigungsgesetz* (= *Das Recht der nationalen Revolution*, edd. G. Kaisenberg und F. A. Medicus, Heft 1), Berlin, Heymann, 1933. Especially on the term *Ermächtigungsgesetz* see pp. 20-1 of this pamphlet.

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And cf.

For "Personalunion" of offices:

C. Darnedde, "Ämterverbindungen. Ihre rechtliche Gestalt und politische Funktion", *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, xcvi (1938), pp. 359-84; "Die Praxis der Ämterverbindungen in der Verfassung und Verwaltung des Reiches", *ibid.*, pp. 535-60; "Ämterverbindungen zwischen Reich, Ländern und Gemeinden", *ibid.*, pp. 704-34.

For the Weimar Constitution in the Third Reich: R. Horneffer, "Das Problem der Rechtsgeltung und der Restbestand der Weimarer Verfassung", *ibid.*, xcix (1939), 148-78.

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Zum Neubau der Verfassung (= *Jahrbuch für politische Forschung*, ed. F. Berber), Berlin, Junker und Dunnhaupt, 1933 (with a useful bibliography).

E. R. Huber, "Die deutsche Staatswissenschaft", *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, xcv (1935), pp. 1-65 (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 545-61; xcvi, pp. 403-6).

K. Emig, "Der Begriff der Verfassung im heutigen deutschen Recht", *ibid.*, pp. 463-82.

R. Höhn, "Die parlamentarischen Demokratien und das neue Verfassungsrecht", *Deutsche Rechtswissenschaft*, iii (1938), pp. 24-54.

On W. Merk's *Der Staatsgedanke im Dritten Reich*, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1935: see *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, xcvi (1937), pp. 558-62.

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In his speech to the Reichstag on 23 March 1933 Hitler said: "A more comprehensive reform of the Reich will be possible only as a result of the development of the people's life.¹ Its aim must be the construction of a constitution combining the people's will with the authority of real leadership. The legal sanction to such a constitutional reform will be granted by the nation itself."²

In his speech in the Reichstag on 30 January 1937, in his survey of the work still to be accomplished by National Socialist Germany, Hitler said: "And finally it will be one of our future tasks to give the German people a Constitution which will be in harmony with the real life of our people, as that life has developed politically. This Constitution will place its seal on this life for all time to come and will be an imperishable and fundamental law for all Germans."³

In his speech in the Reichstag on 30 January 1934 Hitler said: "With all honour to the merits of monarchy and with all due respect to the really great emperors and kings of German history, the question of the final form of the German Reich cannot now be discussed."

"Whatever decision may be taken some day by the nation and its leaders, there is one thing which they should never forget: The man who stands at the head of affairs in Germany is appointed by the German people

¹ German text: *Eine weitergehende Reform des Reichs wird sich nur aus der lebendigen Entwicklung ergeben können.* My attempt at a translation is avowedly a paraphrase: the official English translation is "can only result from active development".

² German text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 28; authorized English translation in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, p. 18.

³ *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, v (1938), p. 54; authorized English translation (in pamphlet form), p. 44.

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and is responsible to them alone. I myself feel that I am merely commissioned by the nation to carry out those reforms which will enable it some day to take the final decision regarding the definite constitution of the Reich."¹

In the same speech on 30 January 1934 Hitler said that "I felt that I was merely the representative and champion of my people. I was convinced that, even if comprehension of the inner meaning of the mission of our Movement must still be momentarily lacking in countless cases, our practical activities would soon meet with the intuitive approval of the nation. And, since that historic hour, I have never for a moment regarded the task that became mine otherwise than as a commission entrusted to me by the whole of the German people, even if millions, either consciously or unconsciously, were then not clear about this fact or if they did not wish to accept it as the truth."

"Hence I have never regarded the authority of office as in any way a possible substitute for the confidence of the nation, but have always honestly endeavoured to use the authority inherent in office for gaining the confidence of the people. I may, therefore, proudly confess that, just as the National Socialist Movement had its origins exclusively in the people, so we too, as the Government, have never thought otherwise than as the people, with the people, and for the people."²

In introducing the Enabling Bill before the Reichstag Hitler said (23 March 1933):

"In order to place themselves in a position to fulfil the tasks outlined above, the Government have had the Enabling Bill introduced in the Reichstag by the

¹ *V.B.*, 31 Jan. 1934; authorized English translation (in pamphlet form), p. 14.

² Authorized English translation, p. 10.

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National Socialist and German National parties. Part of the proposed measures require the majority necessary for constitutional amendments. The carrying out of these tasks is necessary. It would be contrary to the spirit of the national renaissance and not meet the necessities of the case if the Government were to negotiate and ask for the sanction of the Reichstag to their measures in each case. But in promoting this Bill the Government are not actuated by the intention of doing away with the Reichstag as such. On the contrary, they reserve for themselves in future the opportunity of informing the Reichstag regarding their measures or of obtaining its sanction". . . .

"Yet it is all the more necessary that the National Government should be given that sovereign position which, at such a time, is the only one suited to prevent a different development. The Government will only make use of these powers in so far as they are essential for carrying out the vitally necessary measures. Neither the existence of the Reichstag nor that of the Reichsrat are menaced. The position and rights of the President of the Reich remain unaffected. It will always be the foremost task of the Government to act in harmony with his aims. The separate existence of the federal States will not be done away with. The rights of the Churches will not be diminished, and their relationship to the State will not be modified. The number of cases in which an internal necessity exists for having recourse to such a law is in itself a limited one.¹ All the more, however, the Government insist upon the passing of the law. They prefer a clear decision in any case."²

¹ Note that the words "*da die Regierung an sich über eine klare Mehrheit verfügt*" are not translated in this authorized version.

² Text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 35-6; authorized English translation (as above) in *The New Germany Desires Work and Peace*, p. 26.

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On the effect of the Enabling Law Hitler spoke in his address to the representatives of German Agriculture delivered in the Herrenhaus on 5 April, 1933; he said:

"Owing to the Enabling Law the work of the deliverance of the German people has been freed and released for the first time from the party views and considerations of our former representative assembly. With its assistance we shall now be able to do what, after clear-sighted examination and dispassionate consideration, appears necessary for the future of the nation. The purely legislative previous conditions necessary for this have been provided. But it is also necessary that the people itself should take an active part in this action. The nation must not imagine that, because the Reichstag can no more restrict our decisions, the nation itself no longer needs to take part in the shaping of our destiny. On the contrary, we wish that the German people at this very time should concentrate once more and co-operate actively in support of the Government. The result must be that when we appeal to the nation once more, in four years' time, we shall not appeal to men who have been asleep, but will find ourselves faced by a nation that has finally awakened in the course of these years from its parliamentary trance and has realized the knowledge necessary to understand the eternal conditions of human existence."¹

In his speech to the Reichstag on 20 February 1938 Hitler said:

"This new Reich shall belong to no class, it shall belong to no one group of men, for it shall belong to the whole German people. This Reich will endeavour to

¹ German text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 221; authorized English translation (as given above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, p. 29.

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make it easier for the German people to find its path of life on this earth; it will seek to fashion for it a fairer existence. What I have called into life in these years cannot claim to be an end in itself—all can and will be transient. For us the permanent element is that substance of flesh and blood which we call the German people. Party, State, army, economic organization—these are but institutions and functions which have only the value of a means to an end. They will be weighed in the balance by the judgement of history according to the measure in which they have served that end, and that end is again and always the people.”¹

In an interview with Anne O'Hare McCormick, reported in the "New York Times" of 10 July 1933, Hitler said, speaking of his programme:

“Parties were in the way of such a programme. They have disappeared. Parliament has obstructed my reforms. It has disappeared also. In Germany and elsewhere parliaments have proved themselves utterly incapable of dealing with the preposterous developments of the last ten years.”

“Remember, I am prescribing only for Germany, not for the world, and no outside criticism will deflect me from the course I have mapped out. I admire Premier Mussolini because during many years he has carried out his plans regardless of ridicule and obstruction. I have sympathy with President Roosevelt because he marches straight to his objective over Congress, over lobbies, over stubborn bureaucracies.”

¹ *V.B.*, 21 Feb. 1938. The authorized English translation (p. 62) in my judgement misrepresents Hitler's meaning: e.g. it translates *Was ich in dieser Zeit ins Leben rief hat keinen Selbstzweck zu beanspruchen* by “What I have called into life during these years was backed by no idea of self-gain.” I believe Hitler's meaning to be what I have tried to represent in my translation.

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"Our turn has come for an economic overhauling, for new roads, subways, electric railways, the reclamation and decentralizing of industry, and for new handicrafts."

Asked if, after four years or twenty years of dictatorship, he foresaw the resumption of parliamentary government in Germany, the Chancellor paused.

"Yes," he said finally, "but with a Parliament of another and better type, in which representation will be on a technical basis. Such a development is the Italian corporative State."

What in the meantime will take the place of the Opposition? he was asked.

"The principle of a single centralized authority must first be established," he replied, "then at all costs preserved. I myself assume absolute responsibility. If I fail, I will not retire to a villa in Switzerland."

"As each department head carries full responsibility for that department to guard against mistakes, it is to his interest to seek all kinds of expert advice and to listen to every criticism."

"Look at my schedule of appointments day in and day out, and you will see I receive suggestions, praise, and objections, not only from friends and party members, but from all sorts of people. Seeking honest criticism is part of my duty."

"Cromwell," Hitler said, "secured England in a crisis similar to ours, and he saved it by obliterating Parliament and uniting the nation."¹

On 11 December 1933 Hitler addressed the National Socialist members of the newly elected Reichstag.² Marxism

¹ *The New York Times*, 10 July 1933.

² There is only a summary of this speech given in the report in *F.Z.*, 13 Dec. 1933. I have translated from this summary: I cannot be certain how much of this summary represents the precise words used by Hitler.

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and the Government which had prepared the way for Marxism, the anti-national democracy, had been overthrown and now no power in Germany could destroy the true "People's State" (*Volksstaat*) which had been established through the National Socialist Movement. The essence of leadership as it was conceived by the National Socialist State was the capacity to form rapid decisions. On the 12th of November¹ the German people had proved not only that it stood united behind the will of the Government but that it was a decent people—a people sound to the inmost core. . . . In place of weapons which we lacked, the 12th of November gave us this unique picture of the strength of a united people. . . . Fate had given all power into the hands of a single Movement. The NSDAP. had reached the goal for which it had fought for fourteen years. Upon the Party there now rested an enormous responsibility before the bar of history: to-day upon the Party rested the fate of the whole German nation: they had now to fulfil what centuries had wished and longed for. . . . Traditions of the past which were not valuable for the people's future cannot be regarded by us as binding: the Movement must feel itself to be the founder of a new tradition in our people's life. This vote imposes upon you the duty of creating the conditions for a rebuilding of the nation which shall last for centuries. . . . The possibilities which are ours to-day may perhaps not return for hundreds of years. We shall all one day be together weighed in the balances and together we shall be judged. Either we shall together stand this test or history will condemn us together. History must one day be able to speak of us as a generation of men who, bold, courageous, resolute, and tough, thought only of their people. . . . The

¹ On the election of 12 Nov. 1933 cf. F. L. Schuman, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, 2nd edn., New York, 1936, pp. 256-62.

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new Reichstag, *Hitler said*, had the duty of supporting with its authority the great work of reconstruction undertaken by the National Socialist Government and, through the Party, to form the living link with the people. . . .

The people must realize through its leaders that the Government in power was of one mind and of one piece: that in all questions of principle it was a single sworn community. The leaders of the Party must be in everything a model for the people. . . . From every one of us it must be expected that he should be a fighter—brave, forthright, daring, and true—true to his last breath. As I have kept true to the Movement so I ask of everyone that he should keep true to me. Then we shall go forward into history as a community of sworn men who leave the history of the present to enter the history of the future.¹

In the same speech Hitler said: "If this Reichstag does its duty, then in four years' time we can with assurance and confidence appeal once more to the people. I am convinced that then it will give us a new and still more complete vote of confidence." "The Führer explained that he would from time to time appeal to the people if only in order that the Movement might remain as elastic as it had been in the past and that it might recognize in good time any failings which might inadvertently slip in. The Reichstag was a youthful Reichstag and through this recurrent appeal to the people care must be taken that youth should never die out from its ranks. Of this new Reichstag it must one day be said that it had been the youngest, the most courageous, and the boldest, and that it had solved the great problems set by history—the problems on which the centuries had suffered shipwreck."²

¹ *F.Z.*, 13 Dec. 1933.

² *Ibid.* See note 2 on p. 429.

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*In an interview with Mr. Louis P. Lochner of the Associated Press Hitler said: "While on the one hand I welcome criticism, on the other hand I insist that those who work for the good of the whole people must have the assurance that they can pursue their work in peace. The fault of the systems which preceded our own lay in the fact that no minister or man in a responsible public position knew how long he would remain at the helm. The consequence was that he neither did away with the abuses which his immediate predecessors had left behind them nor did he dare to concern himself with plans which embraced a distant future. I assured the men who together with me took over the government, even those who did not belong to my Party, that they could be certain of continuing to hold their offices. As a result of that assurance they all undertook their tasks with joy and with their whole hearts and their outlook was solely directed to a future of constructive work."*¹

Hitler himself describes National Socialist Government as "the dictatorship of the entire community"; thus in his speech to the Labour Front delivered in Berlin on 10 May 1933 Hitler said:

"A new authority must be set up and this authority must be independent of temporary political fluctuations and, above all, of those fluctuations which allow narrow, selfish, and material interests to predominate. The State must be led by a real authority and one which is not dependent on any one class. The leaders must be such that every citizen can trust them and be sure that they do not wish for anything but the happiness and the good of the German nation; they must be able to say with right that they are completely independent."

¹ *V.B.*, 5 Apr. 1934.

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"People talk so much about the absolutism of past times, of the absolutism of Frederick the Great, and the democratic times of our parliamentary era. From the point of view of the nation those past times were more objective. Then people were able to perceive the interests of the nation in a more objective manner, whereas in later times the interests of individual classes came exclusively to the fore. There can be no better proof of this than the class warfare whose slogan is: 'The dictatorship of the *bourgeoisie* must make way for the dictatorship of the proletariat.' It is simply a question of a change from the dictatorship of one class to that of another, while we wish for the dictatorship of the nation, that is, the dictatorship of the entire community."

"We do not regard any one class as being of paramount importance; such distinctions disappear during the course of centuries, they come and go. What remains is the substance, a substance of flesh and blood, our nation. That is what is permanent, and to that alone should we feel ourselves responsible. Only then can we prepare the way for the overcoming of our dire economic distress, only then shall we be able to restore to the millions of our people the conviction that the State does not represent the interests of a single group or class, and that the Government is there to manage the concerns of the entire community. If, on one side or the other, there are people who believe that they cannot reconcile themselves to this state of affairs, then the new authority will have to be brought to bear against the one side or the other. All will have to realize that the new leaders do not hold their authority at the pleasure of any one class, but that it is theirs by virtue of a law, and that law is: the necessity of preserving the nation as such."¹

¹ *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 12 May 1934; authorized English translation in *The New Germany Desires Work and Peace*, p. 47.

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In his speech to the Reichstag on 30 January 1937 Hitler said:

"Among the results . . . of the German Revolution I may enumerate the following:

- (1) Since that time there is only one trustee of supreme power among the German people, and that trustee is the whole people itself.
- (2) The will of the people finds its expression in the Party which is the political organization of the people.
- (3) There is only one legislative body.
- (4) There is only one executive authority."¹

The great change from the Germany of the years before 1933 is but "the result of the application of a fundamental principle of National Socialist teaching, viz. that the reasonable meaning and aim of all human thought and action cannot lie in the creation or preservation of any construction, organization, or function which man has devised, but only in the security and development of that "volkic" building-stone which has been given by Providence. Thus it was that through the victory of the National Socialist Movement the people as the permanent and abiding reality² was set above every organization, construction, or function."³

In his speech at the Harvest Festival on the Bückeberg on 3 October 1937 Hitler said: The rise of Germany is no miracle. The fundamental principles of this development can be summed up in four points:

- (i) We have put an end to the struggle of individuals

¹ Text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, v (1938), p. 32; authorized English translation (in pamphlet form), p. 15.

² German: *als das Seiende und das Bleibende*.

³ Text: *Dokumente*, loc. cit. The authorized English translation is here only a free paraphrase; I have therefore sought to translate the passage more literally.

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and classes one against the other: over and above parties, Confessions, classes we have set the German People, and "to this People we have given the conviction that it is only as a People and not as a collection of individuals and parties that it can survive."

(ii) "Over this People we have established an authority—an authority which is under obligations to none save only to the German People and which on the strength of this mandate has prevailed, still prevails, and will prevail."

(iii) "Above all we have worked out in Germany a single will." Without such a single will, a Four Years Plan could not be carried into execution. In all spheres—in industry as in agriculture—"from time to time it is necessary to issue great watchwords. The individual has no knowledge of what is necessary for the survival of all."

"And the condition for every success is that he who represents this will should for his part be respected in his will. So long as the German nation in every walk of life¹ subjects itself to a single will, so long can all problems be solved. We have solved the problems up to the present, but I could so solve them only because the German People stood behind me. I could advance because you marched after me. When last year I gave the order to occupy the Rhineland the decisive fact was not that the soldiers marched, but that the German People went with them, that the whole nation took its stand behind me. That is the fact to which you owe your success."

(iv) The fourth principle is that work is everything. Money is nothing, production is all in all.²

On 17 August 1934 Hitler spoke in Hamburg on the

¹ German: *in allen Ständen*.

² *F.Z.*, 4 Oct. 1937.

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appeal to the people to approve the already accomplished union of the offices of President of the Reich and of Chancellor in his own person: he said that certain irreconcilable elements abroad had hoped that confusion would ensue in Germany after von Hindenburg's death: in these circles people were living in the pleasant expectation that a period of some weeks during which the Reich would have been without a leader would give possibilities through an endless intrigue of interested parties so to confuse the public both within and without Germany as only to increase the already existing international insecurity. In the interest of the German people and the Reich an end has been put to this intrigue.

"You can believe me, my fellow-countrymen, that otherwise we should naturally have chosen the way of first appealing to the people and then executing its decision. In this case the result would have been the same. The Government of the Reich under its legal powers announced the union in one hand of the two offices, and in so doing it acted as in the given conditions the people itself would have acted."

"... The Field Marshal and President of the Reich was a unique figure and cannot be replaced. His mission as President of the Reich reached its fulfilment in himself. No one in the future shall bear this title any more."

"However logical the union of the two functions is, and though the law of the Government by which the question is settled cannot be challenged on constitutional grounds, yet I must absolutely decline to derive the right to take this most momentous step towards the new formation of the German Reich from any previous mandate. No! The people itself must decide!"

"Although I do not desire in any way to anticipate the final form which one day the constitution of the German Reich will assume, I believe that I shall succeed in adding

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only new honour to the title of Chancellor of the German Reich for the future. The right to express so bold a view I assume on the basis of nearly fifteen years' work which—whether voluntarily or involuntarily—will one day be recognized as having produced a transformation and a development of truly historic magnitude". . . .

"Not for my own sake have I asked for this vote, but for the sake of the German people. It is not I who need such a vote of confidence in order to strengthen or maintain my position; it is the German people which needs a Chancellor supported in the eyes of the whole world by such a display of confidence. For I am nothing, my fellow countrymen, but the spokesman on your behalf, and I have no desire to be anything but the representative of your life and the defender of your vital interests. . . ."

"Real mistakes which can be proven against me—for them I will readily answer and accept responsibility. They are all within the limits set for everyone by general human fallibility. But against these mistakes I can set the fact that never in my fight have I taken any action which I was not convinced was for the welfare of the German people. For during my whole political fight I have been dominated, commanded, so help me God! by one thought alone, Germany!"¹

[*Cf. a passage in the speech at the Harvest Festival on the Bückeberg of 30 September 1934: When the President of the Reich fell ill, the real sentiments of the opponents of the régime suddenly declared themselves: "Germany, they predicted, would now fall into chaos. The leaders of the National Socialist Movement and therefore of the Reich would be in acute conflict amongst and with each other. All possible variations of the coming development*

¹ *Berliner Tageblatt*, 19 Aug. 1934.

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in Germany—from monarchy to Bolshevism—were ventilated, and then on the decisive day we settled the whole matter in twenty minutes.”¹]

The fullest exposition of Hitler's views on the relation between the State and the Party was given in his closing speech to the Nuremberg Parteitag of 1935. It was a very lengthy speech and only an analysis and some extracts can be given here. (Cf. also p. 203 supra.)

Hitler began by raising the question why Germany in the nation's history seemed so often to have lost its way: neither courage nor capacity was lacking, no nation had laid greater sacrifices upon the altar of the God who tries the peoples. The cause is to be found in the weakness of the nation's inner unity, and in the mistaken forms of the constitution of the German State.

Hitler illustrated this by a sketch of German history: when Germans first appear in our historical records they represent a great blood-related family, but no nation. The traditions, the customs, the dialects of the German tribes are so different that only occasionally, under the pressure of a danger threatening all alike, was it possible for some heroic spirit temporarily to unite them. “Can we wonder, if we in the year 1933 had still to struggle against traditions and inheritances of tribes and States, that a Cheruscan prince only succeeded in uniting the German tribes so long as one and all were threatened by the greatest peril?”² There was no intellectual tie, no bond of any organization which was stronger than the interests of the separate tribes. All attempts to organize a State must consequently mean that violence had to be

¹ V.B., 1 Oct. 1934.

² A reference to Arminius—“Hermann the Cheruscan” for National Socialist writers.

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done to the individual tribes, and no creation of a people united in spirit was in any way possible.

It is not the motives which led the German emperors to form the first German State which are important: the Providence which wished to create a German people out of the German tribes used the emperors as its instrument whereby to create a people. And the two factors which made this development possible were the model set by the States of the ancient world and the Christian religion. Without these, it is impossible to conceive what would have been the fate of Europe and of the rest of the world, so far as the white race is in question; at least we to-day could form no picture of the development.

Christianity provided the religious and *weltanschaulich* basis on which a German State could be raised despite the absence of any tribal unity. Only on this platform of religion and State in the course of centuries could the exclusive peculiarities of the tribes be smoothed down and overcome in favour of that common blood-descent and therefore inner community out of which a nation could be born. "The men who carried out this historic process acted under a commission given to them by Providence, who wished that we Germans should become a people."

In this process Christianity provided the common store of religious and moral ideas which formed the unity in which German tribes could unite. And what Christianity destroyed had to fall if this unity were to be realized. And later when the king took the place of the duke that meant that there was created a superior organization which could preserve what had already been won. The State externally organized into one body-politic the individual tribes, and through all confusions, "through the pendulum beat and through the play of the waves

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of the centuries", the internal consciousness of German nationality was born.

When Christianity was split in two by the Reformation the *weltanschaulich* basis of organization was weakened; the French Revolution shattered the basis of unity supplied by monarchy and State.

The Jewish "ferment of decomposition"¹, playing upon the social consciousness of the people by the circuitous route of Parliamentary Democracy, destroyed the kingship and the State-organization. The religious bodies, through their association with Parliamentary democracy, failed to stay the gradual dissolution of the State and at the same time did untold damage to Christianity since they became—whether they wished it or no—the ally of an international Marxism and its principles which were incompatible with the assumptions on which the State had been founded. "The Parliamentary-Democratic-Constitutional Monarchy or the Parliamentary-Democratic Republic was each impossible for Germany and was sooner or later doomed to collapse."

It is impossible to build up a community on mutually contradictory principles. *Here Hitler developed an argument which he had previously used.*² Before the Jewish attack both the monarchy and the religious bodies proved to be powerless. A real salvation could only come from those forces arising from the depths of the "volkic" life which developed both in idea and form a new self-defence. And that could be no passive defence, "it had to be based on the foundation of an unassailable *Weltanschauung* and it was bound to proceed to a positive refashioning of the people's life and of the form of the State".

¹ See p. 17 note 2 *supra*.

² Hitler's speech, delivered before the Industrie-Klub in Düsseldorf (27 Jan. 1932), is translated on pp. 777-829 *infra*.

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And the starting-point of National Socialism was not the State but the people. The German emperors could have no such foundations on which to build. To-day the "living substance", the German people, is a present reality. "Since we see in the people the permanent, the existential basis, we see in it the sole end. Its maintenance also creates the conditions for the existence and effectiveness of ideas, just as its destruction makes all ideas worthless and non-existent."

"Religions, too, have a meaning only when they serve to maintain the living substance of humanity. For when once the peoples as such perish, neither their religions nor their States remain as eternal phenomena (*Ewigkeitserscheinungen*). Every people takes with it into its "volkic" death the political and religious institutions (*Erscheinungen*) and ideas which dominate its life. In the life of man those institutions which are in truth but means frequently begin to feel themselves to be ends: it is thus probable that the priests of the Aztecs and the Incas were convinced and asserted that, for example, these Mexicans of ancient days were created for them and for their creeds. But since these peoples perished, nothing has remained of their religious creeds or of their priests. If to-day Bolshevism succeeded in destroying certain peoples, then neither the conceptions of their religion nor of their State, neither their creeds nor their organizations would survive. Providence when it created man at the same time created the purpose of human action which is to be found in man and in his preservation. Thus the purpose of every idea and of every institution within a people can originally and naturally be only to maintain the substance of the people, which God has created, in bodily and mental health, in good order and in purity."

That is the supreme test of every institution: does it serve to preserve the people or not? And if applying

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this test faithfully the National Socialist Party will serve its purpose as an adequate means to that purpose, then it must secure in the political leadership of the nation that selection which takes place in nearly all spheres of life. The natural capacities of men determine their callings: the calling chooses those men who are fitted for it.

Thus the most firmly founded institution of Germany in the past was the army; and it applied most rigorously this principle of selection for its recruitment, and with the Germany army as its model the Party must see as its task the collection and the advancement in its organization of those elements in the nation which are most capable of political leadership. "This capacity is, however, just as little dependent on capital, education, birth, &c., as is the capacity of being a soldier dependent on these and other *bourgeois* qualifications." The decisive factor is a man's inner nature, his native characteristics—his mission in life.

"Party and Army can thus be only—in the highest sense of the word—socialistic institutions, since in their construction they have not to consider capitalist points of view—the one decisive factor must be fitness to serve the people"; their fundamental principle must be to set the highest capacity in the place which is its due. And thus they are at the same time embodiments of a better, because a real, democracy which does not through the anonymity of a parliamentary election and vote raise incapacity to decisive influence and thereby imposes a burden upon the people as a whole, but profits the entire community by conferring upon the highest capacity the greatest responsibility, first in its own organization and then in all spheres of life and the struggle for life.

Just as the army is not concerned merely in maintaining itself as the military leadership of the people, but

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seeks to educate and train the people in the spirit of its military mission, so the political Party must not be content merely to continue to exist as the body which supplies the nation with its political leadership; it must further continuously educate the people in the spirit of its own military conception of its mission and draft into its ranks those who are destined by Providence for leadership.

The idea of self-protection, and therefore of the duty of military service, finds its expression and support in the organization of the army; the National Socialist idea finds its home in the organization of the Party. The Party represents the political outlook, the political conscience, the political will. The task of the Party is thus in the first place to secure in all spheres of life a leadership of the people which corresponds with its *Weltanschauung*, and, secondly, to bring this political outlook into a permanent system which may secure its supremacy for all time. The Party has received the historic commission to study "the inner political substance of our people", to learn alike its strong and its weak points, and from the knowledge thus gained to fix and determine in all spheres of life the great aims of the nation's action, to bring public life into harmony with the duties which result from this inner disposition of the people, and this it must do with confidence and without hesitation: it must not be moved by those who question the justification for its action. "In the fact of its historically incontestable existence lies its duty so to act, in the success of its work the subsequently established justification. And as a matter of experience history refuses this justification only to him who was either too weak to stand the test or too incapable and therefore unfit for the task. In the long run God's favour will be given only to him who deserves it. He who speaks and acts

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in the name of a people created by the Almighty continues to act under this commission so long as he does not sin against the substance and the future of the work of the Creator which has been placed in his hand. Therefore it is good that the conquest of power is always bound up with hard fighting. For what was won only with difficulty is in general also defended with courage. And the more stable the government of States is, the greater is the profit for the peoples!"

The Party has to see to it that an organization is created through which the leadership may be permanently recruited: and this organization must have a stable *weltanschaulich* basis. Therefore to secure this end it must educate *all* Germans into the *Weltanschauung* of the National Socialists and the best National Socialists must become members of the Party, and the best members of the Party must assume the leadership of the State. From this duty of securing for the Party in the future supremacy in the State and from the duty to educate the people in the service of the State there results the clear delimitation of the functions of the Party and the State:

"The function of the State is the continuance of the administration, as it has in the course of history arisen and developed, of the State-organizations within the framework of and by means of the laws."

"The function of the Party is

1. The building up of its own internal organization so as to create a stable, self-renewing, permanent cell of National Socialist teaching.
2. The education of the entire people in the meaning of the conceptions of this idea.
3. The introduction of those who have been so trained into the State to serve either as leaders or as followers (*Gefolgschaft*)."

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At present we are still in the stage of the liquidation of a revolution: there must be a long period of transition before the leadership of National Socialists is uncontested. At present the ferments of the old party-state are still working, and thus during this transitional period it may happen that the Party finds itself compelled to intervene by way of warning and, if necessary, of correction when the leaders of the State are contravening National Socialist principles. But this correction in future can only be effected through the agency of the competent State-institutions and authorities which are already occupied by National Socialists. The final goal must be, through winning over all Germans to National Socialism, that in the future only National Socialists shall be admitted to any posts in the whole organization alike of the people and of the State.

And this National Socialism as a *Weltanschauung* is bound, if it will not betray itself, to be intolerant, that means to champion and maintain the rightness of its views and therewith of its decisions in all circumstances. Anyone who undertakes such an historical mission as this must submit to harsh principles. When a nation is already burdened by the fact that it is composed of elements which are not completely homogeneous, it is only the harshest principles and an iron resolution which can unite it into a single body capable of resistance—and thereby able to be led successfully in politics.

Just as diseased pacifists refuse to understand the harshness and the exclusive claims of Prussian education in the army, so to-day many refuse to recognize the necessity for National Socialist intolerance, an intolerance which is in reality the assured consciousness of responsibility. The reproach that such an attitude (*Wesen*) is alien to the German is senseless. In this matter there can be no question of what should or should

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not be alien to the German people: the only issue is: What is useful for our people? Perhaps the recruit who enters the army may feel it strange at first to be forced blindly to obey orders, but it is useful to the community as a whole and therefore in the end to himself. If the leaders are well chosen, they have a right to lay down the conditions under which they can perform their mission. And let every German remember: the National Socialists have done wonders: it was not our leaders in business, not our professors and students, not soldiers and not artists, not philosophers, thinkers, and poets who snatched back our people from the abyss, but solely the political soldiery of our Party. Posterity will one day see the continuing effects of our work, effects which to-day are but beginning to disclose themselves. How many men of insight in other peoples would rejoice if their nations possessed as solidly based an authoritarian organization as Germany possesses to-day and besides Germany but few other States!

In the *Weltanschauung* of National Socialism there is a secure standpoint which will determine German thought for centuries; and because it is thus securely founded there is no danger to fear from future elaboration or completion of National Socialist doctrine. Indeed, in view of the fact that the National Socialist picture of the world is still in the process of formation, it is all the more necessary to recognize the authority of the Party as the final instance, watching over the development, giving its decisions, acting as the final judge.

Hitler then proceeded once more to illustrate his meaning by a comparison with the army: the wish and will to self-protection were present in every man: but the practical realization of this wish could come only through the disciplined leadership of the army: the army checks the unrestrained will of the individual in order to attain

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the indomitable will of all; and this is especially necessary when there is a conflict of views on the best method of conducting the war. Similarly the strong and, if necessary, harsh leadership of the Party should prevent a conflict of views within National Socialism: a blind recognition of its authority was essential. This is the supreme national interest, and thus the supreme duty of every German who feels with his people and strives for its welfare.

The question of fallibility or infallibility is not under discussion: the individual has as little right to question the action of the political leaders as the soldier to question the orders of his military superiors. And just as the Party demands the subjection of the people to its will, so within the Party itself this same subjection must be an immutable law. There is no possibility of release from obedience to this principle. He who will not render this complete obedience cannot look for obedience from others. "And if from the *bourgeoisie* we often hear the objection: 'Ah, yes, the Leader, but the Party—that is another matter!' I answer: No! Gentlemen, the Leader is the Party and the Party is the Leader. As I feel myself to be only a part of this Party, so the Party feels itself to be only a part of me. When I shall close my eyes in death I do not know. But that the Party will live on that I know, and that over all persons, over weakness and strength it will triumph and will successfully fashion the future of the German nation that I believe, that I know! For the Party guarantees the stability of the leadership of the people and of the Reich, and through its own stability it guarantees that this leadership shall exercise the authority which it needs."

"From this sure foundation there will grow up the Constitution of the new German Reich. This Party as *weltanschaulich* moulder and as political guide of the

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destiny of Germany has to give the Leader to the nation and therefore to the Reich. The more this principle is proclaimed and observed as the natural and uncontested basis of government the stronger will Germany be. The army as the representative and the organizer of the military forces of our people must ever maintain the organized military force of the Reich entrusted to it and in loyalty and obedience must place it at the disposal of the Leader who has been given to the Nation by the Party. For after the Proclamation of the new Leader from time to time he becomes the lord (*Herr*) of the Party, the supreme head of the Reich, and the supreme Commander of the Army."

"If these principles form the immovable foundation of the whole organization of the German people and German State, then Germany will be able to resist all the storms which may come. . . . The Party gives the people to the army and the people gives its soldiers to the army, and both together thereby give to the German Reich the security of internal calm and the strength for its maintenance. To-day, as Leader of the Reich and nation, I can still give my help and counsel. But principles must lead us away from the personal to the eternal. Leaders will come and Leaders will die, but Germany must live, and this Movement will alone lead Germany to this life". . . .

"We, my comrades, who share in the leadership of people and of army, we have been chosen by destiny to make history—in the highest sense of the word. What was denied to millions, Providence has granted to us." Posterity will one day say of us that in an age of disloyalty and treason we formed a band of followers knit together in such mutual loyalty as Germany had never seen before. "A page in the history of the world will one day be devoted to us, to the men who from the

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National Socialist Party and the German army together built up and secured the new German Reich. Then one day in the Pantheon of history we shall stand immortalized side by side, immortalized and united in loyalty that nothing can sever, just as we were in the time of the great fight and the great fulfilment."¹

And if at any time the State should fail to execute any necessary task, the Party may be called upon to make good the failure of the State. This was explained in Hitler's Proclamation to the Nuremberg Parteitag of the year 1935. In that Proclamation he said that there were three groups of those who opposed the National Socialist régime. These were:

- (i) Jewish Marxism and, associated with it, Parliamentary Democracy.
- (ii) The politically and morally ruinous Centrum.
- (iii) Certain elements of an incorrigible and stupidly reactionary bourgeoisie.

The most interesting passage in the Proclamation was when Hitler turned on the Marxists and their Jewish wire-pullers: "We have given you—perhaps in excessive generosity—the possibility, through exercising a shrewd reserve, of becoming in course of time forgotten. We have the feeling that this forbearance has been misunderstood. The consequences could not fail to appear, and they have appeared. The National Socialist State will now pursue its way still further in order to overcome these dangers. I should like to make it quite clear that the fight against the internal foes of the nation will never be defeated by the formation of a bureaucracy or its inadequacy, but wherever the formal bureaucracy of the State should prove itself unfitted to solve a problem, there the German nation will bring into play its own

¹ *V.B.*, 18 Sept. 1935.

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more living organization in order to clear the way for the realization of its vital necessities. For it is a great mistake to suppose that the nation exists to defend any formal institution (*Erscheinung*), and that if an institution is not capable of solving the tasks set for its solution the nation must therefore capitulate before these tasks. On the contrary, that which can be solved by the State will be solved through the State, but any problem which the State through its essential character is unable to solve will be solved by means of the Movement. For the State itself is but one of the forms of the organization of the "volkic" life; it is set in motion and dominated by the immediate expression of the "volkic" vital will (*Lebenswillens*), the Party, the National Socialist Movement. . . . Party, State, Army, Economics, Administration are all but means to the end, and that end is the safeguarding of the nation. That is a fundamental principle of National Socialist theory. What is obviously damaging to the safeguarding of the nation must be removed. If an institution proves itself unfitted to undertake this task, then another institution must undertake and execute the task. All of us, my comrades, and especially you who hold positions of leadership in the State and the Movement, will not be judged by your observance of forms (*nach Ihrem formalen Verhalten*) but by your successful realization of our Programme, i.e. by the measure in which you defend our "volkic" life. And in especial one principle must be maintained with fanatical obstinacy: an enemy of the National Socialist State—it matters not whether he be a domestic or a foreign foe—must never know of and must never find any authority (*Stelle*) which will meet him with understanding or with assistance. We live in the midst of a world which is in ferment.¹ Only iron principles and

¹ German: *inmitten einer turbulent gewordenen Welt.*

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their ruthless application will make us strong so that Germany may not sink into Bolshevist chaos". . . .

"This resolute determination to nip in the bud certain dangers under all conditions, will never hesitate if the need should arise, through legislation, to hand over functions for which the State is obviously unfitted—since they are alien to its essential character—to institutions which appear better fitted to solve such problems. But on that point the will of the leadership alone decides, not the will of the individual. Our strength lies in our discipline."¹

In a speech at Stettin on 12 June 1938 Hitler said: . . .
"I am increasingly convinced of the necessity to secure on foundations which cannot be shaken two pillars in the State: on the one side the undying National Socialist Party sustaining the political life of the State, and on the other side the German Army. To the extent that these two pillars unite to sustain the whole destiny of Germany, to that extent can the German nation face the future with calm confidence."²

As against foreign observers who had seen in the reconstruction of the command of the army (4 February 1938; cf. p. 1374) a sign of lack of agreement between the National Socialist Government and the army, Hitler in his speech to the Reichstag on 20 February 1938 said:

"There is in Germany no problem of the relation between the National Socialist State and the National Socialist Party, or any problem of the relation between the National Socialist Party and the National Socialist army. In this Reich everyone who holds a responsible position is a National Socialist."

¹ F.Z., 12 Sept. 1935.

² F.Z., 14 June 1938. The last sentence of this extract is a paraphrase: something must, I think, have been omitted from the German text.

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"Every man bears on his hat the National Socialist emblem. Every institution of this Reich stands under the command of the supreme political leadership, and all institutions of this Reich are pledged to and united in the will and determination to uphold this National Socialist Germany and, if necessary, to defend it to the bitter end." . . . The Party leads the Reich in the political sphere, in the military sphere the army defends it. Every institution in this Reich has its allotted task and there is no one in a responsible position in this State who doubts that the authorized leader of this Reich is myself or that the nation through its confidence has commissioned me to represent it everywhere and in every sphere."¹

II. THE CRITICISM OF DEMOCRACY

Hitler's criticism of democracy is from first to last throughout his speeches a constant theme: while the claim that the National Socialist State is itself a democracy frequently recurs. A few representative passages are here translated.²

In a speech at Hamburg on 17 August 1934 Hitler said: "This parliamentary Democracy of ruin has at all times destroyed peoples and States. It does not express the will of the people: it serves only the ambition and interests of conscienceless corrupters of the people, be they small or great."

"The effect of this kind of Government in Germany was disastrous. From the time when this parliamentary democracy had finally and completely mastered the nation there began a downfall in every sphere: not only

¹ Authorized English translation (in pamphlet form), pp. 39-40, slightly adapted on the basis of the German text in *V.B.*, 21 Feb. 1938.

² Some further passages are translated in the section devoted to Foreign Policy in the second part of this collection of extracts.

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in politics, in culture, and in morals was Germany disintegrated and weakened, but even in the sphere of economics those conditions were destroyed under which alone, in the last resort, such an enormously complex and sensitive organism can flourish. . . ."

"But it is clear that this political disintegration of the body of a people must necessarily mean the end of every authority. Without such an authority the economic life of a people cannot function healthily. For just as a Government in the grip of the favour and the hatred of the parties is incapable of forming and upholding necessary decisions, so will it be incapable of taking necessary economic measures and will be quite unable to give to economic life that guidance and that sure protection without which it cannot survive. And alas for the country if a Government once becomes dependent upon parties who themselves claim to represent "economic interests", for then the régime will be dependent upon the wishes of individual economic groups and will thus become the servant of one-sided economic interests, and therefore be incapable of rising above the natural economic hopes of individuals in order to protect the justifiable interests of the community. But a Government cannot serve the interests of employers on the one hand or of workmen on the other, it cannot serve city or country, trade or industry, but exclusively the whole people. It must know what this people as a whole needs for life and must to these necessities of life give its stimulation and its powerful protection. The Government must never for a second forget that the life of the nation whenever it is threatened must be protected by all, and that therefore every individual is entitled to demand that the Government should not be subservient to a group, but that it should champion the interests of all. . . ."

A Government cannot take its instructions and orders

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from thirty or forty parties. Under such conditions it cannot make decisions, it can make only compromises. And "in that case one will not have the courage to come to a really great and hazardous decision. But he who would win in this world must venture. It is true that he who makes no decisions will never make mistakes. But he who sees himself commissioned by fate to discover and to take great decisions must also unfortunately expect to make mistakes. It would, however, be foolish to look for the courage necessary for great actions—even at the cost of possible mistakes—from a Government in which a rout of parliamentary authorities are concerned from the first not with the nation's good but are on the outlook only for the mistakes which may possibly be made."

"The greater the tasks the less fitted is this system to achieve them. It does not breed men who welcome responsibility, but frightened hares or artful tricksters. It kills every personality, it stifles every initiative, it cripples every achievement."¹

In a speech to the Reich Commissioners delivered in the Reich Chancery, Berlin, on 6 July 1933 Hitler said:

"The political parties have now been finally abolished; this is a historical event of which the importance and far-reaching effect have in many cases not yet been realized at all. We must now get rid of the last remains of democracy, especially of the methods of voting and of the decisions by the majority, such as still often occur in the communes, in economic organizations, and in working committees, and lay stress upon the responsibility in all cases of the individual."²

¹ *F.Z.*, 19 Aug. 1934.

² Text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 58; authorized English translation in *The New Germany Desires Work and Peace*, p. 65. For *Arbeitsausschüssen* I should prefer "Committees of workmen."

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In his speech in the Reichstag on 20 February 1938 Hitler said after his summary of that which the National Socialist régime had accomplished:

"One of the greatest of these achievements is the setting up of a form of government of the people and the State equally remote from parliamentary democracy and military dictatorship. National Socialism has given the German people that leadership which as a Party has not only mobilized the people but above all has organized them, and has organized them in such a way that on the basis of the most natural principle of selection the permanence of a stable political leadership would seem to be guaranteed for all time. And this is perhaps the proudest chapter in the history of the last five years."¹

In a speech to the Association of German Newspaper Proprietors delivered in Berlin in June 1933 Hitler said: It was his belief that the problems with which they were concerned in Germany were facing all other Governments in the world; in the end they would solve these problems only when they had at their disposal the same authority which the National Socialists were seeking to create to-day in Germany. He personally was convinced that much of that which the rest of the world criticized in present-day Germany would be adopted by the world within a few years. Democratic eras in world-history had always been mere interim-phenomena; after a short time they had been followed by periods in which once more authority took in hand for centuries the ordering of public affairs and the responsibility for their conduct.²

¹ In this extract I have adapted the authorized English translation of the speech (p. 38) to bring it nearer to the German text as given in *V.B.*, 21 Feb. 1938.

² This extract is translated from a summary of the speech given in *V.B.*, 30 June 1933. I do not know how far it reproduces the words of Hitler.

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In a speech delivered in the Reichstag on 21 May 1935 Hitler said:

"From Anglo-Saxon countries I often hear expressions of regret that Germany should have departed from just those principles of democratic government which such countries consider as specially sacred. This opinion is based upon a serious error. Germany too has a 'democratic' constitution. The present German Government of the National Socialist State has also been elected by the people and feels itself in the same way responsible to the people. It does not matter how many votes a deputy must have in the individual countries. There are countries which consider 20,000 votes necessary for a deputy, others consider 10 or 5,000 sufficient, while in others again the number is 60,000 or more."

"The German people has elected a single deputy as its representative with 38 million votes. This is perhaps one of the most important differences between ours and the conditions existing in other countries. It means that I feel myself just as responsible to the German people as would any Parliament. I act on the trust they have placed in me and I carry out their mandate. The German people therefore have the right to expect that an explanation such as I am about to give to-day should be the unvarnished truth, and that it should openly discuss those questions which affect not only the rest of the world but also, and at least to the same degree, the German nation itself. And I am glad of this for the following reasons:

"As Führer and Chancellor of the nation and as head of the Government of the Reich, unfortunately I have often to make decisions which are of themselves hard enough to decide upon and which are all the more difficult because it is not possible for me to share the responsibility and even less to shift it to someone else's

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shoulders. And it is for this reason that I desire at least to be able to give to the nation itself an insight into the ideas on which I act and thus make it easier for them to understand the decisions and measures which arise from these ideas. But the more difficult the decisions, so much the more I as a German should like to make sure that my actions are completely uninfluenced by instincts of weakness or fear and to bring them into harmony with my conscience towards my God and the nation which He permits me to serve."¹

In his Proclamation read at the Nuremberg Parteitag of September 1934 Hitler said: "The National Socialist Party has gained its power through and with the will of the German people. That further imposes upon it the duty of realizing the programme which the overwhelming majority of the people has approved. But the first thought, the first task of this programme runs thus: Through unbroken care and work to increase the power of the Movement, to secure it in the State and never more to let it be taken from our hands. If democracy should be but the executor of the will of the people, then we are better democrats than our opponents in most of the so-called democracies of the world. For there the will of the peoples is not seldom defeated by evil parties, while with us it is represented by a strong Government."²

In a speech at Kiel (on 6 November 1933) Hitler said: "With this appeal to the electors I wish to show to the other Governments that true democracy is with us and that we have no hesitation in appealing to the people. I do not believe that other Governments if they had been given power for a four years' term would be pre-

¹ Text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, iii (1937), p. 69; authorized English translation (in pamphlet form), pp. 3-5.

² *F.Z.*, 6 Sept. 1934.

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pared to appeal once more to the people within seven months."¹

*In his proclamation to the German people on 30 January 1935 Hitler said: "No democratic Government in the world can submit itself to a popular vote in greater trust and with greater confidence than can the National Socialist Government of Germany."*²

With this may be compared two statements made by Hitler in his speech in the Reichstag on 30 January 1937:

"People talk of democracies and dictatorships, and they have completely failed to realize that in this country an upheaval has taken place the result of which—if democracy is to have any meaning at all—must be called in the highest sense of the word democratic."³

"Of all those who so often and so readily endeavour to represent the democratic Governments as institutions supported by the people in contradistinction to dictatorships there is no one who can with greater right speak in the name of his people than I."⁴

*In an interview with M. Abel Bonnard Hitler said: "A l'étranger on croit que l'Allemagne vit sous un régime de dictature. Mais il y avait bien plus de dictature en 1933. Un régime comme celui-ci ne saurait se maintenir par la contrainte. Le peuple est pour moi parce qu'il sait que je m'occupe vraiment de ses besoins, que les problèmes de son âme m'intéressent. C'est pourquoi j'ai dans le peuple mes plus grands partisans et j'y suis plus aimé que les monarques ne l'ont été."*⁵

¹ V.B., 8 Nov. 1933.

² F.Z., 31 Jan. 1935.

³ *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, v (1938), p. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁵ *Le Journal*, 22 May 1937.

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Note

Dr. Dietrich, Chief of the Reich Press Organization, has said of the National Socialist form of government that "as authoritarian government by the people it is really the most modern democracy in the world's history". (Speech at the Nuremberg Parteitag, 8 Sept. 1936. Cited from *The Times*, 9 Sept. 1936.)

For the National Socialist State as "a perfected (literally 'ennobled', *veredelte*) form of democracy" see J. Goebbels, *Signale der neuen Zeit*, 3rd edn. 1937, pp. 236, 240-2 and cf. *ibid.*, pp. 258, 260, 272; *Goebbels spricht*, Oldenburg, Stalling, 1933, p. 9 (9 March 1929); R. Hess, *Reden*, Munich, Eher, 1938, p. 141.

III. THE LEADER AND LEADERSHIP PRINCIPLE (*Führer, Führertum*)

The essential basis of the constitution of the National Socialist State is the Leadership Principle—the "Führer-Prinzip".¹ This theme—the choice of Leaders, the building up of a hierarchy of Leaders,² the education to Leadership—constantly recurs in the speeches.³ I have translated some representative extracts which give Hitler's conception of Leadership and its significance for the future of the German Reich.

In his conversation with Hitler on 21 May 1930 Otto Strasser was expounding his conception that the idea must ever be the starting-point: it controls the conscience and is

¹ The term *Führerstaat* was apparently coined by G. A. Walz in *Deutsche Juristenzeitung*, 1933, col. 1339.

² For a criticism of the use of the term "hierarchy" as applied to the organization of the National Socialist State cf. E. Becker, *Führungsordnung und Hierarchie* in *Festgabe für Erich Jung*, Marburg, 1937, pp. 12-44.

³ For the dominant political ideas of National Socialist Germany cf. F. L. Schuman's article "The Political Theory of German Fascism" reproduced in W. E. Rappard, W. R. Sharp, H. W. Schneider, J. K. Pollock, and S. N. Harper, *Source Book on European Governments*, New York, Van Nostrand, 1937, pp. 200-1.

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the court of highest instance before which man must justify his action. Ideas are eternal, and we men are but the body in which the word becomes flesh. Leaders and subordinates are all alike servants of the idea. To this Hitler replied: "This is all bombastic nonsense: . . . it boils down to this, that you would give to every member of the Party the right to decide on the idea—even to decide whether the Leader is true to the so-called idea or not. That is democracy at its worst and there is no place with us for any such view. With us the Leader and the idea are one, and every member of the Party has to do what the Leader orders. The Leader incorporates the idea and alone knows its ultimate goal."

*"Our organization is built up on discipline, and I have no wish to see this organization broken up by a few swollen-headed littérateurs. You yourself were a soldier. . . . I ask you: are you prepared to submit to this discipline or not?"*¹

*In a speech at a review of the SA, in Kiel on 7 May 1933 Hitler said: "You must fuse your will with mine."*²

*In an interview with Fernand de Brinon Hitler said: "Je décide seul de la politique de l'Allemagne. . . . Je réponds de moi-même devant le peuple que je conduis et qui me donne la force."*³

In the winter of 1931 Nazi leaders in Hesse had drawn up a plan for a Nazi dictatorship (the Boxheim Document).⁴ On 4 December 1931 Hitler, addressing Press representatives, mainly British and American, expressed his surprise

¹ Otto Strasser, *Ministersessel oder Revolution?* p. 9.

² *V.B.*, 9 May 1933.

³ *Le Matin*, 22 Nov. 1933.

⁴ Cf. K. Heiden, *Die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus bis Herbst 1933. Geburt des dritten Reiches*, Zürich, Europa-Verlag, 1934, pp. 55-59.

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that so much attention should have been paid to this irresponsible plan: he said that his will was paramount in the National Socialist Party. With the exception perhaps of the Italian Fascists there was not a political party or movement in the world to-day so entirely governed by one will. He had no intention of throwing overboard the principle of legality which he had held so tenaciously. . . . He could not forbid individual members of his Party to reflect on problems raised by the threat of Bolshevism, but to put them into documentary form, as in Hesse, was downright effrontery.¹

In a speech at Detmold on 15 January 1936, commemorating the successful Landtag election in Lippe of 15 January 1933, Hitler said: "Time has proved that we were right. We saw the battle through and from it we have drawn a lesson for the future. There may yet be difficulties at some time in the future. But you do not know me yet—not by a long way. I see here my people, and I see history, and I recognize its teachings. I have trained up the whole Movement in accordance with my ideals. Our opponents do not understand this, but I cannot help them. National Socialism governs in accordance with its ideals, and these the others must accept. We have no thought of giving up our ideals and adopting different aims. There is yet one more lesson for the future to be drawn from the election campaign of that time: the Movement was then controlled by a single will, which swept everyone along with it. What should we have come to in Germany, if there had been not one Movement, but thirty-six or forty-five? A leadership worthy of the name must have the courage to make its will the will of the nation—or else abdicate. There is only one central power, and it confers authority and

¹ *The Times*, 5 Dec. 1931.

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sovereignty. But it can recall them instantly in the case of every person and of every thing. We look back on this election campaign in Lippe with deep inward emotion and stirring of the heart. We beat our opponents on their own democratic basis. I am convinced of this, that our opponents of that time would not now be in a position to beat us on *our* basis. Yet that is what they would have to do, and for this reason I look forward with boundless confidence to the future. It is quite hopeless for anyone in Germany to try to alter this régime. If anyone should wish to make the attempt he may rest assured that he will be smashed to pieces like glass. Moreover, the Movement does not rest on one person alone. There is a Government to-day whose succession is secured, without being bound up with any single person."

"I am prepared to admit that the National Socialist ideal, in its final perfection, stands like a polar star above mankind. But mankind must ever follow a star. If it laid hold of this star, it would see it no more. We are on the right road, and we have the right goal. We shall be reforming the German people for centuries."¹

Race and the Leadership Principle

In his closing speech at the Parteitag in Nuremberg in September 1933 Hitler said that the lines on which the National Socialist Party had been built up had been determined by him after long and careful thought upon the laws of life and human development. Such thought had been neglected by his opponents. Now after the victory of the Party he could speak freely of things which he had previously said only to Party leaders. Not only could his opponents now learn these principles at their leisure, but the Party itself must for the future observe

¹ *F.Z.*, 17 Jan. 1936.

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these principles as a continuing obligation, must never forget them and always keep in mind the lessons which they taught.

"In Nature there are no such things as inexplicable chance happenings. What appears to man as subject to no order is simply incomprehensible for him. Every development runs its course in accordance with the law of cause and effect. But since it is the effect which is principally seen and felt, most men are content to concern themselves only with the effect. The unwillingness to seek and discover causes is deeply seated in man's blood especially when his corrupted ego, from the sudden unveiling of certain causes, suspects that unpleasant knowledge may result which will lay unwelcome obligations upon him". . . .

"But the only way permanently to cure diseased conditions is to disclose their causes. Only so is the inner course of events in the life of peoples comprehensible, only so does the riddle of the rise and fall of peoples lose its mystery. Then the individual happenings of a nation's destiny, made up as they are of 100,000 apparent 'chances', are at length revealed as the countless stations on a clearly charted path which either leads downwards, i.e. to a people's destruction, or upward to its permanent self-assertion and survival."

"No people that has once begun to tread the inclined plane which leads downwards will ever be snatched back from its course save through an active recognition of such truths. Whether this recognition comes through reason or through unconscious instinct it matters not. Happy the people which possesses in its natural instinct one who will warn and avenge: unhappy the people that thinks it can dispense with instinct. Then its fate depends only on the possibility that one day true reason will win the victory over empty superficial knowledge

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through the humble recognition of those eternal laws of life on which instinct rests."

"In order to understand the diseases from which a people suffers, it is first necessary to understand how a people is built up. Almost all the peoples of the world are composed to-day of different racial primary elements (*Grundstoffen*). These original elements are each characterized by different capacities. Only in the primitive functions of life can men be considered as precisely like each other. Beyond these primitive functions they immediately begin to be differentiated in their characters, their dispositions, and capacities. The differences between the individual races, both in part externally and, of course, also in their inner natures, can be quite enormous and in fact are so. The gulf between the lowest creature which can still be styled man and our highest races is greater than that between the lowest type of man and the highest ape."

"If on this earth there were not some races which to-day determine its cultural appearance, it would hardly be possible to speak of any such thing as human civilization (*Kultur*). For this neither climate nor education can be regarded as responsible, but only man himself who was endowed by Providence with this capacity."

"But if this cultural capacity is fundamentally inherent in certain races, its full effect is realized only under certain favourable circumstances. Man as an individual, whatever powers he may have in himself, will be incapable of higher achievements unless he can place the powers of many in the service of a single idea, a single conception, a single will and can unite them for a single action."

"A glance at Nature shows us that creatures belonging to a pure race, not merely corporeally but in character and capacities, are more or less of equal value. This equality is the greatest hindrance in the way of the for-

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mation of any community in work (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft*); for since every higher civilization receives its stamp through achievements which are possible only through uniting the forces of human labour, it is thus essential that a number of individuals must sacrifice a part of their individual freedom and must subject themselves to a single will. However much reason may counsel such a course, in reality it would be difficult amongst those who are complete equals to demonstrate the reasons why in the last resort one must be in a position to assert his will as against that of the others."

"The two conceptions—Command and Obedience—however, exercise quite another and more compelling force when folk of *different* value come into conflict or association with each other, and then through the action of the stronger section are bound together in pursuit of a common purpose."

"The most primitive form of association for a common purpose can already be traced at the moment when man forces his supremacy upon the animals, tears them from the freedom of their former life, and builds them into his own life-process without troubling himself whether his animal-helper consents thereto or not."

"But long ago man has proceeded in the same way with his fellow-man. The higher race—at first 'higher' in the sense of possessing a greater gift for organization—subjects to itself a lower race and thus constitutes a relationship which now embraces races of unequal value. Thus there results the subjection of a number of people under the will often of only a few persons, a subjection based simply on the right of the stronger, a right which, as we see it in Nature, can be regarded as the sole conceivable right because founded on reason.¹ The wild

¹ German: *einem Recht, das, in der Natur gesehen, als einzig vorstellbar, weil vernünftig, gelten kann.*

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mustang does not take upon itself the yoke imposed by man either voluntarily or joyfully; neither does one people welcome the violence of another."

"But, despite this, in the course of a long development this compulsion has very often been converted into a blessing for all parties. Thus were formed those communities which created the essential features of human organization through the welding together of different races. And this organization always demands the subjection of the will and the activity of many under the will and the energy of a single individual. As men come to discover the astonishing results of this concentration of their capacity and labour-force they begin to recognize not merely the expediency but also the necessity of such action. And thus it is that a great and significant Aryan civilization did not arise where Aryans alone were living in racial purity, but always where they formed a vital association with races otherwise constituted, an association founded not on mixture of blood but on the basis of an organic community of purpose. And what was at first undoubtedly felt by the conquered as bitter compulsion later became in spite of this even for them a blessing. Unconsciously in the master-people there grew up ever more clearly and vitally a recognition of the ethical demand that their supremacy must be no arbitrary rule but must be controlled by a noble reasonableness. The capacity to subdue others was not given to them by Providence in order to make the subjects feel that the lordship of their conqueror was a meaningless tyranny, a mere oppression: that capacity was given that through the union of the conqueror's genius with the strength of the conquered they might create for both alike an existence which because it was useful was not degrading to man."

"However this process of the formation of a people

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and a State was begun, its beginning signified the close of humanity's communistic age. For Communism is not a higher stage of development: rather it is the most primitive form of life—the starting-point."

"Men of completely similar characteristics, men who are precisely like each other and endowed with the same capacities, will be of necessity also alike in their achievement. This condition is realized in the case of peoples who are throughout of one and the same race. Where these conditions are realized, the individual result of the activity of each will correspond only with the general average of all. . . . In this case it can be a question only of quite primitive values, and the condition for any clear definition of the idea of property is lacking because of the absence of any differentiation in achievement which is essential for the rise of such a concept." Equal achievement carries with it the equal division of the results of that achievement. "In such a state Communism is therefore a natural and morally comprehensible ordering of society. But when men of very different values have met together, the result of their achievements will also be different, that is to say that the race which stands higher in the scale of quality will contribute more to the sum total of common work than the race which is lower in the qualitative scale. And in particular men's capacities will lie on different levels. The primitive capacity of the one race will from the first produce values other than those more highly developed or otherwise constituted values produced by the other partner in the common life. As a consequence the administration of the labour-product will necessarily lead to a division which proceeds from a consideration of the character of the achievement, in other words: that which has been created will be administered as property on the same basis as that of its origin. The conception

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of private property is thus inseparably connected with the conviction that the capacities of men are different alike in character and in value and thus, further, that men themselves are different in character and value."

"But one cannot in one sphere of life accept this difference in value—which I will now call difference in talent—as giving rise to a moral claim on the result produced by this superiority and then go on to deny that difference in another sphere. That would be to act illogically. . . . One cannot in fact proceed to maintain that all alike have the same capacity for politics, that is for the most important sphere in the entire conduct of life."

"While it is denied that everyone in a nation is capable of administering a court or a factory or of appointing its administration, yet that they are all capable of administering the State or of appointing its administrators is solemnly certified¹ in the name of democracy."

"But here is a direct contradiction: either because of equal capacity all men are equally capable of administering a State, and then the maintenance of the concept of property is not only unjust but simply stupid, or men are in truth not in a position to take into their common administration as common property that sum-total of material and cultural treasure which the nation as a whole has created, and then in that case they are far less in a position to govern the State in common. . . . The State does not owe its existence to all but only to a definite section—the section which formerly created the State and which still supports and maintains it. This view is not unjust or hard: it is simply a statement of the truth. . . . The German people arose in no other way than did almost all of the truly creative civilized peoples (*Kulturvölker*) in the world of which we have any knowledge. A race, though small in numbers yet with capaci-

¹ German: *attestiert*.

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ties for organization and possessing a creative gift in the sphere of culture, in the course of many centuries spread itself over other peoples, absorbing some, adapting itself to others. All the different elements of which our people is composed naturally brought with them into this alliance their special capacities; but the alliance itself was created solely by a single core which fashioned both people and State. This core-people caused its language to prevail not, of course, without borrowings from its subjects, and in the end it subdued all for such a length of time to a common destiny that the life of the people which controlled the State became indissolubly united with the life of the other parts which were gradually fused into and on to it. Thus in course of time out of the conquerors and the conquered there was long since created a single community. And that community is our German people of to-day, and as it is to-day we love it and cling to it. In the course of its thousand years of history all its very varied characteristics, each of them so different from the other, have become familiar and dear. So great is this community of which we all form a part that we rejoice at every contribution which adds to our wealth." We do not ask to what section of our people we owe our several talents and capacities: each section must guard and foster its special gift. "For one cannot only infer from the fact of race that certain capacities will be present, one can also start from the capacities and infer the race. That means, for instance, that it is not necessary first to discover musically gifted persons through the fact of their race in order to entrust to them the encouragement of music, but Music discloses the race by discovering the capacity."

"Life sets to every single man the question of his descent on the day when he chooses his calling. All individuals in a people learn of the different functions

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of life, but each function awakes a special echo only in one part of the people, in that part which through its origin was originally qualified to be the special representative (*Träger*) of this function and was thereby called to this task. How little the choice of a calling has to do with any weighing of economic profit or loss is most clearly shown by the fact that that choice is allowed to take place at an age when every condition for forming such a judgement is lacking, and more than that: we say in so many words that 'the boy ought to be born for something'. And that can mean only that we leave him to decide unconsciously and yet consciously. Unconsciously, since he is scarcely capable of estimating the material consequences of his choice; consciously, since in place of any such estimation he obeys an inner voice which counsels him more truly than any superficial human understanding could ever do. For what a wonderful thing it is when an eleven-year-old boy in his peasant village begins to draw or carve and cannot tear himself away from a passion which offers him oh! so little practical advantage, and then in the end, as a great master, presents to the nation works which are immortal. That which never moves thousands in their lives casts its spell over hundreds because it corresponds with their inborn talent. The sole interest of a people must be that this voice of inherited talent should always be given a hearing. For this voice gives to the people, not men under the violence of compulsion since they were never inwardly born for such an activity, but men filled with a passion and therefore devoted to their task."

"And just as in all spheres of life we cannot feel any jealousy when those who are specially born thereto, i.e. endowed from the outset, exercise decisive influence, so it is in the sphere of the political safeguarding of that which in the course of the millennia has become for us

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a people. Just as the unmusical person will not feel himself injured or insulted because not he, but one who is musically gifted, composes music or conducts an orchestra, so in every other sphere the appointment of qualified persons cannot be regarded as a slight by those who have no capacities in that field. And in fact this does not occur; only a conscious perversion could breed such madness."

"Starting from the fact that any created thing can be maintained only by the same force which created it, it follows that the body of a people (*Volkskörper*) can be maintained only by those forces which called it into being and which through their capacity for organization welded it together and solidified it. Thus all who love their people and wish for its maintenance must therefore see to it that that part of the people can bring its political capacities into play which formerly was responsible for the political formation and development of this community."

"For he who delivers up the political leadership of the nation to any other force than that which formerly during the course of long periods of time created the nation sooner or later does but open up the way for anyone to seize that leadership."¹

"We cling to our people just as it is: we love it in all its inner many-sidedness and in all the external wealth which has resulted therefrom: we would not that this community should cease to exist in this world simply because the wrong part of this people was entrusted with its political leadership. And that is precisely what has happened. Since the *bourgeoisie*, as a new class, claimed and received the political leadership of the nation, the reasonable organic evolution was interrupted

¹ German: *gibt diese damit früher oder später wieder frei*. I am not sure whether I have rightly understood the sense of these words.

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in the most important sphere of all. The German *bourgeoisie* as a social body¹ was the product of a selection which was based essentially less upon political than upon economic functions. The Liberalistic age through the introduction of money and property as the standard of valuation in the *bourgeoisie* produced a social class (*Schicht*) which corresponded with its own essential character. That many members of this social class did produce outstanding achievements in many spheres not concerned with material interests is not really connected with any valuation based upon the *bourgeois* idea, but rather with those fundamental racial values which survived in them. But in themselves these have no relation to the concept of the *bourgeoisie*; for membership of this social class all that was necessary was talent in the economic sphere which was evidenced by good fortune and a talent in the mental or cultural sphere which similarly could be turned into some form of economic success. In no case for determining membership of this class were such characteristics as valour or heroism² the decisive test. On the contrary: since economic life has for the most part more un-heroic than heroic features, the German *bourgeoisie* had very little heroic about it: it was rather 'economic'. And the *bourgeois* parties were a true reflection of this cast of soul—associations of hucksters, void of any capacity for a real leadership of the people."

"And the people felt that. For that is the remarkable thing. Since from different racial cores a people came into being, each part learned gradually to tolerate the other—so long as it remained within its own sphere. Thus the people tolerates music only when it is good music, that is, when it is practised by that part of the

¹ German: *als gesellschaftliche Substanz.*

² German: *heroische oder heldische Eigenschaften.*

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people which is born for music. It tolerates those engineers only who understand the law of their craft and, thank God! it tolerates only those politicians whose calling is written on their brows."

"Our whole life runs its course between leadership and following.¹ The higher the development of a people the more complicated is its life. In no sphere is man any longer master of himself, his whole life is determined by considerations of others. Everywhere he is led and continuously he must obey. The time for his sleep, the time for his toil is dictated for him by the will of another, and when he begins his morning work that work runs in a channel which others determine and supervise. . . . Each takes his share in this violation of freedom, and yet all this is borne willingly and patiently. In every sphere of our cultural life leadership is readily recognized as soon as it is obvious that it is an inborn capacity. The led observes this not merely through achievement, but he perceives it without any hesitation from a man's behaviour. The boy at school feels instinctively the calling of his teacher: one master he obeys, against others he declares open rebellion. The people tests through resistance in all spheres of life the capacity of leaders and above all in the political field. . . . Just as any company feels itself deserted, unfortunate, and unhappy in spirit when its tried leader falls, so unconsciously every people collapses when its leadership fails. Men justly feel themselves betrayed if they have through the centuries grown great in a community which can no longer be sustained because the part of the community responsible for sustaining it suddenly ceases to do so."

"But with the claim of the German *bourgeoisie* to lead the nation a class of society presented itself to the people as leaders which was never born to the task. And the

¹ German: *zwischen Führung und Gefolgschaft*.

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people recognized the fact and with instinctive certainty rejected its claim. So it became conceivable that an alien race could have the audacity with its primitive watchword to tear open an ancient wound in the midst of our people and through the proletariat could seek to undertake the organization of those who in the absence of leaders truly born to the task had become leaderless."

"And this serves also to explain how it was that a *bourgeoisie* which was not in the least destined for political leadership sought to transfer to the political sphere the methods and usages of economic life. For with the anonymous share in a limited liability company corresponds the anonymous voting-paper, and with the majority of shareholders corresponds the parliamentary coalition!"

"And it was clear that with either of these it was impossible to find any logical, ethical, or moral foundation for the conception of private property. And the farther the age lapsed into these internal contradictions, the easier it was for an alien race, consistently pursuing its purpose, to foster the people's mistrust in its political leadership—a mistrust that had already instinctively arisen—and to shatter completely all confidence in that leadership.¹ But since the *bourgeoisie* had founded itself upon the completely non-political concept of individual property, the opposition amongst the people quite naturally based itself on that section which was and still is quite incapable of creating an organization and therefore suddenly rediscovered in Communism the expression of the most primitive form of existence—a form of expression which had in the dim past been its own. It is thus

¹ A paraphrase representing what I suppose to have been Hitler's meaning. The German text is *das instinktiv rege gewordene Mißtrauen des Volkes in seine politische Führung vollends zu erschüttern*.

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no chance that hand in hand with this there went a retrogression in all spheres of culture—systematically propagated and carried into effect by Communism and its leaders.”

“For the same reason it is also quite natural that this *bourgeoisie*, being a completely inorganic political leadership and possessing no native talent or capacity for its task, must break down in face of the attack of Marxism while there could be no thought of bringing about a change in the situation through the *bourgeoisie* or by means of its political organizations. . . . And thus the question which arose after the collapse of the year 1918 was only this: first, whether there yet remained in our people a sufficiently large core of that part of the race which formerly had begun and effected the creation of our people and which therefore can alone be capable of leading and sustaining the people in the future, and secondly whether one could discover this part and entrust it with the leadership.”

“And it was further clear that, since the new formation of our society had developed out of economic functions, the capacity for political leadership could in no way be presumed to be necessarily identifiable with the social position of the individual German, that is to say, that men drawn from lower economic or social classes might be well fitted to lead the people just as on the other hand members of the highest social classes, especially those who represented economic or financial interests, would have to be rejected. The inborn talent¹ necessary for our purpose—that alone must be decisive; our task was to discover these men out of all the different towns, callings, and classes.”

“This was in truth a Socialistic action, for in so far as I seek, for every function in life, to find from my people

¹ German: *die innere Veranlagung*.

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the man who was born for this task in order to hand over to him in this sphere full responsibility without considering to what economic or social class he belongs, I am acting in the interest of *all*. But if the word 'Socialism' is to have any meaning at all, then that meaning can only be that with iron justice, that is with profound insight, on each man should be placed that share in the maintenance of the people as a whole which corresponds with his inborn talent and his value. This principle is the expression of a lofty justice because it is in itself logical and reasonable; it can be applied to all the functions of life and therefore to the entire sphere of the political leadership of a people."

"The decisive problem which alone remained was thus: What was the method by which one was to find these men who as successors of the former creators of the body of our people and therefore as their heirs could to-day maintain their work? Here there was but one possibility: one could not from the race infer the capacity, but one had to infer from the capacity the racial fitness for the task. But one could establish the fact of capacity from the way in which individual men responded to the new idea which we had to proclaim. This is the infallible method by which to seek the men whom one wishes to find, for each man listens only to the note to which his inmost being is attuned. If you preach private gain all the egoists will join you . . . but if you demand sacrifice and courage, bravery, loyalty, faith, and heroism then that part of the people which calls these virtues its own will join your ranks. And always it was this factor which made history, and the content of that which we embrace under the word 'history' is the formation of peoples and of States and their maintenance."

"And thus it was that in the year 1919 I set forth a

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programme, I defined a tendency which was consciously a blow in the face of the pacifist-democratic world. If there were still in our people men of the kind we needed, then victory was certain. For this fanaticism in decision and in action was bound to draw to itself men of kindred nature. Wherever those who possessed these characteristics might be, they were bound one day to hear the voice which was that of their blood, and willy-nilly they would follow the Movement which was the expression of their own inmost being. That might take five, ten, or twenty years, but gradually there grew up within the State of Democracy the State of Authority, within the Reich of lamentable absurdity a core of fanatical devotion and ruthless determination. There was only one possible danger which might oppose this development—that the opponent might understand the principle, might clearly grasp these ideas and then avoid all opposition, or on the other hand that he might with the last extreme of brutality annihilate the new association at the very beginning and nip it in the bud.”

“But neither one nor the other happened. The time was no longer capable of making a decision and carrying through such an annihilation, nor had it the nerve, or rather it had not sufficient understanding, for a completely passive attitude which should avoid any conflict. Instead it began to tyrannize over the young Movement according to a *bourgeois* standard and thus supported the process of natural selection in the happiest way. After that it was only a question of the time when the leadership of the nation would fall into the hands of this hardened human material. And so I was able to wait for fourteen years, ever more and more assured that our hour must come. For in these years just as a magnet draws to itself the steel splinters so did our Movement gather together from all classes and callings and walks

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of life the forces in the German people which can form and also maintain States."

"Once more it was proved that one may well be able to control a great business and yet be incapable of leading even a group of eight men. And on the other hand it was shown that from peasants' rooms and workmen's huts came the born leaders, for that was the wonderful thing in this period when we were propagating our idea—that its waves spread over the whole country and drew man after man, woman after woman under its spell. While *bourgeois* politicians were asking questions about our programme they never dreamed that hundreds of thousands were devoting themselves to this Movement simply because their inner receiver was adjusted to the wave-length of this idea. . . . And therein lies the Movement's mighty mission of reconciliation between the classes. A new valuation of men begins—not according to the standards of Liberalistic thought but according to the measures which Nature has determined. And the more the opponent believed that he could check the development through terrorism applied only in such doses as his character allowed him to use, the more he encouraged it. Nietzsche's word that a blow which does not fell a strong man only strengthens him found its verification a thousandfold. Every blow increased our defiance, every persecution increased our resolution, and that which did fall away proved in its falling away to be the greatest good fortune for the Movement."

"And gradually the nation felt the rise of a new political leadership and more and more it yielded itself to that leadership, because it instinctively perceived in it something of that force to which formerly it owed its birth. The very people that in the Liberal epoch lay in continual strife with its leaders now stands more and

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more as one man behind its new leaders. The miracle in which our opponents refused to believe has become accomplished fact. . . . Out of forty-five million adult men three million fighters have organized themselves: they represent the political leadership of the nation. . . . Into their hands the people in full confidence has placed its destiny. But thereby the organization has undertaken a solemn obligation: it must see to it that this core whose mission it is to safeguard the stability of the political leadership in Germany must be preserved for all time."

"The task of the Movement is to secure that through a skilful method in the choice of recruits only those are received into membership who will never change the inmost character of these forces which sustain our nation. It must realize that it is not the number of members of this core which counts but only its inner worth and thus its inner homogeneity. The Movement must make it clear that the selection of members in the future must proceed according to the same rigorous principles which a stern fate has imposed upon us in the past."

"That which was formerly in part secured by the compulsion exercised by our opponents must now in the future be replaced by our own rigour. We must never hesitate to remove from this community anything which in its essential character does not belong to it. We must therefore in the course of time make more severe the conditions for membership, not lower or weaken them."

"And this core of the Movement must never forget that it has to seek its reinforcements from the whole body of the people. It has in unceasing work to lead the whole nation to adopt its principles, i.e. it must secure their living allegiance. Only through this unbroken work with the people for the people and about the

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people will a really close tie be formed, only so will it gain the capacity to recognize that part of the people which will provide it with its selected material. For those charged with the selection of members capable of political leadership must keep most careful watch to see that no real genius is living in the people without being observed and received into the ranks."

"If the class of the political leaders of a nation overlooks or disregards those in the people who have inborn talents, then that class itself must bear the responsibility if that inborn talent at length creates its own field of activity, even if it were only like Spartacus to organize the slaves. In the long run it is not through any enforced respect for an incapable leadership which has become unworthy of its position that the born genius can be forced to refuse obedience to the imperious command of its own ego. The people has the right to demand that in the sphere of politics as in all other spheres of public life its ablest sons should not be neglected". . . .

In closing his speech Hitler impressed upon the officials of the Party their responsibility for the consistent application and realization of these principles. "Our life," he said, "is transitory, and our immortality in this world rests only in the rightness of the principles to which we have entrusted the life of our people. The present can give us no more of our people's love and loyalty than it has already granted to us. The future will one day weigh us with the same measure with which we ourselves thought of the future. Therefore may our God preserve us from those faults which have their foundation in human self-seeking—may we never take the successes of the present without regard for their consequences in the future."

"In so far then as we devote ourselves to the care of our own blood—that blood which has been entrusted to

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us by destiny—we are at the same time doing our best to help to safeguard other peoples from diseases which spring from race to race, from people to people. If in West or Central Europe but one single people were to fall a victim to Bolshevism, this poison would continue its ravages, it would devastate the oldest, the fairest civilization which can to-day be found upon this earth."

"Germany by taking upon itself this conflict does but fulfil, as so often before in her history, a truly European mission."¹

At the Führertagung held in June 1933 Hitler said:

"The people which understands best how to set every fellow countryman in the place for which he is in a way born will produce the greatest achievement in the life of peoples." Germany has not in the political sphere produced a hierarchy of leaders, though this has been done in almost all other spheres. This is due to the fact that in the last century political leadership was more and more entrusted to a class which had arisen from purely economic successes. Political capacity is essentially a gift for organization and thus is clearly distinguished from the capacity needed in the economic sphere. . . . The State in the present century has been governed almost exclusively on the maxims with which one conducts a limited liability company and thus necessarily the people has become hostile to this kind of leadership. What was needed was the building up of a school of practical life which should stand open to all those who felt themselves called to the political struggle (*Kampf*). . . . Just as a magnet draws from a composite mass only the steel chips so should a Movement directed exclusively towards political struggle draw to itself only those natures which are called to political leadership.

¹ V.B., 5 Sept. 1933.

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"It is now the task of the National Socialist Movement to build up organically a political leadership parallel with the leadership in cultural and economic life. To lead a nation which longs for clear and capable political leadership can always only be the task of a leading minority. He who puts in the foreground this conception of an organic selection of leaders is thinking historically. When we acted in this way we were not keeping in view merely the present: our aim was that posterity should be forced to admit that the men of our day had created foundations which would guarantee for centuries the life of successive generations. And that, too, our generation owes to its dead. We could not be content with half measures which could not justify themselves before the judgement-seat of history; we had to perform our task completely. There is only one tolerance which we can practise—that towards the eternal life of our people: the parties could not be tolerated. Our task is to build up in Germany a hierarchy of political leadership which can be fitted into the fundamental laws of the nation's life. If we give the leadership to those who have a natural right to lead, then we shall fulfil a law alike of the highest reason and of the highest justice. The German Revolution will not be complete until the whole German people has been fashioned anew, until it has been organized anew and has been reconstructed."

"Our aim is to draw from the midst of the people a class of leaders which shall be hard as steel. When in this way the people has been rightly trained through its political leadership, then the social spirit will come to its own, for he who thinks only in terms of economics will never be able to think and act truly socially. When a Movement has won a State for these principles, when it is determined to retain power through the laws of such

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leadership, then this State can never be overthrown. As is the leadership, so is the people and so is its destiny."¹

On 1 July 1933, when the *Stahlhelm* through *Seldte* promised its loyalty to the National Socialist Movement, Hitler spoke again on leadership.² Revolutions in the past had with very few exceptions failed because their leaders had not realized that the essential thing was not the assumption of power but the education of men. Revolutions could be regarded as successful only if they set their stamp on an age. The important thing was that the place of a defeated Government should be forthwith occupied by another new authority. Questions of leadership, socialism, authority all went back to the same root—blood and national character (*Volkstum*). "Our revolution can have a meaning only if we turn our recognition of this fact into reality and on that basis mould the life of the German people." The choice of leaders must be determined by the test of blood. "Socialism is nothing else than the natural ordering of a people according to its inborn capacities. If they were successful in forming such a class of political leaders with a claim to leadership based on blood and descent, on capacity and natural gifts, then the German Revolution would mould the features of the German future for centuries. The concrete aim of our revolution is to establish internal order as a pre-condition for the expansion of German power in the world without." The task of SA. Leadership was the education of the German in the spirit of National Socialism.³ Spartan simplicity and hardness against one-

¹ *V.B.*, 19-20 June 1933. Only a summary of this speech is given, and I am not sure how far the summary reproduces Hitler's own wording.

² At Reichenhall, 1 July 1933.

³ Cf. "To-day we lead the whole people and thus there arises for us the gigantic task of educating the millions which in their hearts

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self must characterize the leaders so that the led might subject themselves willingly and readily to authority.¹

In a speech to Gauleiter in Berlin on 13 July 1933 Hitler said that they had been bound to conquer political power rapidly and with one blow; in the economic sphere other principles of development must carry the day. Here progress must be made step by step without any radical breaking up of existing conditions which would endanger the foundations of their own life. It was impossible to build up German economic life with bureaucratic constructions. "The exploitation of the capacities of individuals has made us great, and only by the same means can our great work of reconstruction be successful." That an inferior achievement should prevail over a superior achievement would not be tolerated: the welfare of the German people demanded this. The problem to be solved was the protection of the interests of the whole society. Achievement must determine duties and rights both in the economic and political spheres. The tempo of the influence which they could exercise upon the country's economic life, and upon appointments to economic posts was therefore dependent upon the building up of a succession of economic leaders. . . . It was a principle of the National Socialists not to remove anyone from his post until they had a more capable person, proved by his practical achievement, to

*do not yet belong to us so that they may become soldiers of this Third Reich, soldiers of our outlook on the world." Speech at Leipzig, 16 July 1933: V.B., 18 July 1933. In another speech on the same day Hitler said that what would determine the future of the nation was the question whether they could bring in spirit and in heart 65 millions of German men and women into the world of ideas of National Socialism. "This movement is not theory or empty illusion: it is the confession of the millions that they are brothers and sisters." V.B., *ibid.**

¹ *V.B.*, 3 July 1933.

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put in that post. . . . The only thing which interested him, as leader, in economic questions was the task of the future: to give work once more to the German worker and to restore his full power as a consumer.¹

*At Berchtesgaden on 6 August 1933, in an address to Leaders of the Party, Hitler said that "order in our own house is in the last resort the decisive factor which will determine our position in the world. The essential thing is that supremacy in the State shall be guaranteed by a stable institution which shall be secure from the chances and changes of the moment. The power of the Movement must therefore be independent of persons and established for all time. Thus an organization is necessary so that from it the leadership may be continually renewed and supplemented. The Party will build up for itself a hierarchy of leaders in a senate of the oldest, most trustworthy and most loyal comrades. They must think in terms of really large periods of time, for their mission was to guarantee the life of the people. Membership of the Party must mean not enjoyment but sacrifice: this heroic idea of the Movement must dominate the whole people."*²

In a speech at Godesberg (19 August 1933) he said: "This hierarchy of leaders must hold together the people as in a vice."³ "Their task was to stamp upon Germany the new world outlook so durably that it would become the element of cohesion within the German people."⁴

¹ *V.B.*, 14 July 1933.

² *V.B.*, 7 Aug. 1933. Cf. "The leadership must be as heroic as the demands it makes of the people". Godesberg, 19 Aug. 1933: *V.B.*, 22 Aug. 1933.

³ *V.B.*, 22 Aug. 1933.

⁴ *Ibid.*

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*In the Proclamation read to the Parteitag at Nuremberg on 1 September 1933 Hitler said: "The National Socialist Movement must profess its faith in that heroism which is content to face all opposition and every trial rather than for a moment to be false to the principles which it has recognized to be right. The Movement must be filled with one fear alone—the fear lest the time should ever come when it could be charged with dishonesty or thoughtlessness. . . . The Government of the nation must never harden into a purely bureaucratic machine, it must ever remain a living leadership."*¹

In an address to Gauleiter in Berlin (2 February 1934) Hitler said that their task now was not merely to permeate the State with their National Socialist outlook on the world, but to build up the entire administration in the spirit of the victorious Movement until it became a close organic whole, pulsing with life. If the National Socialist Revolution against the "November-State" was bound to come because this State, which was alien to the people, had erected dams against the flood of the nation's life, the National Socialist State must so organize itself that the intimacy of its inner association with the people should naturally and necessarily guarantee its permanence. As the stable scaffolding for such an organization of the State the leaders needed a guard of reliable political functionaries, a body which would enable the leaders to carry farther into practical action in all spheres the ideas of the National Socialist Movement. Only with such an instrument, always ready to strike, with men into whose very being the Party's outlook on the world had been kneaded, men penetrated through and through by a consciousness of loyalty to duty—only with such a force could the capacity to command amongst the leaders

¹ *F.Z.*, 2 Sept. 1933.

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have its full effect upon those subordinated to them. "When we shall have created for the National Socialist State such a closely knit body—its completion will naturally take time—then this will form an achievement of extraordinary significance for the future of our people. The means through which the fusion of the State and of our outlook on the world will be effected is the Party: in the great community of National Socialism, supported by the whole people, the Party must form a carefully chosen Order of Leadership designed to guarantee for all time the existence of the National Socialist State. What the State demands from the people, that in its essence (*in komprimiertester Form*) this Order of a sworn community of leaders, in unconditional subjection to its own laws, will realize within its own body. In this community, bound together for better or for worse, when other factors of constitutional permanence are no longer present, the absolute continuity of the development of the German nation will be secured for all time. When once this hierarchy of leadership has been placed on an indestructible foundation, then, too, the whole question of the leadership of the Party is solved and this is assured for ever. For when once this new leadership-organization of the German people has been set up through a single creative achievement it will henceforth supply from its membership an unbroken succession of personalities fitted to undertake the supreme leadership of the State. He who in time to come shall be presented to the Movement as Leader will always find in the Party an instrument of unexampled cohesion, serving the idea which inspires the Movement in blind obedience: in it he will find also the sure guarantor of a distant future. . . . The body of the leaders of the Movement will, like Crusaders, loyally support every decision of the Party. . . . In the harmony between Party and State lies in the last

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resort the strength which will enable the State to master all its problems."¹

In a speech delivered at the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Parteitag at Weimar (3 July 1936) Hitler said:

"May the German nation never forget that the hardness (*Härte*) of a people is not tested when its leadership can point to visible successes but rather in hours of apparent failures. As long as a leadership is blessed by good fortune, every weakling can profess his loyalty. Only in the hours when good fortune seems to hide her face are the really valuable men declared. Only then will loyalty turn the scale. May the German people in the future retain these virtues! Then with these principles which have been tried in the past, with these fundamental beliefs of our Movement, it will march into a great future! To-day, together with my thanksgiving, there is but one petition I would address to the Almighty: that He would bless our people in our Movement. For this is my most sacred conviction: so long as the National Socialist Movement stands firm and strong in Germany, so long will Germany be strong and firm. And if ever this Movement should decline, then will Germany, too, once more decline."²

Hitler spoke once more of the meaning of Leadership in the National Socialist State when in Munich on 24 February 1934 he addressed the Old Guard of the Movement in the Hofbräuhaus. The "hierarchy of Leadership" would give to the political development of Germany

¹ F.Z., 4 Feb. 1934. I have translated the summary of the speech as given here. I do not know how far it can be relied upon for the precise wording of Hitler's speech.

² V.B., 5 July 1936.

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stability and security: then Germany would no longer fall a victim to evilly disposed speculators and to self-seeking interests. . . . It was in this hall in the early days that we National Socialists proclaimed: "With the spirit we wish to win the nation, but we wish also to subdue with the fist anyone who dares through terrorism to do violence to the spirit. . . ." "It is our wish for the future to be nothing else than the people's delegates and so to fashion our lives that we can take our stand as decent and honourable men before the eyes of every German. It is essential that the Movement should ever keep in view, year by year, this profession of faith, for only so will the association of the Leadership with the whole German people be permanently secured: it is in this association that there lies the firmest guarantee for the future. . . . Years ago we said: 'Our task is the conquest of power in Germany'; to-day we say: 'The task of the Movement is the conquest of the German for the power of this State.' "

Later Hitler, speaking of the unique success of the plebscite of November 1933, said: "We are convinced that such success will always be ours if we continue to fight and struggle for this people, and we are therefore also convinced that we must always continue from time to time to appeal to this people. We see in the case of another State what it leads to when one no longer has the courage to appeal to the nation and ask for an expression of its confidence.¹ . . . We wish therefore in the future, too, at least once in every year to give to the people the possibility of expressing its judgement upon us. . . . If the judgement is unfavourable, then no one must say, 'The people is at fault': rather he must know that the Movement has grown indolent, the Movement is no

¹ A reference presumably to Austria.

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longer fighting on right lines, it has lost its contact with the people and must learn its lesson afresh of going to the people once more. Therein lies our strength. No politician can face the world with more than he has behind him." If fate has robbed us of our arms, we are under the greater obligation at least to gather about us the people in its entirety.¹

In his Proclamation at the opening of the Party Congress at Nuremberg on 6 September 1938, Hitler said:

"To many who look back over the years that lie behind us, the path of the National Socialist Movement and the rise of the Reich may seem dreamlike and unreal. One day, perhaps, men will speak of the miracle that Providence wrought for us. But however it came about, in the beginning of this miracle stood faith—faith in the eternal German people!"

"If once, as an unknown soldier of the World War, I entered on the path which led me to the head of the nation and which to-day brings me before you once again, I owe the courage to make that audacious decision solely to my own faith in the worth of my people. I feel that I must say here to-day that it was fortunate for me that in the years of my youth and during my time as a soldier I had the opportunity of learning to know only the people, for it alone gave me faith, and the memory of it has sustained me through all difficulties and mishaps."

"If at that time, instead of my knowledge of the people, I had had the knowledge which came to me later of its intellectual leaders and especially of its *bourgeois* political leaders, their social ethic, and their public and private failings, I, too, perhaps should have felt doubts of the German people and its future. But what

¹ *F.Z.*, 27 Feb. 1934.

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bore me up in those bitter days and weeks of collapse was not my knowledge of the political and military leaders of Germany or of the intellectual classes (*Schichten*), so far as personalities were concerned: it was my knowledge of the German rifleman, my knowledge of the German front-line soldier, my knowledge of those massed millions of German workmen and peasants from which this steel-hard core of the German people was made. . . . For on this point there can be no doubt. The human and moral worth of the leadership of the nation in those days did not even approximately correspond to the worth of those whom it led. Ninety-nine per cent. of the bravery and courage lay with the riflemen, and with them alone. Barely one per cent. could be claimed by the leadership of the Reich and people."

"But I formed the decision to build up for the Reich a new leadership, which should be characterized by just those fundamental qualities which we expect from the people itself, and which we found that they possessed a thousandfold. In November 1918, and long before that, a ruling class of society had proved itself incapable of leadership. The problem to be solved, then, stood out clear as day before my eyes. A new organization of leadership must be built up. Every thought of rescuing the nation again through its old organizations meant the belief that, against all laws of reason and experience, proved weakness would suddenly and by chance be capable of changing into a new force. For more than four years this German people furnished a proof of its inner worth such as history had never given before. Unflinchingly regiments lined up and shed their blood. Batteries kept on firing to the end. Officers and men of the Fleet, grasping their tattered colours, went down into the deep with songs of German faith upon their lips. And in contrast with this gallant demonstration of

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endless heroism stood the devastating cowardice of the leaders of the Reich and nation. While for more than four years a front of heroes was proving its worth in efforts a thousand times repeated, not once did the leadership at home find the strength for a decision of equal magnitude and boldness. Bravery—it was all on the side of the riflemen, while all the cowardice was concentrated in the organized political leadership of the nation. Any attempt to set Germany on her feet again could in such circumstances succeed only if this political ruling class were rooted out and destroyed. For this purpose the way to a new principle of selecting the leaders must be found. But with this vanished all possibility of wishing to mould the future history of Germany in the framework of the old Parties, and with their help. During those nights when I resolved finally to become a politician, the future of the German world of Parties was also decided.”¹

Hitler went on to reproach those who always saw difficulties in the future, though the history of Germany in the past seemed to them only what one might have expected. From such people, during the early struggles of the Party, he had received neither understanding nor support. “When I attempted to make bravery of spirit and joy in responsibility the leading values in the German Reich, they considered it a pernicious venture; for in their eyes audacity was but unreason, while in every piece of cowardice they imagined that they saw traces of wisdom! In the past, it is true, they allowed that the virtues of a courageous spirit had merit, but they fancied themselves and the present time superior to such primitive exhibitions of emotion. They spoke, it is true, of Prussian virtues, but they forgot that these Prussian virtues were based, not on any certificate of birth, but exclusively

¹ Cf. *MK.*, p. 225 (German), p. 178 (English).

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upon an incomparable attitude of mind. They cited the names of great Prussian heroes, and sought to refer to them on every opportunity that offered itself. But they would not admit that all their own cleverness fell under that heading which the Prussian Clausewitz, in his Confessions, summarily and collectively defined as 'coward-ice'. They had therefore no understanding for the unknown fighter¹ who now at last sought to make the courage of the front-line soldier tell even in the leadership of German policy, and who for this purpose was raising a Party in which these front-line soldiers found their first, their most striking, and their sole representation in politics. They either did not or would not understand that even for the political leader, and thus for the whole political leadership of a nation, firmness of character, a stout heart, a bold spirit, the highest joy in responsibility, a ruthless power of decision, and the toughest endurance are qualities more important than any presumed abstract knowledge!"

"And because they regarded these virtues as unimportant, their own organizations which were penetrated with their spirit were incapable of solving the domestic problems and could not therefore solve the external problems. While they regarded National Socialism as merely a fresh splitting up of forces, it was in fact the beginning of the greatest purification and at the same time of the greatest unification in our history. It was the beginning of a new process of selection in the leadership of the nation."²

In a speech delivered at Hamburg on 17 August 1934 Hitler said:

"The Government of the German people can be

¹ Hitler "*der Namenlose*", MK., p. 226.

² V.B., 7 Sept. 1938.

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responsible only to its people and never to one individual group of interests. Only if it holds this sovereign position can it be regarded and recognized as the impartial and just leader of the nation. Every member of the people must be able to be confident that his Government is as much at his service as at the service of any other. . . ."

"It is a task of great difficulty to constitute such a Government, but just because of that fact it is all the more necessary that it should be protected from all attacks which might damage its sovereign authority. For the whole people must be interested in securing that its Government (*Staatsführung*) can in independence represent its vital interests. The Government will be supported by two factors: in the political sphere by the community of the people organized in the National Socialist Movement, and in the military sphere by the army (*Wehrmacht*). It will be my aim always in the future to secure the recognition of the two principles that the sole representative of the political will within the nation shall be the National Socialist Party and that the army shall be the only bearer of arms within the Reich. On the loyalty to the State of these two organizations rest its strength and power. In the maintenance of this construction the whole German people must be profoundly interested, for it secures to the German State both in the domestic and in the foreign sphere an indestructible stability. . . . It guarantees the security and permanence of the Government and thus enables it to carry out a long-term policy. It gives it independence from carping criticism, and it will thus be able to make decisions which are necessary despite the possibility that such measures may prove to be misconceived. Above all it gives to the poorer classes of the people, workmen, peasants, and the humbler members of the middle class the security that they are governed by a régime which

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is not pledged to support one-sided capitalist interests. Further, it gives to the Government the power to intervene ruthlessly whenever abuses are disclosed. Only under such a régime is it possible to hang even the big thieves instead of letting them escape. At the same time this construction also gives to the Reich the guarantee for a worthy representation of its vital interests in the field of foreign policy."¹

¹ *F.Z.*, 19 Aug. 1934.

16. CRITICISM AND LIBERTY

In his open Letter to Brüning of 13 December 1931 Hitler wrote: that he knew of the view once held that Governments have the right to act while the people has the duty to keep silence. But even before the War "Germany obstinately maintained that besides the right of the Government to act the governed had the right to express their views. Besides the duty of the governed to recognize the Government, there is also the duty of the Government to pay the most favourable attention to the criticisms of the governed."

"Especially since the Revolution of the year 1918 the German people believes itself to possess a justification for criticism and for public criticism too—all the more so since this right of free speech, which, it is maintained, was previously incompletely admitted, contributed to overthrow the old system". . . .

"You yourself, Mr. Chancellor, jealously see to it that only the Government is permitted liberty of action in Germany; and thus there arises of necessity the limitation of the opposition to the sphere of criticism, of speech."

"If present-day Germany were able to claim as her own an Oliver Cromwell, a George Washington, or an Otto von Bismarck then at the present time all three would have to content themselves in their opposition to the present Government with bringing their views to the knowledge of the nation solely through the spoken word or through writing. But if these three to-day were allowed only to speak, that in very truth is not to say that the content of their speeches would have less value than the decrees of the Government, Mr. Chancellor! . . ."

"The Government, Mr. Chancellor, can act. It can

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turn the flight of its thoughts and ideas into realities through legislation.¹ It can prove the rightness of its views by deeds. And it takes jealous care that no one else shall enjoy such possibilities. What then, Mr. Chancellor, remains for us except speech, whereby we can bring to the knowledge of the German nation our views on the ruinous character of your plans, on the errors which underlie them, and of the disasters which must ensue?"²

*It is interesting to note that at the time of the Presidential election in 1932 Hitler appealed to von Hindenburg as President to stop the Social Democrats from asserting that Hitler's success would mean "the destruction of all civic liberties, of the Press, of political, trade union and cultural organization."*³

"If you are elected" (to the Presidency), said Mr. D. Sefton Delmer, correspondent of the "Daily Express", in an interview on 11 March 1932, "will you continue the system of government by emergency decrees?"

"No," said Hitler, "No, I consider that government by emergency decree is a crime against democracy. It is absolutely illegal. Emergency decrees are only justified in rare emergencies."

*When asked what he would regard as a rare emergency "the answer came as quick as a flash: 'A Polish invasion of Germany.'"*⁴

¹ German: *Sie kann den Flug der Gedanken und Ideen auf dem Wege der Gesetzgebung verwirklichen.* This metaphor cannot easily be rendered in English.

² *Hitlers Auseinandersetzung mit Brüning*, Munich, 1932, pp. 49-51 (and cf. pp. 33-4, 259 *supra*).

³ Cf. *The Times*, 29 Feb. 1932.

⁴ *Daily Express*, 12 Mar. 1932.

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In his speech at Regensburg on 6 June 1937 Hitler said:
"Against the Liberal catchword 'Freedom of criticism' I have set as our watchword 'Freedom of Achievement and of Capacity'."¹

*On 8 February 1933 Hitler addressed the editors of those newspapers which were favourable to the new Government on the extraordinary regulation for the limitation of the freedom of the Press. He said that he was opposed to any "gagging of the Press". "There were," he said, "different possibilities for a negative majority in Germany: but any other positive majority than that represented by the present Government he could not see. Therefore he could assure them that in ten years there would be no more Marxism in Germany."*²

On 15 February 1933, in a speech at Stuttgart, Hitler replied to the criticism of Herr Bolz, President of Württemberg³ (Centre Party): "Herr Bolz says that he must condemn the gagging (Knebelung) of liberty by the present Government. Was then the founding of the Republic itself an act of the free will of the German nation, or was it not rather an act which overrode by a surprise attack the free will of the German nation? Since the Revolution, has liberty found an entry into Germany? For almost fourteen years our Movement, which sought only Germany's resurrection and liberation, has experienced nothing but oppression and persecution. To-day, as Chancellor, I did not need to do anything else in opposition to the enemies of the nationalist cause in Germany than to use all the means which you formerly employed

¹ *F.Z.* 8 June 1937.

² *Die Welt am Abend*, 9 Feb. 1933. In the light of later events the comment of this paper on Hitler's statement is interesting: "In this he has reckoned without his host—the working classes."

³ Superseded by a National Socialist in March 1933.

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against the friends of the nation. I only needed to issue a law for the protection of the national State such as that which you formerly made against us for the protection of the Republic. All that the present Government had to do was to repeat word for word the measures against the Press which for fourteen years were used against our Press; they had only to copy out these regulations and turn them against their authors."¹

*In March 1933, after the Reichstag Fire, Mr. D. Sefton Delmer, the correspondent of the "Daily Express", asked Hitler: "Is this suspension of liberty to be a permanent state of affairs?" Hitler replied: "No, when the Communist menace is stamped out, the normal order of things shall return. Our laws were too liberal for me to be able to deal properly and swiftly with this Bolshevik underworld. But I myself am only too anxious for the normal state of affairs to be restored as soon as possible. First, however, we must crush Communism out of existence."*²

On 6 April 1933, in an address to the representatives of the foreign Press, Hitler said: If one was to estimate aright the course of the National Socialist Revolution two facts must be remembered: firstly, one must recall "the intolerable terrorization especially of the National Socialist Party during the years of its fight and struggle. . . . The three hundred dead and over 40,000 wounded are the bloody witnesses of the character of this régime, while hundreds of thousands together with wife and children were doomed to economic ruin. And, in the second place, against this stand the unheard of discipline and the unexampled self-control of the victorious revolution.

¹ *F.Z.*, 17 Feb. 1933, cf. pp. 239 *supra*.

² *Daily Express*, 3 Mar. 1933.

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It is not only that the retribution has borne no relation to the sufferings which have been endured, but, further, even when retribution was inflicted, it was only given free rein through the necessity for breaking down the November-System."

"... The Government must carry through such measures as it recognizes to be necessary for the State and the people, even if unreason takes the place which reason should occupy and predetermined opposition and even hatred take the place of ready co-operation. . . . The interests of the individual must be brought into harmony with the interests of the whole community. . . . We are endeavouring to-day to restore and fashion a single outlook, a single will in the nation, and thus the Press can pursue no other end than this: its reporting, its information, its counsels, and its conscious influence—all of these can be of real service only if they co-operate in the effort to attain to the goal which is set before our whole life-struggle. The right to criticize must be recognized as an obligation to truth, and truth can only be found within the framework of the task of maintaining a people's life. Never must criticism be an end in itself. He who frees criticism from the moral duty of placing itself in the service of a general, recognized, and pursued life-task is treading the path which leads to Nihilism and Anarchy. It is completely out of the question that under the cover of criticism support should be given to activities which one can only characterize as treason to the interests of a people's own life. . . . No Government can destroy a Press if this Press serves truth and in so doing serves the vital interests of the people. No Press can in the long run successfully wage war against the truth, for even in the event of victory the Press itself in the last resort is destroyed"....

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The Government is faced by a vast task—the salvation of the people from utter collapse. "We invite every German and every German organization—including the German Press—to join us in the accomplishment of this task. But we know that it can be successfully accomplished only if the people gives to the Government that strength which lies in a united will, a united confidence. In a time such as the present criticism cannot be the highest duty: that is rather to be found in the formation of a unity of spirit and of will. It is not a well-ordered State that we have to govern: our task is to erect a well-ordered State out of chaos."

"It is to be hoped that the German Press will recognize the greatness of this historical task and will devote itself to that task. The Press, overmastered by the significance of this historical event, will then take its stand where to-day it can alone stand. By so doing it will help to build up the German people and German life into a sure support for the maintenance of our life, and that will be not only to our own happiness but also to the blessing of the rest of the world. The greatness of the task which is set us to-day demands courage and perseverance. However much one may expect that a Government should possess both these virtues, yet the Government may in its turn expect that all factors which help to mould public opinion should do their best to foster the same virtues in the people. The people must continue to understand the necessity for making great decisions. It is essential to master the nervous hysteria which leads to measures which are constantly being changed until the Government itself is changed in character. People and Government must mutually understand each other. The measures adopted by one side must be comprehended by the other. Persistence and patience both must be equally taken to heart."

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"The Press should draw from the past the lesson of the necessity for co-operation in training the people's judgement in accordance with the principles of those eternally valid laws which govern life. The Press must itself never fall into the error of wishing to judge an historic achievement on the basis of the confusing succession of single happenings: it must take the greatness of the task which is set us by our time as the basis from which it judges the single happenings, the single phenomena of our day. Only so will it avoid the damage to its own prestige which will result if within a brief space of time its judgement of these events which are fashioning life anew is proved to be false."

"On the other hand, it is impossible to estimate the service which can be rendered to a people by a Press which, filled with an inner consciousness of its high mission, continues unmoved to warn and lead the people."

"Gentlemen, the age of parliamentary democratic disintegration is passing. Alongside of organic leadership in the sphere of the army and the administration, of economic and scientific life, &c., there is being developed an equally organic leadership in the sphere of the political struggle. Once more the law of responsibility going upwards and of authority descending downwards is coming to be recognized. The leadership regards the people as the final, the supreme authority to which it is responsible; it is no chance that the period which lies behind us was least of all able to bring the people into a really inner living relationship to its Government and that we, gentlemen, as anti-democrats, are on the other hand endeavouring to find this link between us and the people."

"In the course of the years to come you will see and recognize the power of our appeal to the German people,

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and then you will understand why we are in our hearts specially determined to use to the full those means which can bind together in the same spirit both people and Government. It is precisely for this reason that we recognize perhaps better than our predecessors the importance of the Press."¹

In his speech to the Association of German Newspaper Proprietors on 28 June 1933 Hitler said that in his judgement the Press could not exist if it did not come to a clear decision upon the policy which was now to be regarded as decisively victorious in Germany, and which would determine Germany's future. He welcomed the fact that proprietors of newspapers in Germany had already of their own accord come to terms with these facts and were willing to adopt this standpoint. . . . It was not intended that there should be only Government newspapers in Germany: this would be in complete contradiction with the Government's general economic views, but "one must of course lay upon every individual the duty of co-operation in the spirit of the great weltanschaulich line. . . . A sound economic life could arise only when political disputes were at last decided. The dice were now cast and he thanked the newspaper proprietors that they themselves were ready to recognize that decision. The more completely Germany supported that decision, the sooner would that firm foundation be created on which economic life could be re-erected. . . ." He appealed to proprietors of newspapers to rally 100 per cent. behind the solution which had now been found in Germany: . . . that solution was unalterable as it was

¹ It is not easy to turn some of these sentences into tolerable English. These passages have been translated as representative of the involved abstract style which is at times characteristic of Hitler's oratory. German text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 252-5.

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Fate's decision; . . . he regarded it as important that private initiative should be unconditionally maintained. . . . The battle of the National Socialists was directed only against that Press which had failed to recognize its duty to the nation and which refused to perform that duty—only against such a Press!¹

In his Proclamation read at the Parteitag at Nuremberg on 1 September 1933 Hitler said:

"It will be one of the most important tasks of the Movement to declare a relentless battle against the destroyers of the people's power of resistance and to wage this battle until they are utterly annihilated or subdued. In view of the international expansion of those who are the chief ferments of this decomposition, and because of the special dangers resulting therefrom for Germany, it is all the more necessary that we should take care to drive out from the domestic life of our people every trace of the spirit of doubt, of despondency, or of *laissez-faire*. Only if the people has an intimate sympathy with the principles and methods which inspire and move the organization of its State will there grow up a living organism instead of a dead, because purely formal and mechanistic, organization". . . .

"We are following paths for which there is hardly any model in history. It is thus at any time possible that one or another measure that we take to-day may prove unworkable. It is thus all the more necessary to put a stop to that carping criticism which tends only towards disintegration. It is no matter whether a thousand critics live or die, what does matter is whether a people shall be conquered and ruined and in consequence as

¹ This account is translated from a summary of the speech printed in *V.B.*, 30 June 1933. I am not certain how much of this summary reproduces the precise wording of Hitler's speech.

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a community lose its life. All those who since November 1918 through their mad or criminal action hurled our people into their present misfortunes, those who proclaimed such phrases as 'Freedom', 'Brotherliness', and 'Equality' as the *leitmotif* of their action—they do not share to-day the fate and the sufferings of the victims of their policy! Millions of our German fellow-countrymen through them have been given over to the hardest stress imaginable. Need, misery, hunger do violence to their existence. Those who misled them indeed enjoy abroad the freedom to slander their own people for foreign gold, the liberty to deliver them up to the hatred of their neighbours: they would, if they could, see them attacked and shot down, defenceless, on the battle-field."

"The rise and the astonishing final victory of the National Socialist Movement would never have happened if the Party had ever formulated the principle that in our ranks everyone can do as he likes. This watchword of democratic freedom led only to insecurity, indiscipline, and at length to the downfall and destruction of all authority. While we deny the parliamentary-democratic principle, we champion most definitely the right of the people itself to determine its own life. In the parliamentary system we do not recognize any true expression of the will of the people, but we see in it a perversion, if not a violation, of that will. The will of a people to maintain its existence appears first and in its most useful form in its best brains. It is important that the self-assurance of the leaders of the whole organization in their decisions should arouse in the members and followers of the Party an untroubled confidence. It is conceivable that even wise men should not in questions of special difficulty be able to reach complete clarity. But it means a capitulation of all leadership if it hands

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over precisely these questions to public discussion and allows the public to state its views."¹

*Hitler, in his speech before the Generalrat der Wirtschaft (20 September 1933), attacked "the professional critics who practised criticism for its own sake and did not explain how improvements could be made."*² The Government was grateful for good and useful suggestions. But he deprecated a form of criticism which criticized everything except itself. If the Government after full consideration announces a measure, then everyone must support it."

In his New Year Proclamation on 1 January 1934 Hitler said:

"The fight against the features which marked the collapse in religion, in ethics, and in morals would have been purposeless if we had not raised the German Press from the level of a work of disintegration which was often positively systematic and had made of it a real institution for the education of the masses in the best sense of the word."⁴

Mr. Louis P. Lochner of the Associated Press in an interview asked what Hitler's attitude was to criticism whether in the Press or otherwise: Hitler answered:

"Do you know that I have collected round me a whole staff of specialists on questions of economic, social, and political life whose sole duty is criticism? Before we issue a law I show the draft to these men and ask them,

¹ *F.Z.*, 2 Sept. 1933.

² With this compare Hitler's earlier statement that the opposition has a sovereign right to criticism: it has no duty to offer constructive proposals. (See pp. 110, 496-7 *supra*.)

³ German: *muß alles hinter eine solche Maßnahme treten.* *F.Z.*, 22 Sept. 1933.

⁴ *V.B.*, 2 Jan. 1934.

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'Please, is anything wrong about this?' I do not wish that they should simply say 'Yes' to everything. They have no value for me if they do not criticize and tell me what faults might possibly appear in the application of our measures."

"Just in the same way I have no desire that the Press should simply print only that which is handed out to them. It is no pleasure to read fifteen papers when they all use practically the same words. In the course of time our editors will once again be so schooled that they will be able to make valuable contributions of their own to the national reconstruction. Of one thing, however, I can assure you: I shall not tolerate any Press whose sole aim is to destroy what we have undertaken to create. If the attitude of an editor is that he wishes to oppose his own interesting view of the world (*Weltanschauung*) to ours, he must know that in the same way I shall employ the modern possibilities provided by the Press to fight him. I shall give no possibilities whatever to agents of foreign powers: such agents misuse their rights as guests. I welcome any foreign correspondent who reports objectively and without prejudice what he sees and hears in Germany, only every such correspondent, both for his own sake and for the sake of his reputation as a journalist, should take care not to put himself in such a position as to be forced to unsay what he has written because he has failed to estimate aright the importance or the expediency of the measures of our Government. Remember how the Press was forced to alter its opinion of Richard Wagner!"¹

In his speech in Berlin on 1 May 1934 Hitler said:

"I know that irreconcilable opponents even to-day are never tired of carping with their everlasting negative

¹ *V.B.*, 5 Apr. 1934.

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criticism, but they cannot thus lie away or deny the facts of our struggle. More than a year ago we began this battle, and who will venture to contest its success? And if they come a thousand times with their ridiculous complaints I can give them but one answer: Formerly you were in power and could not make up your minds to act while you compelled us to talk. To-day it is you, my honourable critics, who endeavour to talk all at once, while we have grappled with the problems and despite your carpings and despite your criticism after a battle for work which has lasted only a year we have brought back into productive activity more than three million men. You needed more time to get men out of work than you are prepared to grant us to bring them back into work—but even so, we have succeeded.”

“My fellow-countrymen, we are not blind to the other necessities of life. We know quite well all that remains to be done and what must be done, but one thing I know: in this world one will never achieve anything if one loses oneself in a thousand projects, always starting something new, instead of facing up to a single task and struggling resolutely and fanatically to bring it to completion. . . . I can assure our critics that we will not rest until we have first solved this one problem, and I can further assure them: We do not solve this problem in order then to lay us down to sleep. On the contrary: other problems will then in their turn be taken in hand. And here, too, our supreme principle will always be to direct our whole strength to the attainment of a single goal. All critics who have no deep roots claim for themselves the privilege, as they soar high above the problems, to ferret out new possibilities in every sphere to carp upon. It is the duty of any true leader of a people or a State to solve one problem after another and, undistracted, to bring each to a final solution.”

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"We are convinced that not even the middle classes can be saved through criticism and through theories, but for better or for worse, it is just their fortune that is bound up with the salvation of the peasant and of the working man. It is here that a beginning must be made and here we have begun and it is to this that we shall devote our efforts in the future."¹

In an interview with Mr. Vernon Bartlett in June 1934:

Speaking of "*Der Stürmer*", the violent anti-Semitic paper edited by Julius Streicher, Hitler asked: "Would such papers exist if there had not previously been the *Rote Fahne* (the Red Flag) and other Communist papers?" "Many newspapers published abroad," he said, "were so bitter about Germany that it was not surprising if certain German papers were bitter in their turn. It was most unfortunate if, as a result, public opinion abroad derived a wrong idea of the new Germany, but it could not be helped."²

In a Speech at Hamburg on 17 August 1934 Hitler said:

"I would like further to deal briefly with those who think, quite wrongly, that they are restricted in their freedom to criticize."

"In my eyes criticism in itself is not an important function in life. The world can live without critics, it cannot live without workmen. I protest against the notion that there should exist a profession whose sole reason for its existence is that its professors, without personal responsibility, should of their superior wisdom continually interrupt those who are working and who do carry responsibilities. In my own life I have fought for thirteen years against a Government, but not with nega-

¹ *F.Z.*, 2 May 1934.

² *News Chronicle*, 25 June 1934.

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tive criticism but always pointing to that which should be done.¹ I accepted responsibility when it was offered me. And no action will be taken by me which I am not prepared to defend before this people with my head and with my life."

"But at least I can claim before this people the same right which every worker, every peasant, and every employer can also claim for himself. What would a peasant say if while he toils in the sweat of his face someone wanted continuously to stroll round his land and did nothing else in his rounds than carp and criticize and stir up discontent? What would a workman do if while he stands before his machine someone who can do nothing himself and does nothing were to address him and without stopping carped at his work and criticized it? I know that you would not tolerate the creature for a week but would send him to the Devil. The organization of the Movement gives to hundreds of thousands of men the possibility of co-operating in a positive way in shaping our national existence. Every helpful suggestion and all real co-operation will be welcomed with gratitude. But men whose sole activity is to express an opinion on the activity of others and to paint it in the darkest colours without ever themselves undertaking any practical responsibility—such men I will not tolerate. In this State everyone must in one way or another take his share in the struggle—and create. In this State there can be no right to carp, but only a right to do the thing better. He who knows how to improve any activity, he who can put better knowledge in the place of worse, he who exposes an abuse and points out the way to mend it, he has every possibility of expressing himself and of employing himself. I have, it is true, in my life seen over and over again that one finds more men who know how

¹ But cf. p. 110.

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a thing should be done than men who can actually put their knowledge into practice. And for every thousand men who are ready to judge a piece of work and give their opinion on it, there are rarely to be found ten who are themselves prepared to take part in the work. Ninety-nine per cent. of all the professional critics who are ready enough to chatter will say not a word the moment anyone invites them to give proof of their better knowledge through actually putting it into practice and doing the job themselves.”¹

In his Proclamation at the Nuremberg Parteitag in September 1934 Hitler said: The National Socialist Party now leads the State and it will not capitulate to anyone. “National Socialists are not impressed by the tribe of critics, of those who always know better than anyone else. For them the time is past. Years ago Fate gave to them all time enough to prove their capacities. Either they forgot at that time to present themselves or they could not. But if they were then unfortunate enough to be so fully employed elsewhere that they could not put in an appearance in world-history, to-day that cannot be helped. Two cannot stand in one and the same place and where we have once taken our stand, there is no room for another.”²

Note I

For the treatment of the Press and its influence in *MK.* cf. p. 44 (German), p. 48 (English), the “brutal demand” of the Socialists that one should read only “Red” newspapers cf. p. 259 *supra*; pp. 93-4 (German), 83-4 (English) on the influence of the Press in creating “public opinion”; pp. 262-9 (German), 205-9 (English) on the Press as *Großmacht* (a Great Power); pp. 354-5 (German), 271-2 (English) on the Jews and the Press. On the Freedom of the Press pp. 264, 268 (German), 206, 209 (English).

¹ *F.Z.*, 19 Aug. 1934.

² *F.Z.*, 6 Sept. 1934.

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On the position of the Press after the establishment of the *Reichspressekammer* see the paper of Dr. I. Richter in *Deutsches Kulturrecht* (Reprinted from the journal *Deutsches Recht*), Hamburg, Falken Verlag, 1936, pp. 63-74; cf. S. H. Roberts, *The House that Hitler built*, London, 1939, pp. 247-52; H. Bigot, *La Chambre de Culture Allemande dans le régime totalitaire du IIIe Reich*, Paris, Loirton, 1937, pp. 109-39. For the results of the control exercised over the Press cf. N. Micklem, *National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church*, London, 1939, pp. 32-7, 84-6, and for the Catholic Press pp. 71-2, 96, 105, 133-4, 214, 232. Cf. Miles Ecclesiae, *Hitler gegen Christus*, Paris, 1936, pp. 113-18. For a defence of State policy see Dietrich, *National Socialist Press Policy: Address before the Diplomatic Corps and Foreign Correspondents 7 March 1938* (a version in English of the German text published as Heft 2 of the *Schriften des deutschen Instituts für außenpolitische Forschung*: ed. F. Berber, Berlin, Junker & Dünhaupt, 1938). For details of organization, &c., of the Press-Chamber cf. H. Schmidt-Leonhardt, *Die Reichskulturkammer*, Berlin, Spaeth & Linde, 1936, pp. 41-6; A. Dresler, *Die Reichspressestelle der NSDAP.*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 1936.

Note II

It is instructive to contrast the speeches delivered by Dr. Goebbels on 9 January 1928 (*Signale der neuen Zeit*, 3rd edn., Munich, Eher, 1937, pp. 50-1), at Magdeburg on 25 February 1930 (*ibid.*, pp. 54-6), and in the Reichstag on 13 March 1930 (reprinted in *Wille und Macht*, 1 September 1937) with his speech to the representatives of the foreign Press on 6 April 1933 (*Signale der neuen Zeit*, pp. 127 sqq.), his speech before the International Press at Geneva on 28 September 1933 (*ibid.* pp. 237-8), and see further *ibid.*, pp. 167-8, 256-7, 307 and his speech at the Führertagung des Reichsverbandes der deutschen Presse on 19 April, 1934, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, ii (1936), pp. 280-5; *Der Angriff*, 3rd edn., Munich, Eher, 1936, pp. 301-3. Cf. H. Goering, *Reden und Aufsätze*, Munich, Eher, 1938 (speech of 18 June 1934), pp. 115-16; R. Hess, *Reden*, Munich, Eher, 1938, pp. 24-5.

17. LAW

NOTE ON LAW

It is no easy thing for an Englishman to state the National Socialist theory of law, for its basis is fundamentally mystical: law rises like a well-spring from the consciousness of the German people, from the people's soul,¹ or from the conscience of the community of the people (the *Volkgemeinschaft*). "The conscience of the people tells us immediately what the content and essential character of the law (*Rechtes*) must be."² At the heart of any true system of German law there stands, not the individual, but the totality (*Gesamtheit*) of the people. It is thus a conscious return from the individualism, the egoistic standards alike of Roman law³ and of the Liberalistic outlook of the nineteenth century,⁴ above all of the Weimar Republic—a return to the essential characteristics of the German people as they are mirrored in its early Germanic history. That return from the alien influence to the native German *Weltanschauung*—that *Umkehr* and *Einkehr*⁵—is represented in its fullness by National Socialism, and National Socialism, which as Hitler is never tired of asserting, must of necessity be intolerant, can brook no rival, just as it cannot tolerate any difference of opinion within its own ranks. The *Reichsgericht* has pronounced⁶ that any political disagreement on the interpretation of the National Socialist *Weltanschauung* is impossible for members of the Party inspired by the spirit of the Führer: any such difference of opinion can arise only where the Führer has not as yet given judgement. The law wells up from the popular consciousness, but the incarnation of the people's spirit is the Führer:⁷ "to be born a German is itself a mission, but it is a far

¹ So Frank, *V.B.*, 21 Sept. 1933. ² Freisler, *F.Z.*, 23 Nov. 1935.

³ It is generally explained that the National Socialists have no objection to the Roman law of the classical period; their objection is directed against perversions of the classical Roman law which were introduced at the time of the Reception: cf. Frank in *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21 May 1933; Süss in *F.Z.*, 2 Feb. 1937; Jung in *Zeitschrift der Akademie für Deutsches Recht*, i (1934), 183-7.

⁴ Cf., e.g., Schlegelberger in *F.Z.*, 6 Feb. 1934.

⁵ Cf. Frank, *Reichspost*, 14 June 1938.

⁶ Cf. *F.Z.*, 16 May 1936.

⁷ Hess, *V.B.*, 17 May 1936.

greater good fortune to be a contemporary of the Führer."¹ "The law is an instrument in the hands of the Führer for the realization of National Socialism."² "The laws of our Führer are the foundations of our life."³ "National Socialism is the sole possible *Weltanschauung* for the life of the German community which is sustained by it: that is the principle which determines the method of the work undertaken by the Academy for German Law."⁴ The National Socialist State is thus never an end in itself, "it is but the organ of the Movement, an organ in the hand of Adolf Hitler".⁵ "Against the bloodless concept of the Rights of Man of the French Revolution we set the idea of German freedom—the idea of the inner freedom of one responsible to his conscience; against the unlimited claim of the individual on the State which dominated the Liberalistic period we set the sacred claim of the life of the German people (*Volkstum*) on us, on our undivided personality, on our whole manhood, on our life itself. Against the experience of the dead unknown soldier of France we set our experience of to-day which moulds our destiny—the living unknown soldier of the World War—Adolf Hitler—this leader of ours who made visible for us once more the German Reich in all its glory—that Reich towards which we would direct our lives, towards which we struggle—that Reich which with the mighty strength of our pure blood we will draw down to us from the Heavens."⁶

The word *Recht* has many shades of meaning, and one may at times doubt whether it should be rendered in English by "law", by "Justice", or by "Right". In the citations which follow I have therefore at times left it untranslated lest I should inadvertently falsify the original. It is clear that if law is conceived as springing up out of a people's consciousness, out of that eternal present which is the people's soul, the law must incorporate those essential values which are peculiar to the individual people. It is this fact which has led Frank to formulate his theory of the *Substanzwerte*—the values which make up the substance of the German people—as the fundamental criterion for the rebirth,

¹ Frank, *V.B.*, 18 May 1936.

² Frank, *Manchester Guardian*, 10 Sept. 1934.

³ Frank, *F.Z.*, 11 Aug. 1935.

⁴ Frank, *V.B.*, 16 Oct. 1935.

⁵ Carl Schmitt, *V.B.*, 19 Feb. 1934.

⁶ Kerl, *V.B.* 19 Aug. 1933.

the refashioning of German law. These values have been differently stated by him during recent years: in a speech in 1934 he defined these values as Work, Race, Blood, Soil, National Defence, and Honour. Later he included State and Party, and later still German economic life. But his final position is that there are five such values: Blood (race-legislation), Soil (e.g. legislation on entailed farms), Honour (e.g. position in international policy), National Defence (organization of military force), and Work (including economics). About these concepts will be grouped the separate sections of the National Socialist Code of Law which shall be.¹

But in the interim period before the National Socialist Code is framed there arises the problem of applying to new conditions statutes which reflect an outworn *Weltanschauung*. The fundamental maxim which must govern all National Socialist interpretation and administration of law is that "*Recht* is that which profits the people and *Unrecht* is that which harms it". This maxim recurs in slightly different forms in the speeches of German jurists, but the principle itself is unquestioned.² And

¹ Frank, *F.Z.*, 18 May 1934; *F.Z.*, 8 Sept. 1934; *Manchester Guardian*, 10 Sept. 1934; *F.Z.*, 31 Jan. 1936, and cf. Frank, *Neues deutsches Recht*, Heft 2 of the series *Hier spricht das neue Deutschland*.

² For this maxim cf., e.g., Frank, *F.Z.*, 9 July 1933; the report in *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 9 July 1933, gives as the definition of the new justice *Gerecht ist die Aufrechterhaltung der deutschen Interessen*; Reichsstatthalter Mutschmann, *V.B.*, 17 Jan. 1936; Buch in *F.Z.*, 22 Aug. 1937; Holz in *V.B.*, 17 Oct. 1937; Delitzsch, in *F.Z.*, 2 Sept. 1938; Frank in *V.B.*, 16 Sept. 1933; *V.B.*, 18 May 1939. Frick, Minister for the Interior, said at the meeting of German jurists on 30 Sept. 1933: "If the Englishman with sound political sense has coined the phrase 'Right or Wrong, my Country' so we National Socialists go beyond that and say '*Recht* is what benefits the German People and *Unrecht* is that which harms the German People'. This principle which governs all our legislative action is identical with the other National Socialist maxim 'Common Interest goes before Private Interest'. These guiding principles must dominate our whole people." (I have translated this from the citation of the text in Miles Ecclesiae, *Hitler gegen Christus*, Paris, 1936, p. 26.) The doctrine was vigorously expressed by the Kultusminister of Bavaria, Schemm: "For us, all is false and senseless which does not profit the German People, for us everything is a crime which injures the people even although it were

parallel with this there runs another revolutionary principle: if the *Rechtsstaat*—the State acknowledging the rule of law—had regarded as the basis of its judicial system the maxim *nulla poena sine lege*—no punishment for any act unless it was expressly condemned by a law—the National Socialists have proclaimed its opposite—*Kein Verbrechen ohne Strafe*—no crime must go unpunished¹—and the determination of that which constitutes a criminal act rests with the uncorrupted consciousness of the German people. Although the *Machtübernahme*—the assumption of power—had been effected under legal forms, National Socialists are unwearied in their insistence that here was no mere change of Government, but a profound Revolution. This was the triumph of a *Weltanschauung* which must of necessity entail as its consequence a transvaluation of all accepted values. The heady wine of National Socialism threatened to burst the bottles of the old legislation. Time-honoured commentaries, it was maintained, had now become waste-paper;² the “creative personality” of the National Socialist judge was liberated from the mortmain of the past. The whole body of previous interpretation of the Statutes, laboriously built up by German jurists, no longer constituted precedents of value.³ The “Kingly” judge of the new régime was master in the house of German law.⁴ It was held by a German court that any expression of opinion on the part of a leading National Socialist constituted law and the German judge was bound thereby. It was subsequently ruled that such expression of opinion must be no mere *obiter dictum*, but must have been pronounced with some formality as, for example, in a speech at a *Parteitag*. Judges felt themselves free to ignore laws which they in their discretion regarded as contrary to the spirit of the *Weltanschauung* of the Party: it needed a decision of the *Reichsgericht* to establish the principle that a law, until it had been repealed, still bound a National Socialist judge.⁵

objectively and scientifically right a thousand times over” (cited by Miles Ecclesiae from *V.B.*, 31 May 1934).

¹ Cf., e.g., Carl Schmitt, *Berliner Tageblatt*, 8 June 1934; Frank, *F.Z.*, 28 June 1935; Gleispach in *Zeitschrift der Akademie für Deutsches Recht*, iii (1936), 267-86.

² On commentaries cf. *F.Z.*, 22 Dec. 1935.

³ Cf. Frank, *V.B.*, 16 Oct. 1935.

⁴ Frank on the *Richterkönig*, *V.B.*, 17 Nov. 1933.

⁵ Cf. opinion of the *Reichsjustizministerium* reported in *F.Z.*,

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The fear of the "Paragraph"¹—the clause of the old law—had, it was maintained, alienated the people and brought administration of justice into disrepute. The *Volk* must be convinced that the enemies of the *Volksgemeinschaft*—the community of the people—could be brought to a speedy retribution. It was to secure this "elasticity" of interpretation that the Government of the Reich passed on 28 June 1935 an Act which provided that "whoever commits an action which the law declares to be punishable or which is deserving of punishment according to the fundamental idea of a penal law and sound popular sentiment (*nach gesundem Volksempfinden*) deserves to be punished. If no definite penal law is immediately applicable to the action, the action shall be punished according to the law the basic idea of which fits it best."² This law was greeted by Reichsjustizkommissar Frank as "a milestone on the road to a National Socialist penal law". "This law permits the judge to impose a penalty for acts which, although not expressly made criminal by the written law, are analogous to acts which are declared to be punishable, provided that they are condemned by the popular sense of right and by the fundamental legal conception upon which the statutory prohibition is based."³

It must be remembered that Justice has become in the Third Reich a part of "politics": in Treitschke's words, "all administration of justice is a political activity: the judge must form his judgement from the spirit and from the history of a particular people. An abstract justice of pedants which floats in the clouds and has no firm ground under its feet has in practice no justification."⁴ It must further be remembered that since the National Socialist State and the National Socialist Party now form a single

24 July 1934; Frick, *F.Z.*, 24 Oct. 1934; and see Rothenberger, *F.Z.* 4 Oct. 1935. Cf. report of opinions of Freisler and Volkman reported in *F.Z.*, 17 Jan. 1934, and decision of Prussian *Oberverwaltungsgericht* reported in *F.Z.*, 16 Apr. 1934.

¹ For the "Paragraph" cf. Frank, *V.B.*, 21 Sept. 1933; Delitzsch, *F.Z.*, 2 Apr. 1938.

² For text of the law see W. Hoche, *Die Gesetzgebung des Kabinetts Hitler*, Heft 14, p. 190.

³ Lawrence Preuss, "Punishment by Analogy in National Socialist Penal Law", *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, xxvi (1936), pp. 847-56.

⁴ Cf. Hess, *V.B.*, 17 May 1936.

unity no "political" act performed by members of the Party can be questioned or taken cognisance of by the ordinary courts.¹ The judge himself stands *within* the National Socialist State: he cannot place himself *above* or *in opposition* to the State. In these conditions the Act of 1935 would appear to give to German courts a perilous latitude: an American critic closed his study of the law with the words: "In a country in which judicial independence, as understood in western States, has utterly disappeared, the right of the courts to punish without a written law destroys the last defence of the individual against the totalitarian National Socialist State."²

And the Rule of Law—the *Rechtsstaat*³—and equality before the law? "Adolf Hitler has from the first declared that his wish is that the National Socialist State should be a *Rechtsstaat*: it must never be possible for National Socialism to be identified with any arbitrary rule";⁴ Hitler has said, "we proclaim as our fundamental principle that everyone is equal before the law and before the judge".⁵ The aim of the whole legal profession is "to serve the people and to serve the Führer".⁶ The sources of German legislation are "statutes, the former customary law, the order of the Führer, the word of the Führer".⁷ "The law and the will of the Führer are one."⁸ Previously one spoke of Justice and Injustice, but now a judge before giving his decision must ask himself: "What would the Führer say to this?"⁹—"The law

¹ Cf. the report of a paper in the *Nationalsozialistische Korrespondenz* (inaccessible to me) given in *F.Z.*, 6 July 1934: *Gegen politische Entscheidungen giebt es keine gerichtliche Anklage*, and see an article on "Die Macht des Richters" in *F.Z.*, 10 Oct. 1937.

² Lawrence Preuss, *op. cit.* (see note 3, p. 517), p. 856.

³ G. Krauss and O. von Schwenichen, *Disputation über den Rechtsstaat* (= *Der deutsche Staat der Gegenwart*, ed. Carl Schmitt, Heft 17), Hamburg, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1935; Carl Schmitt, "Was bedeutet der Streit um den Rechtsstaat?" *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, xciv (1935), pp. 189-201, and "Nationalsozialismus und Rechtsstaat", *Juristische Wochenschrift*, lxxiii (1934), pp. 713-18.

⁴ Cited by Frank, *V.B.*, 1 Feb. 1934.

⁵ Cited by Gürtner, *F.Z.*, 20 Oct. 1934.

⁶ Gürtner, *F.Z.*, 17 Oct. 1937.

⁷ Cf. Rothenberger, *F.Z.*, 4 Oct. 1935.

⁸ Goering, *New York Times*, 13 July 1934.

⁹ Frank, *F.Z.*, 29 Oct. 1935; cf. Freisler, *F.Z.*, 23 Nov. 1935: "the judge has to emulate the spirit of our greatest personality,

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wells up from the conscience of the German people." It is very mysterious: the whole theory, it must be repeated, rests upon a mystical identification of the will of the Führer with the will of the German *Volkgemeinschaft*.

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For the difficulties of advocates under the Third Reich cf. Timoroumenos, *La Robe brune*. Paris, Éditions Logos, 1936.

*Hitler has said very little in his reported speeches on the subject of Law. I have in this section translated all the significant references to Law which I have been able to find in his speeches.*¹

In 1931, in his controversy with Brüning, Hitler wrote:

"All great achievements in legislation have the merit of employing a certain lapidary brevity.² The legislator in such cases has the duty of seeking out the harmful spot in the motor which controls social life and of bringing about a change. Therefore a sharp distinction must be drawn between the law and the regulations which from time to time govern its application. Not only must the purpose of the legislator underlie the law, but that purpose must be clearly visible in every line"³. . .

In his speech in the Reichstag on 23 March 1933 Hitler said:

"Theoretical equality in the eyes of the law cannot be extended to the toleration on an equal basis of those who scorn the laws on principle or indeed to surrender-

¹ Cf. Point 19 in the Party Programme, *supra*, 105. For laws issued by the Führer as "holy works of our people's spirit" cf. Frank, *F.Z.*, 29 Oct. 1935; Hitler as "the greatest legislator in German history" Frank, *F.Z.*, 20 May 1939 (cf. *V.B.*, 26 Mar. 1935).

² With this cf. H. Frank in *F.Z.*, 19 June 1938, and in *V.B.*, 14 May 1939, on the character which must distinguish National Socialist legislation.

³ *Hitlers Auseinandersetzung mit Brüning*, Munich, 1932, p. 66: Hitler's open letter of 13 Dec. 1931.

ing the nation's freedom to them on the basis of democratic doctrines. But the Government will accord equality in the eyes of the law to all those who take their stand, in face of this danger, on the line adopted by our nation and behind the national interests, and who do not deny their support to the Government". . . .

"Our legal institutions must serve above all for the maintenance of this national community. The irremovability of the judges must ensure a sense of responsibility and the exercise of discretion in their judgements in the interests of society. Not the individual but the nation as a whole alone can be the centre of legislative solicitude. High treason and treachery to the nation will be ruthlessly eradicated in future. The foundations of the existence of justice cannot be other than the foundations of the existence of the nation."

"Let the judges therefore always pay regard to the gravity of the decisions taken by those who are responsible for forming the life of the nation under the hard pressure of reality."¹

*At the Tagung of German jurists on 3 October 1933 Hitler said that the idea of law is conditioned by race; . . . the task of the Government is the maintenance of the people, the protection of the race and care for the race; all its other tasks are conditioned by this primary duty. The totalitarian State will make no difference between law and morality. It is only within the framework of this fixed Weltanschauung that justice can be or can be allowed to be independent.*²

¹ German text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 28-30; authorized English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, pp. 18-20.

² An extract from a very brief summary in *F.Z.*, 5 Oct. 1933. I am not sure how far this summary preserves the precise wording of Hitler's speech.

In his speech at Lemgo on 14 January 1934 Hitler said: "I reckon with the eternal quality of our people. Whatever time it takes . . . ten, twenty or, if you will, fifty years before national unity is achieved that matters not; what is decisive is that legislation should not serve to maintain a Government; its sole aim should be to serve the prestige (*Geltung*) of a people, its existence and its maintenance."¹

In his Proclamation read at the Nuremberg Parteitag of September 1934 Hitler said that "parallel with their efforts to assure the authority of the State there had gone the struggle for the authority of a National Socialist security in the administration of law (*Rechtssicherheit*). It will be for all time a rare model that a gigantic upheaval—when men had the right to nurse a thousand thoughts of revenge—should have been ended with hardly any bloodshed.² It was the strength of the constructive will of the German nation which does not aim at destruction, but fights for an idea and the constructive achievement which springs from that idea. And therefore in the midst of the most difficult political and economic struggle we have begun the task of producing a new body of law inspired by a new conception of law which has its roots in National Socialist doctrine."³

*In his speech to the Reichstag on 30 January 1937 Hitler said:*⁴

"We human beings cannot perceive or establish either the meaning or the purpose of the existence of the

¹ *F.Z.*, 16 Jan. 1934.

² Cf. the section on The Model Revolution, *supra*, p. 209.

³ *F.Z.*, 6 Sept. 1934.

⁴ There does exist an English translation of this speech published by Müller und Sohn, Berlin. But in this case I have preferred to make my own version.

different races created by Providence. The meaning and purpose of human organizations as well as of all functions can be measured only by their usefulness for the maintenance of the people as a permanent unity. Therefore the primary thing is the people. Party, State, army, the economic structure (*Wirtschaft*), the administration of justice, &c., are of secondary importance, they are but a means to the preservation of this people. In so far as they fulfil this task they are right and useful. When they prove unequal to this task, they are harmful and must either be reformed or set aside and replaced by better means. It is only the recognition of this fundamental principle that can preserve men from falling into rigid doctrines in a sphere where there is no place for doctrine or from falsifying the means by turning them into dogmas where the end to be pursued should be the only dogma. . . ." *Hitler proceeded to illustrate his point by a reference to German law:*

"In the course of a long period of time, partly through the adoption of alien conceptions, partly through our own lack of any clear-cut insight, our law (*Rechtsleben*) has fallen into a confusion which found its most striking expression in our uncertainty concerning the inner purpose of law itself. Two diametrically opposed extremes characterize this state of affairs:"

"There is, firstly, the view that law as such possesses in itself the justification for its own existence and thus any examination of its usefulness either in general or in individual cases is inadmissible. The law must remain even though for its sake the world may fall in ruins."

"There is secondly the view that the essential purpose of law is to undertake and to secure the protection of the individual in his person and property. Between these two views there appeared as a trimming which was rather ashamed of itself the conception that law

might represent the greater interests of the community; but generally this was admitted only as a concession to so-called 'reason of State'."

"The National Socialist Revolution, on the other hand, has given to law whether as a theoretical science or in its practical application a clear and unambiguous starting-point: the task which the administration of justice must set before itself is to co-operate in maintaining the life of the people and in protecting it from those elements which through their un-social tendencies (*als Asoziale*) either seek to escape their duties to the community or offend against the interests of the community. Therefore from henceforth in German law, as in other spheres, above person and above property stands the people."

"This short statement leads in its practical application to the greatest reform which our law and jurisprudence have ever experienced. With the starting-point once defined, the first decisive effect was the proclamation not only of a single legislator but also of a single judicial system for the Reich."¹

"The second measure is not yet completed, but will be announced in a few weeks to the nation. In a new German Criminal Code, as a result of this great survey of the field of law as a whole, German jurisprudence will be given those foundations which will set it for all time in the service of the maintenance of the German people."²

¹ For the law of 2 Apr. 1935, which transferred to the Reich the legal systems of the separate German States, see p. 268.

² *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, v (1938), pp. 32-4.

18. WOMAN

Note

I have translated very few extracts from the speeches made to women by Hitler: all such speeches run on the same lines and each adds little to those which have preceded it.

When the National Socialists first came into power an interesting appeal was made to Hitler by German women in the professions that they might be given the opportunity of full co-operation with men in the reconstruction and administration of the new State: *Deutsche Frauen an Adolf Hitler*, ed. Irmgard Reichenau. Leipzig, Klein, 1933. An enthusiastic welcome was given to National Socialism as the champion of "a truly genuine womanliness" (*Frauentums*) by Paula Siber von Groote in *Die Frauenfrage und ihre Lösung durch den Nationalsozialismus*. Wolfenbüttel-Berlin, Kallmeyer, 1933. There is an instructive account of the early stages of the "Women's Work Service" (*Frauenarbeitsdienst*) in F. Hiller, *Der Frauenarbeitsdienst im Kampf um die Erneuerung Deutschlands*. Langensalza-Berlin-Leipzig, Beltz, 1934, with which cf. M. Cremer, "Der Arbeitsdienst für die weibliche Jugend", *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, ix (1938), pp. 311-25. (Cf. *ibid.* vi. 298-301.) But on all the activities of women under the Third Reich Hitler, in his speeches, is curiously silent. It will suffice to refer here to F. L. Schuman, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, 2nd edn., New York, Knopf, 1936, pp. 383 sqq.; R. A. Brady, *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*, London, Gollancz, 1937, pp. 186 sqq.; G. Scholtz-Klink (Reich Women's Leader) in *Germany Speaks*, London, Butterworth, 1938, pp. 90-6. For the sufferings of women under National Socialism see *Deutsche Frauenschicksale. Stimmen und Dokumente*. London, Malikverlag, 1937 (published by the Union für Recht und Freiheit, Prag).

In April 1932 a delegation of National Women's Organizations had an interview with Hitler "with a view to being assured that the future State did not intend to abrogate the legal equality which under the Constitution of 1918 had been granted to them". Hitler's reply was:

"What has the Revolution of 1918 actually done for

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women? All it has done is to turn 50,000 of them into blue stockings and party officials. Under the Third Reich they might as well whistle for such things. Every woman then will get a husband for herself."¹

In an interview with Anne O'Hare McCormick, reported in "The New York Times" for 10 July 1933, Hitler said:

"Women always have been among my staunchest supporters. They feel that my victory is their victory. They know I serve their cause in working to redeem German youth, to create a social order, to restore hope and health."

"The surplus of women is happily diminishing, and while our aims encourage women to marry and stay home, unmarried women are in free competition with men. Only military service, service on the bench and certain political posts are closed to women."

In his address to women at the Nuremberg Parteitag on 8 September 1934 Hitler said: "If one says that man's world is the State, his struggle, his readiness to devote his powers to the service of the community, one might be tempted to say that the world of woman is a smaller world. For her world is her husband, her family, her children, and her house. But where would the greater world be if there were no one to care for the small world? How could the greater world survive if there were none to make the cares of the smaller world the content of their lives? . . . Providence has entrusted to woman the cares of that world which is peculiarly her own, and only on the basis of this smaller world can the man's world be formed and built up. These two worlds are never in conflict. They are complementary to each other, they belong together as man and woman belong together". . .

¹ Cited from Hilda Browning, *Women Under Communism and Fascism*, London, Martin Lawrence [1934], p. 3.

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"Every child that a woman brings into the world is a battle, a battle waged for the existence of her people.¹ Man and woman must therefore mutually value and respect each other when they see that each performs the task which Nature and Providence have ordained. And from this separation of the functions of each there will necessarily result this mutual respect. It is not true, as Jewish intellectuals assert, that respect depends upon the overlapping of the spheres of activity of the sexes: this respect demands that neither sex should try to do that which belongs to the other's sphere. Respect lies in the last resort in this: that each knows that the other is doing everything which is necessary to maintain the whole community (*das Gesamte*). . . . Woman is an egoist in the maintenance of her small world so that man may be free to defend the larger world: man is an egoist in maintaining this greater world, for it is indissolubly bound up with the other, smaller world. We would protect ourselves against a corrupted intellectualism which will put asunder that which God hath joined. Woman because she springs from that root which is the prime cause of life is also the most stable element in the maintenance of a people. She it is who in the last resort has the infallible sense for all that is necessary if a race is not to perish, for it will be her children who will be the first victims of that disaster. Man is often far too mentally unstable to find his way immediately to these fundamental truths. But in good time and with good education man will know just as clearly what his task is."

"We National Socialists have for many years protested against bringing woman into political life; that life in our eyes was unworthy of her. A woman said to

¹ "Woman has her battle-field, too." Address at the *Parteitag* of 1935. *F.Z.*, 15 Sept. 1935.

me once: You must see to it that women go into Parliament; that is the only way to raise the standard of Parliamentary life. I do not believe, I answered, that man should try to raise the level of that which is bad in itself. And the woman who enters into this business of Parliament will not raise it, it will dishonour her. I would not leave to woman what I intend to take away from men. My opponents thought that in that case we would never gain women for our Movement; but in fact we gained more women than all the other parties together, and I know we should have won over the last German woman if she had only had the opportunity to study Parliament and the dishonouring role which women have played there". . . .

"So our Women's Movement is for us not something which inscribes on its banner as its programme the fight *against* man but something which sets on its programme the common fight of woman *together with* man. For the new National Socialist community of the people was set on a firm basis precisely because we gained in millions of women our truest, our fanatical fellow-combatants, women who fought for the common life in the service of the common task of maintaining life, who in that combat did not set their gaze on rights which a Jewish intellectualism mirrored before their eyes, but rather on duties which nature imposes on all of us in common". . . .

"The programme of our National Socialist Women's Movement has in truth but one single point, and that point is The Child—that tiny creature which must be born and should grow strong, for in the child alone the whole life-struggle gains its meaning. . . . It is a glorious sight, this golden youth of ours: we know that it is the Germany of the future when we shall be no more. What we create and construct, that youth will maintain. For youth we work; it is that fact which gives its significance

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to all this effort of ours. And since we recognize this goal which Nature herself has set before us in all its lapidary simplicity, for us the work of both sexes naturally finds its true and logical setting, no longer in conflict but in the common struggle for the realities of life."¹

The speech delivered at the Parteitag in Nuremberg on 13 September 1935 followed the same lines of argument; a few sentences may be quoted:

"In the Germanic nations there had never been anything else than equality of rights for women. Both sexes had their rights, their tasks, and these tasks were in the case of each equal in dignity and value; no distinction was made, and therefore man and woman were on an equality." There will never be in National Socialist Germany Women's battalions as there have been in Marxist countries. "Woman has always respected the courageous, bold, determined man, and Man has always admired and been drawn towards the womanly woman. Those are the two contrasts which attract each other in life. And when good fortune allows two such persons to find each other, then there is no longer any question of equality of rights, for nature supplies the answer: It is not an equality of rights, it is a unity. Man and Woman represent two quite different characteristics: in Man the understanding is dominant, but more stable than that is emotion which is the mark of Woman."

Hitler illustrated this by a reference to the early days of the Movement: "When after thirteen months of imprisonment I was released, when the Party had been broken up, it was essentially the women-comrades who sustained the Movement. They did not allow themselves to be guided by any shrewd and reasonable calculations,

¹ *F.Z.*, 9 Sept. 1934.

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but they acted as their hearts dictated, and through their emotions they have remained with me until to-day". . . .

"It is no degradation of woman that she should be a mother: that is her highest exaltation: . . . The supreme immortality here upon the earth lies in the maintenance of the people and its national life (*Volks-tums*)."

"There was a time when Liberalism fought for Woman's Equality of Rights, but the face of the German woman, and of the German girl, then was hopeless, dejected, and sad. To-day we see countless radiant and smiling faces. And here again the instinct of the woman comes into play, that instinct which says quite rightly 'Now one can laugh once more, for the people's future is secured'."

"And the return which National Socialism makes to woman consists in this: that once more it is educating *men*, real *men* who are decent, who stand upright, who are brave, and who love honour. I believe that now when our healthy unspoiled women have seen here [in our Nuremberg gathering] these sturdy, admirable young 'men of the spade' they must be saying to themselves 'What a healthy splendid race of men it is that is growing up in Germany!' Now that we have reintroduced general military service, that is a wonderful education from which the coming generations of young Germans will profit—a wonderful generation which we are drawing to ourselves through the Hitler-Youth, the SA., and the compulsory labour service."¹

In his address to women at the Parteitag in Nuremberg on 10 September 1937 Hitler said: "All that we do we do in the last resort for the child. Often we think we are caring for ourselves, for the folk of our own day, yet

¹ *F.Z.*, 15 Sept. 1935.

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the deepest meaning of all our work and of our life is only this: that we may safeguard the life of our people. That is in the end the greatest, the fairest reward of all. This is the duty and this the task which every member of either sex can perform."

"Our men will be trained to become a hard breed. The German woman can be assured that the coming generations of men will be in very truth the shield and shelter of their women. And men can have the encouragement of the certain knowledge that the German women of the future will be to them more than ever the truest of companions on the journey of their life."¹

¹ *V.B.*, 12 Sept. 1937.

19. YOUTH

Chronology of the Development of the Hitler-Youth

1921. 3 Aug. The Appeal *an unsere Deutsche Jugend* ("to our German Youth") issued by the Party. Formation of a *Turn-¹ und Sportabteilung* (Athletics and Sport Section) of the Party. Ages: 14 to 18. President of the *Turn- und Sportausschusses* (Committee): Klintzsch (a Navy Lieutenant then serving in the "Brigade Ehrhardt", and seconded by Ehrhardt to serve as organizer for Hitler). This is the beginning of the SA.

1922. 8 Mar. In the *V.B.* of this date is announced the formation of the *Jugendbund* (Youth-League) *der Nationalsozialistischen Arbeiterpartei*.

1926. 3-4 July. At the *Parteitag* in Weimar Kurt Gruber is appointed *Reichsführer* for the Hitler-Jugend (Hitler-Youth), a new organization founded by him in Plauen. [The name is due to Gauleiter Julius Streicher and had already been introduced by him for the N.S. *Großdeutsche Jugendbewegung* (Youth Movement) in Gera on 25 Apr. 1926.]

27 Oct. The Hitler-Jugend is placed under the newly formed "Supreme SA.-Leadership" (*Oberste SA.-Führung*).

5 Dec. At Weimar: the General Principles (*Richtlinien*) for the relations between the NSDAP. and the Hitler-Jugend are drawn up.

All members of the Hitler-Jugend over 18 years of age must be members of the NSDAP.

1929. 23 Apr. Members of the Hitler-Jugend and the SA. to be transferred to the Party and the SA. after attaining the age of 18: transfer to take place on 9 Nov. in each year.

¹ The title probably influenced by the Nationalist activity of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778-1852) in the Napoleonic period, called "Turnvater". In 1811 he founded the first *Turnplatz* (open-air gymnasium) in Berlin: the movement spread rapidly and its members formed themselves into a kind of patriotic guild. Later Jahn was appointed State teacher of gymnastics in Berlin and helped to form the student *Burschenschaften* in Jena. For his patriotic writings see article in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. (Cf. p. 539 *infra*.)

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- 4 Aug. At the *Reichsparteitag* in Nuremberg for the first time 2,000 Hitler-Youth parade before Hitler.
1930. 27 Apr. The *Reichsführer* of the Hitler-Jugend is directly subordinated to the Chief of Staff of the SA.
- 30 Oct. Baldur von Schirach is appointed as *Reichsjugendführer* on the staff of the "Supreme SA.-Führung"; all three youth organizations of the Party—the Student-Association, the Hitler-Jugend, and the Schüler-Bund (founded by Dr. Theodor Adrian von Renteln)—are placed under Baldur von Schirach.
- Gruber (see 1926 *supra*) retires from his position as *Reichsführer* of the Hitler-Jugend and is succeeded by von Renteln.
1932. 13 Apr.—17 June: the veto on the SA. carries with it the veto on the Hitler-Jugend. The Hitler-Jugend continues to function disguised as the *Nationalsozialistische Jugendbewegung* (Youth-Movement).
- 15 June. von Renteln retires: von Schirach becomes *Reichsführer der Hitler-Jugend*. The N.S. Schüler-Bund is incorporated into the Hitler-Jugend. Von Schirach being appointed *Amtsleiter* (administrative official) of the NSDAP., the Hitler-Jugend is no longer subordinated to the "Supreme SA.-Führung".
- At this time the Hitler-Jugend has a membership of some 35,000.
- 1-2 Oct. First *Reichsjugendtag* of the NSDAP. in Potsdam. March of 110,000 Hitler Boys and Girls.
1933. 21 June. von Schirach appointed *Jugendführer des Deutschen Reiches*.
- 1 July. Reorganization of the Hitler-Jugend and the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* (League of German Maidens).
- 21 Dec. Incorporation of the Evangelical *Jugendverbände* (Youth Associations) into the Hitler Youth.
1934. At the end of this year the membership of the Hitler Youth has risen to about 6 millions.
1936. 1 Dec. Law concerning Hitler Youth:
- "The future of the German people depends on its youth. The entire German youth must therefore be prepared for its future duties. The Government of the Reich has accordingly approved the following Law, which is hereby published:

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1. The entire German youth within the territory of the Reich is united in the Hitler-Youth.

2. The entire German youth—apart from the education within the home and in school—is to be educated physically, mentally, and morally in the spirit of National Socialism for the service of the people and for the community of the people.

3. The task of educating the entire German youth in the Hitler-Youth is entrusted to Reich's Youth Leader of the NSDAP. He thereby becomes "Youth Leader of the German Reich". He has the position of a Supreme Authority for the Reich (*Oberste Reichsbehörde*) with his office in Berlin and is immediately subordinate to the Führer and Chancellor of the Reich.

4. The regulations necessary for the execution of, or for additions to, this Law as well as the general directions for its application will be issued by the Führer and Chancellor of the Reich."¹

1937. 15 Jan. Order of the Führer and Chancellor of the Reich establishing Adolf-Hitler-Schools as an organization forming part of the Hitler-Youth.²

1938. 19 Jan. Formation, as a branch of the Hitler-Jugend, for girls from 17 to 21 of "Das BDM.-Werk Glaube und Schönheit"—The Faith and Beauty Society of the League of German Maidens. Teachers of gymnastics and sports are to be "politicized" that they may "serve the modern ideal of a Youth of Faith and Beauty". "The more beautiful German maidens become, the prouder and the more self-conscious should they be."³ As responsible leader of the organization Clementine zu Castell was appointed on 2 Feb., 1938.

¹ Text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, iv (1937), pp. 328-9. For the proclamation issued by Baldur von Schirach at the time of the publication of the law see *ibid.*, p. 328 n. 1. For his explanation of the law (2 Dec. 1936) *ibid.*, pp. 329-31; for his speech on the law (7 Dec. 1936) *ibid.*, pp. 331-5. Here it was said that the voluntary principle would still be maintained after the publication of this law. The regulations contemplated under § 4 have, so far as I can discover, never been issued.

² Text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, v (1938), p. 389. On these schools cf. *ibid.*, pp. 389-92.

³ See the speech of von Schirach on the occasion of the meeting of

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1938. 18 Feb. Regulation, issued by Baldur von Schirach, on the conditions for reception into the Academy for the training of a corps of Leaders for the Hitler-Jugend. The purpose of this Academy was explained in a speech by von Schirach at the laying of the foundation-stone of the Academy (in Brunswick) on 24 Jan. 1936. Henceforth the post of such a Leader in the Hitler-Jugend will be a whole-time profession: on entering the Academy the future Leader pledges himself to at least 12 years' service as Leader.¹

There is a short sketch of the development of the Hitler-Youth by F. O. Wrede, "Eine Geschichte der Hitlerjugend", *National-sozialistische Monatshefte*, v (1934), pp. 828-32. For other addresses to youth cf. J. Goebbels, *Revolution der Deutschen*, Oldenburg, Stalling, 1933, pp. 207-13 (Speech of 1 May 1933); R. Hess, *Reden*, Munich, Eher, 1938, pp. 148-51, 176-9, and Speech of Baldur von Schirach (delivered 12 March 1935) on "Wesen und Aufbau der Hitler-Jugend", *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, iii (1937), pp. 255-65.

For von Schirach's speech on Hitler-Jugend and religion cf. *F.Z.*, 4 June 1935 and note von Schirach's formulation of the faith of the Hitler-Jugend: "Wer Adolf Hitler, dem Führer, dient, dient Deutschland, wer Deutschland dient, dient Gott." See *Reichspost*, 2 April 1937. Cf. O. Flake, "Der junge Mensch und die Machtidee", in *Krisis*, ed. O. Müller, Weimar, Lichtenstein, 1932, pp. 285-95.

For Saturday as *Staatsjugendtag* (no obligation to attend school on Saturday for the Hitler-Youth) see von Schirach's order of 7 June 1934, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, ii (1936), pp. 286-7, and the subsequent order issued by Rust on 1 August 1934 (*ibid.*, pp. 287-9). For the *Jugendschutzgesetz* of 30 April 1938 see *ibid.*, vi (1939) pp. 591-608.

As a foil to the speeches of National Socialists on Youth read Hans Siemsen, *Hitler Youth*, translated by T. and P. Blewitt, London, Lindsay Drummond, 1940, and cf. Erika Mann, *School for Barbarians. Education under the Nazis*, London, Lindsay Drummond, 1939.

Leaders of the Hitler-Youth in Berlin on 19 Jan. 1938. *V.B.*, 20 Jan. 1938, extract in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, vi (1939), p. 629.

¹ *Ibid.* vi (1939), pp. 648-50.

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*The addresses of Hitler to German youth are naturally but variations of two or three simple themes: Hitler draws the picture of the divided past: separated by barriers of profession, rank, and class, the Germans no longer knew their fellow-countrymen: they did not even wish to know each other. From that state of weakness and disunion, Hitler said in a speech delivered at the Parteitag in Nuremberg in September 1933, "we have to learn our lesson: one will must dominate us, we must form a single unity; one discipline must weld us together, one obedience, one subordination, must fill us all, for above us stands the nation." The comradeship of youth will grow into the unity of a common citizenship. "On the youth of Germany are set all our hopes, our people's confidence, and our faith." "You are the living Germany of the future, not an empty idea, no mere formula: you are blood of our blood, flesh of our flesh, spirit of our spirit, you are our people's future." Youth must take a "holy vow" that "never again for all time shall the German people tear itself asunder, never again shall its unity be broken up: it shall be in truth a people of brothers which no distress and no danger shall henceforth divide."*¹

To those who have had some contact with youth in Germany of recent years these speeches addressed to youth are, however, of special interest. I have therefore in this section attempted a version of several extracts.

In a speech at Erfurt on 18 June 1933 Hitler said:

"We will educate our youths to that which we wish later to see in them, and if there are still folk here and there who think that they cannot change their outlook,

¹ Summary of a speech to 80,000 members of the Hitler-Youth, 2 Sept. 1933. *V.B.*, 5 Sept. 1933.

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then we will take the children away from them and train them up into that which is necessary for the German people."¹

In his speech at a Gymnastic Display at Stuttgart on 30 July 1933 Hitler said:

"The so-called Age of Reason (*das sogenannte geistige Zeitalter*), stamped with its characteristic liberal outlook, with its half-knowledge and half-culture, was in a fair way to breed a thoroughly unfit generation. The over-valuation of knowledge led not merely to a disregard of the bodily form and of bodily strength, but in the end to a lack of respect for bodily work. It is no chance that this age, propagated and protected by sick persons, necessarily led to a general sickness—not only to sickness of the body but also to sickness of the mind. For he who despises bodily strength and health has already become the victim of a malformation of the intellect. Apart from exceptions which prove the rule, a truly upright and reasonable mind, in the long run, will dwell only in lusty, sound bodies. Life, however, is not mastered by weak folk, but by strong men. If to-day we recognize once again an ideal of beauty which opens our eyes to an understanding of the picture presented by the ancient world, that is only because a great German [Ludwig Jahn²] showed to us through gymnastics the way to restore the balance between mind and body. . . . At a time when the people steps once more into the centre of the State's action, the leaders of the State cannot but remember with profound gratitude those institutions which co-operated to form with a consciousness of its own strength that substance which the statesman has to govern, the flesh and blood of the fellow

¹ *F.Z.*, 19 June 1933.

² Cf. p. 534 n. 1 *supra*.

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countrymen of his own blood. It is good to know that we Germans are bound together in the world not only by song¹ but also by strength. . . . The new Reich is not dedicated to theories, but to the maintenance of our people, and I would have you take away with you the conviction that it is not only knowledge which counts in the Third Reich but also strength. For us the highest ideal is the human type of the future whose radiant spirit has for its home a glorious body so that men, turning from money and property, may once more find their way to ideal riches."²

In his May-Day speech to German youth in 1935 Hitler said:

The fall of Germany "gave to us all the command to fight for a new young Germany. This fight began in the heart of our people. It was there that we had to create the preconditions for the resurrection of the German nation. It was in the heart of the people itself that the idea had first to be formed of a new leadership of people and State. Only after this great work of inner regeneration can the prestige of the Reich abroad be restored. All this that we are experiencing to-day is not a matter of chance, it is not a gift from Heaven, but the result of immense efforts, continual work, and the heaviest sacrifices. And this restoration of our German people is, and must be, my German youth, your greatest experience. Generations have been set no task of such a magnitude as this and generations could not perform such a task. It has been granted to the German people of to-day to accomplish a task which might well have taken many centuries, but which has been compressed into the space of a few years. This work of ours, done on your behalf

¹ Cf. p. 608 *infra*.

² *F.Z.*, 31 July 1933.

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and on behalf of our people, my German youth, is part of your own experience. This work through which a German people shall be born¹—this is also your task for the German future. It is your duty! When the great struggle for the new Germany began, I made it my purpose to detach the youth of Germany from the parties and to give it to Germany. To-day you must belong to Germany alone. And just as you belong to Germany, so must Germany be able to be proud of you, not collectively only but of each one individually. Therefore your task is not merely to form yourselves as a whole, but to shape each one of yourselves as individuals into a form which will allow Germany to see and look upon every one of you with pride. Every German youth, every German girl must be penetrated through and through with the sacred consciousness of your duty to become the representatives of our people! You must be penetrated with the feeling that you have to embody in yourselves everything which can enable Germany to be justly proud of her people. That is the great expectation with which Germany now looks towards you as the bearers of the German future. And this also is the great hope which I express before you to-day."

"Great things are happening at this present time, but all will be in vain if you do not guarantee a lasting German future. You are a link in the chain of German destiny. See to it then that the link is strong, lest this chain break with you and thus bring to an end our people's life."

"We are facing stern times. The wind to-day flutters our banners, but in the next few years perhaps it will bring up over Germany many a cloud and many a storm. But nothing in this world must make us afraid! You, my German youth, must be the guarantors for the secu-

¹ German: *diese Arbeit der deutschen Volkwerdung.*

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urity of the existence and thus of the future of our German people."¹

In his speech to Youth at the Nuremberg Parteitag on 14 September 1935 Hitler said:

Each year at the gatherings of youth at the *Parteitage* I note the difference: in each year "I see the same development which we can discern to-day in all the other spheres of German life. Our people grows continuously more disciplined, more taut, more sturdy, and youth begins to do the same."

"The ideal of manhood has not been always the same even in our own people. There were times which now seem to us to be very distant and are for us almost incomprehensible when the ideal of the young man was the lad who could hold his beer and was good for a drink.² And now his day is past and we like to see the young man who can stand all weathers, the strong, young man. It does not matter how many glasses of beer he can drink, but how many blows he can stand; not how many nights he can spend on the spree, but how many kilometres he can march. We no longer see in the loutish beer-drinker the ideal of the German people: that is to be found in men and girls who are sound to the core, who are sturdy."

"What we wish from our German youth is different from what past generations asked. In our eyes the German youth of the future must be slim and slender, swift as the greyhound, tough as leather, and hard as Krupp steel. We must educate a new type of manhood so that our people does not go to ruin amongst all the degeneracy of our day. We do not talk, we act. We have undertaken to educate this people in a new school, to give it an educa-

¹ *V.B.*, 2 May 1935.

² German: *der sogenannte bier- und trinkfeste Bursche.*

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tion which begins in youth and shall never come to an end. In future the young man will be raised from one school to another. It begins with the child and ends with the old fighter of the Movement. No one may say that for him there is any period of his life when he can devote himself exclusively to his own interests. Everyone is bound to serve his people, everyone is bound to arm himself for that service, to steel his body, to prepare and fortify his mind. And the sooner these preparations begin, the better. We shall not in the future neglect ten or fifteen years in our German education and then later be forced to make good what unfortunately has previously become bad. It is our intention and our will—and that will none shall break—that to the hearts of youth we will bring that spirit which we would like to regard and are determined to regard in Great Germany as the only possible spirit, the spirit which shall sustain the future. And that is not merely our will: we will make it a reality. And you are a section from this development, much tauter, much sturdier than three years ago. And in every succeeding year there will always be an improvement, of that I am sure." . . . We shall grow old, but "we shall carry with us in our hearts the happy conviction, the happy knowledge that our life struggle has not been in vain. Behind us those who are to follow us are already on the march. And they are spirit of our spirit, they share our determination, our hardness; they are the representatives of the life of our race."

Hitler then stressed the duty of obedience: "Nothing is possible if there is not a single will which issues its commands and which the others must always obey, beginning from above and ending only at the lowest point. And that is alongside of the training and hardening of the body the second great task. We are a 'follow-

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ing' (*Gefolgschaft*), and that means that it is our duty to 'follow', to obey.¹ We must educate our whole people so that wherever one is appointed to command the others recognize their duty to obey him, because perhaps an hour later they in their turn will be called upon to command and can only do so precisely as others render to them obedience. That is the expression of an authoritarian State, not of a weak chattering democracy; and in the authoritarian State everyone is proud to owe obedience because he knows: I shall in just the same way find obedience when I have to give a command. Germany is not a hen-roost where everything is in confusion and everyone cackles and crows, but we are a people which from its infancy learns how to be disciplined."

"If the others fail to understand us, that need not trouble us. It has never yet been the worst things in the world which most people have failed to understand. The opposite is true. . . . We are no bullies. If the rest of the world misconceives us in our discipline, we cannot help it. From this discipline of ours there will come fewer brawls for the world than from the parliamentary democratic chaos of to-day. We go our own way: we do not wish to cross the way of another. Would that the others would let us pursue our way in peace! That is the only reservation which we must make when we express our love for peace. To do no one wrong and to suffer wrong from none!² If we thus trace and define for the German people the way of life, then, I believe, that in other peoples, too, there will gradually come into being and grow an understanding for such a decent

¹ A paraphrase: German: *Wir sind eine Gefolgschaft, aber, wie das Wort schon sagt, Gefolgschaft heißt folgen, heißt, Gefolgschaft leisten.*

² A frequently recurring sentence, e.g. in the speech at the Harvest Festival of 1935, *F.Z.*, 8 Oct. 1935.

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frame of mind and here and there perhaps from this deep understanding the hand will be stretched out in brotherhood. But never do we wish to forget that only the strong deserves friendship, only the strong keeps friendship. And so our will is to make ourselves strong: that is our solution!"¹

In his May-Day Address to Youth, given at Berlin on 1 May 1936, Hitler said:

"My German Youth! Seldom in the history of Germany has a fairer destiny than yours fallen to the lot of a young generation. You live, as the youth of Germany, in a youthful Reich, in a youthful Reich full of joyous life, full of strong hope, full of an indestructible confidence. You live in a Reich with youthful, new ideas, full of youthful, new forces."

"The present generation of Germans accomplished a task of infinite greatness when it overcame the divisions and disunity of Germany. Through a new movement, the cause of German national unity has triumphed over tribal differences, over artificial State frontiers, and over parties. The nation has been united into one outlook, in one idea, and for one common struggle for existence. And they are united, too, in their determination to follow one road in this struggle, and to apply the principles of unity and close fellowship in all their dealings. You have lived to see the day, my Youth, when for the first time in our history 99 per cent. of a people has professed this spirit of unity; you have the good fortune to be the rising generation of this people. In this people you can build up your life, and thereby become, in your turn, the support of the life of this people in years to come."

"The present generation has made great progress on

¹ V.B., 15 Sept. 1935.

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this road towards close solidarity. That which only a few years since appeared impossible has now become reality; the time of weakness is past, the time when our people had lost their honour, and with it their value in the eyes of the world. And you are witnesses of this heroic resurgence, and will one day—I know—continue the ascent. For whatever be the achievements of the present generation, there is much that can be finally secured only with great difficulty and after many decades."

"We live still in a time over which lie the shadows of the past. There are still millions of our fellow-countrymen in our midst who are, in one way or another, filled with ideas which they have taken over with them from this past into the present. It is not so simple for these men and women to free themselves completely from the effects of their education, from the influence of earlier generations, of their own youth, and of the days when they grew to manhood."

"But what this generation is, perhaps, incapable of fully achieving, that you must and that—I am convinced, my Youth—you will completely achieve. For you know this past no more; you have the good fortune to grow up in this new purpose, in this new process of becoming. Your uniform shall be for you a perpetual reminder of this thought of the unity of the German people. This year, as we learnt only a few weeks ago, more than 90 per cent. of the new age-group found themselves in the Youth of our Party. By this we know that more than 90 per cent. of this youth is finally won over to our new conception of the State, to this new German conception of the people, to these new German ideals."

"What we ask of you now, my Youth, is this: we wish you to be first and foremost an idealistic youth. This, which perhaps many, especially in the past, have not

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understood, is for us a sacred need and a profession of faith which springs from the depth of our hearts. There were in the past many who used to say: We wish the Germans to think sensibly—and by 'sensibly' they meant that they should consider only their own life, and in their own life only the material side of this life: prudence and wisdom were their names for what was mainly egoism and self-seeking."

"We ask of you now, German youth, that you should be consciously idealistic, because we believe that only from this fundamental attitude of idealism can a real community of the people arise. If each one thinks only of himself, and each one keeps only his own interests before his eyes, then no community of the people can come into being. . . . We ask of you therefore that you should learn, while you are still young, that life for you must mean sacrifice: sacrifice of your personal freedom, sacrifice of your free time, sacrifice of many of the small pleasures of life; sacrifices when you take on yourself charges not for the individual, not for yourself alone, German boys and German girls, but for your small, and yet so great, community."

"And secondly we ask of you, German youth, that you should be strong in character! That you should learn to be decent in your thought, that you should shun what is and always will be harmful. We ask that you should be strong in character, because you profess the ideals and the virtues which at all times have been the foundation for great peoples."

"And in the third place, further, we ask of you to be hard, German youth, and to make yourselves hard! We cannot use a generation of 'mother's boys', of spoiled children. What we need is boys and girls who can one day become brave men and women. We must ask for a hard youth, so that one day, when life comes upon youth

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in all its hardness, it may not in face of this hardness surrender or grow weak. . . ."

"But most of all we ask of you, German youth, that you fashion the German people of the future, and in yourselves be for it a model."¹

In his address to the Arbeitsfront (the Work Front), delivered at Nuremberg on 12 September 1936, Hitler described the new type of German which the National Socialist Party aimed at producing.

"Nothing will alter my conviction that despite everything, men are becoming better, not worse. Even the Jew, if he tries to disprove this, will not bring it off! They are becoming better, they are steadily showing more understanding, steadily winning from each other the respect that is so necessary. Our people will steadily polish off its rough corners, until one day this type of German manhood will stand fully revealed before the gaze of posterity, this type which we to-day, divining the future, believe that we see ahead of us, and whose first representatives we can perhaps see in our youth as it grows up and develops year by year."²

Hitler's speech to German youth delivered on 1 May 1937 followed familiar lines: Germany needs a sound, a proud, a manly youth, one which "shall learn to stand straight, to walk straight and to look everyone fearlessly in the eyes. Each of you in this State must be able to carry a marshal's staff in his knapsack, both in the political and military sphere. But everyone who, anywhere and anyhow, desires to lead must in his turn have learned to obey. No one can command who has not himself learned to obey." And finally Germany needs a gay and joyous

¹ V.B., 2 May 1936.

² V.B., 14 Sept. 1936.

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youth. "This year's contingent of new recruits will grow up into this community; it will be so natural to them that they will find that they can live only in a community: and later they will leave this community and enter the organizations of the Party, the organizations of practical life. They will take their places in the *Arbeitsdienst*—the Labour Service—of the Reich, and at length the men will become soldiers and will thus gain their last initiation into the service of their people."

But that which gives this speech its special significance is Hitler's exclusive claim to the possession of youth, body and soul:

"The youth of to-day," *he said*, "is ever the people of to-morrow. For this reason we have set before ourselves the task of inoculating our youth with the spirit of this community of the people at a very early age, at an age when human beings are still unperverted and therefore unspoiled. There is only one German people, and thus there can be only one German youth! And there can be only one German Youth Movement because there is only one education of youth, only one upbringing (*Jugendbildung*). And the few who perhaps still hope in their hearts that in some way or another it may yet again be possible to break this unity of the people, beginning with the nation's youth, they will find that they have been deluded. This Reich stands, and it is building itself up for the future upon its youth. And this new Reich will give its youth to no one, but will itself take youth and give to youth its own education and its own upbringing."¹

¹ *F.Z.*, 3 May 1937, and cf. the following extract. On the difficulties raised for the Catholic Church by this claim cf. N. Micklem, *National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church*, London, 1939, Index, s.v. "Hitler Youth".

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In his address to German youth at the Parteitag in Nuremberg on 11 September 1937 Hitler said:

"The youth which to-day is growing up will be educated not as in the past for enjoyment, but for hardships and for sacrifices, and above all it will be trained to discipline the body. We believe that, if the body has not health and large capacities of resistance, in the long run even a healthy mind cannot control the destinies of the nation". . . .

"Over and over again it is the same petition that we would make to Providence—we have only one prayer: that our people may be sound and true; we would that Providence should teach our people the meaning of true freedom, that Providence should keep alive in it its love of honour. We would not ask that we should receive freedom as a gift: we would ask only that we may be a people of character that we may be ready at any time to conquer for ourselves that position in the world which a free people needs."

"We do not wish for any present, we want only the grace that we may be permitted to play our part in an honourable struggle. Then it may be left to Providence to determine from time to time whether this people has earned its life or not. And when I look on you I know the answer: this people will in the future, as in the past, earn its freedom and with freedom its honour and its life."

"You are now the youth of the German State. But never shall there be any other leadership of this youth than that which has come from the National Socialist idea, the National Socialist Movement. To-day you have already become an inseparable part of this idea and of this Movement. The Movement has formed you, from the Movement you have received your uniform, and in the service of the Movement you will remain your

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whole life through. That is the wonderful thing: in you the first link in the chain of our people's education is forged: with you the chain begins, and it will reach its end only when the last German sinks into his grave!"

"Never in the history of Germany has there been so deep an inner unity in spirit, in the constraint of a single will and in leadership. Many generations that have gone before us have dreamed of such a unity: we are the happy witnesses of the fulfilment of their dream."¹

In his speech to youth on 1 May 1938 Hitler said:

"Since the victory of the Movement, under whose banner you stand, there has been completed within our people the unification of heart (*innere Einigung*) of the Germans. And as wages for this work of ours Providence has given us Greater Germany (*Großdeutschland*). This unification is no gift of chance, it is the result of a systematic education of our people by the National Socialist Movement. . . . And this education begins with the individual at an age when he is not already burdened with preconceived ideas. The youth is the stone which is to go to the building of our new Reich! You are Greater Germany! In you is being formed the community of the German people. Before the single leader there stands a Reich, before the single Reich stands a people, and before the single people stands German youth! When I see you my faith in the future of Germany has no bounds, nothing can shake it. For I know that you will fulfil all that we hope of you. So I greet you to-day on this 1st of May in our new great Germany: for you are our spring. In you will and shall be completed that for which generations and centuries have striven, Germany!"²

¹ *V.B.*, 12 Sept. 1937.

² *V.B.*, 2 May 1938.

20. THE ARMY

*Hitler, in his evidence at the Leipzig trial in September 1930, said that in his view the army was responsible for the destiny of the people. The Frederician view of the army as being merely a mechanical war-instrument was to-day no longer adapted to the times. The soldier must be the supporter of the "volkic" idea.*¹

"I have always held the view that every attempt to disintegrate the army was madness. None of us have any interest in such disintegration. We will see to it that when we have come to power out of the present Reichswehr shall rise the great army of the German people."²

In Hitler's open letter to Brüning (14 October 1931), under the heading "The true task of the Army of the Reich: defence of the country, not protection of a System", Hitler wrote:

"The most regrettable feature of all is that the last instrument which is still sound in its general outlook³—the instrument on which you alone can still to-day rely for support—the Reichswehr—now through your representatives in the Government both directly and indirectly takes part in these [civil] struggles and is carried into their whirlpool. . . . For us the army is the representative and actual expression of the strength of a nation directed to the defence of its interests abroad. For you, Chancellor Brüning, it is in the last resort an institution for the protection of the Government in the domestic sphere. The victory of our ideas will give to the entire nation a political mode of thought, an outlook on the world, which will bring the army in spirit into a

¹ *F.Z.*, 26 Sept. 1930.

² *Ibid.*

³ German: *weltanschaulich noch nicht angefressene*.

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truly intimate relation to the whole people and will thus free it from the melancholy fact of being an alien body within its own people. The success of your view, Mr. Chancellor, will mean the obligation on the part of the army to maintain a political system which in its tradition and in its essential views is in deadly opposition to the spirit of an army."

"And this in its final result, whether that result is intended or not, must set upon the army the stamp of a police-troop designed more or less for domestic purposes. The question whether in the future such a development will lead to a bettering of the situation in the foreign politics of the Reich can be answered in the affirmative only by one who regards weakness as a recommendation."¹

In a speech in the Sportpalast at Berlin in September 1932 Hitler said that the army of the Reich was not there to defend a Government but to defend the Reich. The National Socialists would keep the army far removed from domestic burdens and would care for it both in its material and spiritual needs in a way previously unknown.²

For the decree establishing a National Socialist Department for Military Politics (with von Epp as director) see "The Times", 13 September 1932.

In a speech at the SA. Führertagung at Bad Reichenhall on 1 July 1933 Hitler said:

"After the assumption of power it is now important that all supporters of the will of the German Revolution especially the political fighting-associations (*Kampfverbände*) should be fused into a unity. The SA. and the

¹ *Hitlers Auseinandersetzung mit Brüning*, Munich, 1932, pp. 35-6.

² *F.Z.*, 3. Sept. 1932.

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Stahlhelm have pledged themselves to fight together in the future. There can be no question of conqueror and conquered in this union of forces: only the German people must be the conqueror. In order to control the difficult times which lie ahead of us SA. and Stahlhelm must form a sworn community pledged to stand together for life or for death. This army of the political soldiers of the German Revolution has no wish to take the place of our army or to enter into competition with it. I am convinced that the army of its own accord takes its stand on the ground of the new State's *Weltanschauung* and will, at any time, protect that State if it should be threatened."¹

In a speech at Bad Godesberg on 19 August 1933 he said:

"The relation of the SA. to the army must be the same as that of the political leadership to the army."²

In his speech on the Stahlhelm Day, 23 September 1933, Hitler said that it was a happy day which saw the meeting of the representatives of a new Weltanschauung with the supporters of the best ancient tradition in German history (the army). From this union there would flow streams of strength for future generations: it would remain a visible sign that young Germany was determined to renounce the sins of the fathers. "That is our pledge: at the beginning of our struggle there stood Germany; at the end of our struggle there will once more stand Germany". . . .

The pre-condition of a people's existence is a *Weltanschauung* which in its fundamental and essential points is generally accepted. The stronger is this domestic contract which forms the basis of a society's life, the

¹ *V.B.*, 3 July 1933, cf. p. 483 *supra*. ² *V.B.*, 22 Aug. 1933.

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greater power a people can exercise abroad. The weaker the domestic unity is, the more will a people become the puppet of its foreign foes. . . . As contrasted with the disunion in the view of the world which the Liberal State had actually licensed the National Socialist State has once more planted in the minds of the German people the thought that there is something higher than the freedom of the individual, that is the freedom and the life of all. This view must be maintained in all circumstances, by force if necessary. It is the task of the leaders to recognize what is necessary for the nation and to carry that through with iron resolution. The people seeks strength: it has always sought it. It is unhappy when it finds no strong leadership. It is therefore no wonder that the people acclaims our leadership to-day. . . . "I cannot lead any army if I allow every individual man to choose whether he will face the foe or whether he will prefer to retreat. When anyone casts in my teeth the question: However did *you* come to create a Movement like this? my answer is: I believe there is only one man who at that time had the right to do so and he was the soldier of the front line. The soldier had taken his skin to market—not for the victory of this or that particular view—for that end not a single man fell—but that this German people might once more have faith in its own future. At that time I felt myself to be simply one of the nine million soldiers returning from the front. We soldiers of the front line learned not to consider the numbers of the enemy but to trust to our own strength. The fight for Germany . . . came from the world of the German soldiery. We know quite definitely that not one of us would be in these uniforms were it not that behind us there was once the great army in which we have all served. Each of us knows that we have become what we are through the schooling which

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we shared out there in the field. That school has taught us in self-confidence to rely upon our own strength. . . . That we have smashed in pieces the Marxist organization, that we have hunted down their leaders, that we have barricaded their houses—all that is not important: but the one fact that we have brought the people to our side, that the people now belongs to us, that the people does in fact see and recognize in our Movement their leaders that is the decisive thing, it is that which makes us happy". . . .

"And on this day we would particularly remember the part played by our army, for we all know well that if, in the days of the revolution, the army had not stood on our side, then we should not be standing here to-day.¹ We can assure the army that we shall never forget this, that we see in them the bearers of the tradition of our glorious old army and that with all our heart and with all our powers we will support the spirit of this army."²

In his speech at Hamburg on 17 August 1934 Hitler said: "Our Government is supported by two organizations (*Teilen*): politically by the community of the people organized in the National Socialist Movement, and in the military sphere by the army. . . . On the loyalty of these two organizations to the State rest the strength and the force of the State. In the maintenance of this construction the whole German people must have the greatest interest, for it assures to the German State an indestructible solidity both internally and externally; . . . it gives to the Government stability and permanence and enables it to pursue a long-range policy". . . .

¹ Cf. Konrad Heiden, *One Man against Europe* (Penguin edition), pp. 46 ff.

² *F.Z.*, 24 Sept. 1933. This gives a summary of the speech: I have translated from this report, but in the early part of the extract I am not sure how far it reproduces precisely Hitler's own wording.

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"There is no one in whose eyes the German Army needs to rehabilitate its fame in arms. The German Government has no need to seek successes in war, for its régime is based on a foundation which nothing can shake and it is supported by the confidence of the whole people. The Government of the German Reich needs no such successes in foreign politics to strengthen its domestic position."¹

In his final speech at the Parteitag, delivered at Nuremberg on 10 September 1934, Hitler said:

"Only if we, by our combined action, can realize in the Party the incorporation of the thought and the character of National Socialism, will it become an eternal and indestructible pillar of the German people and Reich. Then by the side of the army, the old proud bearer of our people's arms, with its glorious past of fame, shall stand the political leadership of the Party, no less based upon a foundation of tradition. And then these two institutions in common will educate and strengthen the German, and bear on their shoulders the German State, the German Reich."²

In his speech to the Party Leaders at Nuremberg on 14 September 1935 Hitler said:

"We are especially happy to-day to see among us for the first time officers and men of the new army of the German people, that army from which almost all of us once came, and to which the German people will again in the future give its sons, entrusting them to loyal hands, that they may become brave, disciplined, reliable and trustworthy men, as were our soldiers in the past."

"We know that our army does not educate them for a

¹ *Berliner Tageblatt*, 19 Aug. 1934.

² *F.Z.*, 12 Sept. 1934.

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warlike militarism, any more than we have done. It educates them only to be reliable, decent members of the community,¹ men who in the hour of need and danger will feel themselves united in loyalty with the nation, and who, should fate confront them with the sternest ordeal, will defend the freedom of their people with bravery and honour.² That is the meaning of this recreation of our army. It has been formed not to wage wars of aggression, but to guard and protect our people, so that Germany may not again suffer the tragic fate which we were all forced to endure in this country for fifteen years. It is not to deprive other peoples of their freedom, but to protect our own German freedom: that is why the army is here."³

Speaking at the meeting of the Reichstag held during the Parteitag of the year 1935 in Nuremberg (15 September 1935) Hitler said:

"To-morrow the Day of the Army (*der Tag der Wehrmacht*) will bring the *Parteitag* to a close. The picture presented by this festival of the Movement recalls and intensifies the impression made by the past year. The German people has found its way to a unity and discipline which are probably without their parallel in history. This expression of the cohesion of the Movement is at the same time an expression of the strength of the present Government. The German nation now possesses what it has longed for in vain for centuries.

¹ *Volksgeossen.*

² German: *tapfer und anständig verteidigen.*

³ *V.B.*, 15 Sept. 1935, cf. speech at the meeting of the Reichstag in Nuremberg on 15 Sept. 1935. "The aim which has inspired us in building up our army was not to threaten the freedom of any European people, much less to rob it of its freedom; our aim was exclusively to secure for the German people its freedom." *V.B.*, 16 Sept. 1935.

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It has become a united people of brothers, freed from the mutual prejudices and restraints of past times. This inner strength will find its counterpart to-morrow in the picture which the army will present to us. It will not be a mass-demonstration, but it will simply serve to display the intrinsic value of our new army. The German people may count itself fortunate in its consciousness of strength regained after such terrible suffering and such long weakness."¹

At the Parteitag in Nuremberg in September 1935 Hitler addressed representatives of the new German army; he said:

"The German was always a good soldier: the service of arms was never for our people an enforced service but at all periods of our history a service of the highest honour. It was thus the more grievous and the more depressing for the decent, honour-loving German not to be allowed to be a soldier—especially when that veto was imposed under dishonouring and humiliating conditions. To what an extent this state of affairs has now been overcome you, my soldiers, are the witness, and to-day the whole German people can see the evidence of this in this picture of the union of the German as soldier with the armament which is the result of modern technical achievement. Once more every young German man, if the nation considers him worthy of the honour, will take his place in your ranks; once more you will perform your service with the arms that are to-day employed by the other nations of the world."

"This service demands from each one of you sacrifices. Each must sacrifice something of his personal freedom: he must bring as his offering obedience, subjection to his superiors—he must bring also hardness, endurance and

¹ *V.B.*, 16 Sept. 1935.

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above all and in the highest degree a consciousness of his duty. But they are wrong who think that this sacrifice must be extorted from the German man. That sacrifice German men have throughout the centuries rendered of their own free will and have been proud to do so. And not only in time of peace has the German as a soldier gladly offered this sacrifice to the nation: he offered it no less readily when the need of the Reich summoned him to protect his people and his Fatherland. The German was not merely a good peace-time soldier; he was ever also a brave fighter."

"But what are all these sacrifices which are demanded to-day from you and from us when compared with the sacrifices which twenty years ago were demanded from us and from our comrades? Let each of you if he should ever feel the service of the soldier a burden consider that eight days' drum-fire demanded more sacrifices from the battalions and regiments of our old army than does a whole year's peace-time service. But that drum-fire did not break the German people in arms. The German people broke only because it had lost its inner freedom, its inner faith in the right of its cause. This faith has to-day returned, and this faith is not merely the possession of the hundreds of thousands in your own ranks, but millions and millions of our fellow-countrymen wrap you about with this burning faith, this burning confidence, this warm love."

"And if you must bring your personal sacrifice in obedience in performance of duty, in subjection to your superiors, in hardness, endurance, capacity, forget not, my soldiers, that on its side the whole German people brings great sacrifices for you. It is no easy task for the German people to build up that force which to-day stands here and in many another place in Germany. Our people must bring heavy sacrifices and is glad to bring

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them. For it would in the first place wish to be sure that its sons are not badly armed, and secondly it would wish that Germany should not be defenceless in the future. And so continuously we bring these sacrifices in common—the people on your behalf and you for the people: and both for Germany, our people and our dear German Reich! And, beyond that, we make these sacrifices in the conviction that it needs no war to repay us for our efforts.”

“Before now Germany had a proud and brave army, had heroic fighters. This is but natural for the German soldier. But the army was not merely in war the nation’s great defence, it was in peace the splendid school of our people. It is the army which has made men of us all, and when we looked upon the army our faith in the future of our people was always reinforced. And this old glorious army, it is not dead; it only slept, and now it has arisen again in you!”

“You, my comrades, bear on the points of your weapons and on your helmets an unequalled legacy. You are not an artificial creation, without tradition, without a past: there is nothing else in the whole of Germany which is so rich in traditions as that which you have to embody and can embody. There is indeed no need for you to win for the German army a title to fame; that it possesses already. Your task is but to preserve that fame.”

“And when we stand here in steel and armour of metal that is not because we feel that we must restore the honour of the German people. So far as this honour was supported by our soldiers, no one in the world has ever yet been able to take it away. Germany has never lost her military honour and least of all in the last war. We need not to recover it. Rather it is ours to see to it that in the future so much honour, so much heroism,

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and so great sacrifices shall not have been offered in vain as once they were."

The speech closed with an appeal to the troops to be worthy of the sacrifices of the past, and of the confidence with which the German people of to-day regarded them. "For you have become *men*, and our wish is that the whole German youth shall enter this glorious last school and grow to a manhood such as yours. We want to bring up a hard generation, a generation which is strong, reliable, loyal, obedient and decent so that we may not need to be ashamed of our people before the judgement-seat of history."¹

After the introduction of the two years period of compulsory military service, in his speech to the army at Nuremberg on 14 September 1936 Hitler said:

"What fills us to-day with so great a pride is our achievements in the field of peaceful work. The highest task which is set before us is the preservation and the maintenance of this achievement and this work. And when millions, year in year out, are devoting their lives to this work in factory and workshop, in business or office, then it is but natural and reasonable that all should be just as ready to devote their lives to maintain that which has been so created."

"It is for this purpose, my soldiers, that the nation has called upon you—not to serve any frivolous experiment of an extravagant Chauvinism but to stand guard over our industry, to stand guard over our people, to stand guard over our Germany!" . . .

"In people, Party, and army we are forming a community indissolubly sworn together. Grave times may come. Never will they see us hesitate, never will they find us spiritless, never cowards! For this we all

¹ *F.Z.*, 17 Sept. 1935.

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know: The half-hearted¹ will never win the Kingdom of Heaven! No cowards keep their freedom! The future belongs to the brave, and to them alone!"

"What is asked of you is only a small part of that which the past demanded of us. Then, we did our duty; to-day, you will perform yours. But for those two years which I ask of you for Germany I pay you back with ten years! For through this discipline of the army each of you will become a healthier man than ever in his life before. That which you give to the Fatherland in your youth will be repaid to you in your old age! You will become a healthy generation, not stifled in offices and factories, but reared in sun and light, steeled by exercise and, above all, strengthened in character."²

In his speech to the soldiers after the parade of the army at Nuremberg on 12 September 1938 Hitler said:

"Soldiers of the German Army! Once again, as in past years, you stand here in Nuremberg on the occasion of the *Reichsparteitag*, but this year for the first time as soldiers of the Great-German Reich. That this dream of centuries could become a reality, we owe to two facts; first, the successful creation of a real community of the German people, and thereby of the conditions necessary for the fulfilment of this dream, secondly, the establishment of Germany's new armed forces, whose soldiers finally realized this dream by their march [into Austria]."

"From this two conclusions may be drawn. First, the necessity for the existence of the Movement which in less than two decades has succeeded in bringing the German people out of a condition of extreme internal chaos into the unity which we see to-day. The National

¹ German: *keine Halben*. For *Halbheit* in *MK*. cf., e.g., pp. 258, 266, 269 (top), 297, 298, 301, &c. (German.)

² *F.Z.*, 16 Sept. 1936.

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Socialist teaching and Party are the guarantors of this community of the German people at home. Secondly, we may learn how necessary it is that to this community of the people, with its ordered domestic life, we should give protection from the foreign foe. This protection lies exclusively in the strength of our own arms, and therefore in the persons of those who bear them."

"No negotiation, no conference, no agreement gave to us Germans our natural right to unity. We had to take this right for ourselves, and that we could take it was due solely to you, my soldiers!"

"And so these two great institutions of our people have two like tasks to perform. National Socialism educates our people into the community of the people at home, and the army educates this same people to defend this community against attack from abroad."

"You, my soldiers, have already in this new Reich been entrusted with a task.¹ Through your performance of that task you have won the affection of the German people. It has placed its confidence in you; it knows that it can trust its sons in arms. For you have the best weapons that there are to-day, you have the best training, and I know that you have also the highest character. You take your places in the eternal and imperishable Front of the German soldiery!"²

Note

See Benoist-Méchin, *Histoire de l'Armée allemande 1919-1936*, vol. ii, *De la Reichswehr à l'Armée nationale*, Paris, Michel, 1938, pp. 391-669. I do not know of any monograph in English on the new army of the National Socialist State, but reference may be made to the brief chapters in H. Rosinsky, *The German Army*, London, Hogarth Press, 1939 (inaccurate in details), pp. 215-67, and cf. S. H. Roberts, *The House that Hitler Built*, London,

¹ i.e. the march into Austria.

² *F.Z.*, 13 Sept. 1938.

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Methuen, 1939, pp. 120-32. For the German Army there is a modern encyclopaedic work: *Handbuch der neuzeitlichen Wehrwissenschaften*, ed. H. Franke: vol. i, *Wehrpolitik und Kriegsführung*, Berlin und Leipzig, De Gruyter, 1936; vol. ii, *Das Heer*, *ibid.*, 1937; vol. iii (1) *Die Kriegsmarine*, *ibid.*, 1938, (2) *Die Luftwaffe*, *ibid.*, 1939.

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It is remarkable that so far as I know Hitler, in none of his speeches, has discussed in detail the character of the education to be given to youth in the National Socialist State. For his views on that subject the student must still go to "Mein Kampf", pp. 451 sqq. (German), pp. 342 sqq. (English). Similarly Hitler in his speeches has not considered the function of the universities and of university studies: thus his address to university students, delivered in Berlin on 7 February 1934, is devoted to political questions and closes with an appeal to youth for political co-operation. Beyond constant general references to the duty of the Party to educate the German people into the National Socialist Weltanschauung he has left to others to develop the implications of that duty. Again, he has said nothing of literature and its place in the Third Reich, or of the theatre. Of his address to the delegates of the Film Congress on 2 May 1935 no report is accessible to me. Thus in the cultural sphere it is only of art and of architecture that Hitler in his speeches has treated at any length. In the address delivered at the opening of the Exhibition of German Art in Munich on 18 July 1937 Hitler said that German art would be left to the judgement of the German people. A somewhat unexpected application of this principle had previously been announced in November 1936, when all art criticism was forbidden throughout the Reich: after that date only descriptions of works of art were to be permitted, and even those only when the writer added his full name to the article. To edit any journal concerned with art special permission must be obtained; this would be granted only to those who were at least thirty years of age, &c. So closely must art be safeguarded in the Third Reich.¹

¹ On this suppression of art criticism, cf. *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, iv (1937), pp. 317-19, 322-3; v (1938), pp. 419-20.

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It is of course to be remembered that Hitler has always despised "dead knowledge"; that knowledge in his scale of values in education takes the last place. "Any country," he has said, "that is founded only on the intellectual classes is built on a weak foundation. I know the intellectual—always indulging in sophistry, always probing and searching, but always wavering and uncertain, mobile, but never sure."¹ The general malady of the age, he said in another speech, was the over-estimate of knowledge: it "was not only knowledge but strength that counted."² On another occasion he said: "it is not the intellectual classes which gave me the courage to begin this gigantic work."³ Citations could easily be multiplied,⁴ but Hitler's general attitude must be recalled if the restricted range of the following translated extracts is to be understood.

Hitler, in his conversation with Otto Strasser on 21 May 1930, is reported to have said:

"There is no such thing as a Revolution in art: there is only one eternal art—the Greek-Nordic art, and all such terms as 'Dutch Art', 'Italian Art', 'German Art' are merely misleading and just as foolish as it is to treat Gothic as an individual form of art—all that is simply Nordic-Greek art and anything which deserves the name of art can always only be Nordic-Greek. . . . There is no such thing as Chinese or Egyptian art: the Chinese or Egyptian peoples were of mixed composition, and upon a body belonging to a people of lower race there was set a Nordic head which alone created the masterpieces which to-day we admire as Chinese or Egyptian art. When this thin Nordic upper layer disap-

¹ Speech of 10 May 1933. I quote the authorized English translation in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, p. 52.

² *F.Z.*, 31 July 1933.

³ *V.B.*, 11 Nov. 1933.

⁴ Cf. the use of the word *Intelligenz* in *Mein Kampf*: see, e.g., pp. 243, 364, 480-1.

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peared, e.g. the Manchus, then art in those countries came to an end."¹

In defining the aims and tasks of the new Government in his speech in the Reichstag on 23 March 1933 Hitler said:

"Simultaneously with this political purification of our public life, the Government of the Reich will undertake a thorough moral purging of the body corporate of the nation. The entire educational system, the theatre, the cinema, literature, the Press, and the wireless—all these will be used as means to this end and valued accordingly. They must all serve for the maintenance of the eternal values present in the essential character of our people. Art will always remain the expression and the reflection of the longings and the realities of an era. The neutral international attitude of aloofness is rapidly disappearing. Heroism is coming forward passionately and will in future shape and lead political destiny. It is the task of art to be the expression of this determining spirit of the age. Blood and race will once more become the source of artistic intuition. It is the task of the Government to take measures to secure that, especially at a time of limited political power, the value of man's inner life and a nation's will to live should find all the more forceful cultural expression. This resolve obliges us to regard our great past with gratitude and admiration. In all spheres of our historical and cultural life the knowledge of our tradition must be the pride of the present and must form a bridge which shall lead into the future. Respect for the great men of the past must once more be hammered into the minds of our youth: it must be their sacred heritage."²

¹ Otto Strasser, *Ministersessel oder Revolution?* pp. 7-8.

² German Text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935),

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At the Nuremberg Parteitag on 11 September 1935 Hitler delivered an "Address on Art and Politics". The address was of great length and there is much repetition in it. Some passages which are simply repetitious I have omitted in my translation.

" . . . At some future date," *Hitler said*, "people will be astonished to find that at the very time when National Socialism and its leaders were fighting to a finish a heroic struggle for existence—a life-and-death struggle—the first impulses were given towards a revival and resurrection of German art; at this time the political parties were crushed, the resistance of the German States was broken, and the sovereignty of the Reich was firmly anchored as the sole and exclusive authority. While the Centrum [the Centre Party] and Marxism, beaten and pursued, were given over to annihilation, while the trades unions were extinguished and National Socialist ideas and conceptions left the world of visionary schemes and bit by bit were brought to realization, there was yet found time, in spite of everything, to lay the foundations of the temple of the goddess of Art. A Revolution sweeps over the face of the State, and yet at the same time concerns itself with sowing the first seeds of a new higher culture. And it does this indeed in no merely negative sense. For whatever scores we had to settle with our criminals of the world of culture, we did not spend too much time in bringing to book these destroyers of our art. From the first our determination held the field: we will not let ourselves be drawn into endless debates with men who—to judge from their achievements—were either fools or knaves. In fact we have always regarded the actions of

pp. 28-9. The translation given above is an adaptation of the official English translation published in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, p. 19.

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the leaders of these cultural Herostratuses¹ as nothing but crimes. Every personal dispute with them must therefore have ended in bringing them either into the prison or the mad-house according as they really believed that these creations of a diseased imagination represented their own inner experiences or admitted that these productions themselves were but a melancholy concession to an equally melancholy fashion. And this we had determined quite apart from any consideration of those Jewish-Bolshevist *littérateurs* who see in such a 'cultural activity' an effective means for producing uncertainty and instability amongst civilized nations and in fact use it for that purpose. We were but the more resolved to secure in the new State a positive advancement and treatment of cultural tasks. And we were just as firmly determined that Dadaist-Cubists and Futurists with their chatter of 'inner experiences' or 'realism' should in no circumstances have any part in this cultural renaissance. . . . We realized that we had to give to the first National State which was purely German in character those cultural features which it was destined to bear through the centuries to come."

"To this activity of ours at such a time two objections have been raised. I need not concern myself with the opinion of those hypocrites who, although they realize the permanent significance of our cultural plans, through their hatred of the German people cannot lose any opportunity for criticism. Their rejection of our action is its highest recommendation. It is with the objections of well-intentioned though narrow-minded folk that I would deal. And the first objection is that, however

¹ Herostratus set fire to the temple of Artemis in Ephesus (356 B.C.). Under torture he is said to have confessed that he had done this in order to make his name immortal. Cf. Val. Max. viii, 14, extract 5.

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valuable such efforts might be in other circumstances, they are neither necessary nor of pressing urgency to-day: is not practical work more important, is not the satisfaction of the material needs of life for the time being of greater moment than the erection of monumental buildings? And the second objection may be stated thus: Can we allow ourselves to make sacrifices for art when on every hand we are faced with so much poverty and misery? Is not art in the last resort a luxury for the few? Ought we not rather to provide for all the bread which is a necessity?"

"And to these objections my answer would be: Art is not an activity of human life which can be summoned at need and at need dismissed or pensioned off. It is true that the cultural capacity of a people must either in general exist or in general be lacking. Art belongs to the whole complex of the racial values and gifts of a people. But the functional effectiveness of such capacities for creative and permanent achievements follows the same law of continuous development and growth as every other human activity. Just as one cannot suspend for a certain period in a people all concern with mathematics or with physics without causing a measurable decline in the progress of all others who have special capacities in the same field, so in the same way one cannot suspend cultural activity for a certain period without necessarily causing a consequent general cultural retrogression and final ruin. Thus, for example, it is impossible to close down what is by far the most remarkable artistic creation of the post-classical theatre—the opera—for a longer or shorter period—but only temporarily—with the view of later restoring it once more in its old splendour. And that is so not merely because the artistes needed for the production of the work of art would no longer be available—no, the capacity of the public for appreciation of

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the opera needs a continuous care and schooling just as much as in the case of the painter.¹ That is true for art in general. No age can claim to free itself from its duty to foster art; it would lose, did it do so, not only the capacity for artistic creation, but also the capacity to understand, to experience art. For both capacities are indissolubly connected. The creative artist educates and perfects (*veredelt*) through his work the nation's capacity for appreciation, just as conversely the general feeling for art thus developed and sustained creates the fruitful soil which is the condition for the birth, the growth, and the activity of creative forces."

And any such suspension of cultural activity would only be the more dangerous when the general political and economic distresses of a period imperatively demand a reinforcement of a nation's moral strength. "For it is important to understand that the great cultural achievements of humanity were at all times the highest achievements of the life of the community. Whether in the material or in the purely spiritual sphere, in them is incorporated the deepest, the essential force of a people. But never is it more necessary to lead a people to this unending force of its eternal inner character and being than at the time when political or economic cares might only too easily weaken its faith in its higher values and thus in its mission. When the weak, human spirit, pursued by suffering and anxiety, fails in its faith in the greatness and future of its people, then is the moment to raise it up anew by pointing to those evidences of the inner imperishable and highest value of a people which no political or economic distress can destroy. And the more the natural claims of a nation's life are misunderstood or suppressed—even denied—the more important is it to give to these natural claims the character of a

¹ German: *der darstellende Künstler*.

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higher right through the visible demonstration of a people's higher values which, as the experience of history shows, still remain after millennia the indestructible witnesses not merely of the greatness of a people but at the same time also of the people's moral right to life."

"Yes, and even if the last living witnesses of such an unfortunate people have closed their mouths in death, then the stones will begin to speak. There is hardly a people which history finds worthy of a mention for its positive achievement which has not in its cultural values raised its own memorial, while to the destroyers of those achievements of alien peoples which still have left surviving traces is given only the melancholy statement of the bare fact of that destruction. What would the Egyptians be without the pyramids and temples, without the adornments of their human life; what would the Greeks be without Athens and the Acropolis; what Rome without its buildings; what the lines of our German Emperors without their cathedrals and their palaces; what our Middle Ages without their civic buildings and guild-halls or religions without churches or cathedrals? We should not know that there was once a Maya people, or should regard that fact as of no account, were it not that to the astonishment of our own age the mighty ruins of the cities of such legendary peoples ever awake afresh the notice and arouse and hold the interest of researchers. No; no people lives longer than the evidences of its civilization (*Kultur*)!"

And in times of economic and political confusion and distress nothing can better bring to a people's consciousness that this confusion and distress are but a passing suffering than to hold before it "the imperishable creative force of the nation—its greatness and significance. That force can give a people its fairest consolation, since it raises it above the weakness of the moment,

just as it raises it above the worthlessness of its persecutors. And, even when conquered, such a people through its immortal achievements arises in the judgement of history, even after its defeat, as the true victor over its foes."

"The objection that only a small part of a people can understand and take its share in artistic experience and thus be interested in art is false. For with equal justice one could represent any other activity in a people's life as unimportant, since the people as a whole seems to have no direct share in it. Will anyone maintain, for example, that the mass of a nation takes any direct part in the supreme achievements of chemistry, physics, or generally in any of the other supreme expressions of life or of the sciences? I am on the contrary convinced that art, since it forms the most uncorrupted, the most immediate reflection of the life of the people's soul, exercises unconsciously by far the greatest direct influence upon the masses of the peoples, but always subject to one condition: that it draws a true picture of that life and of the inborn capacities of a people and does not distort them. This gives us a sure clue in judging the worth or the worthlessness of an art. Perhaps the most devastating condemnation of the entire Dadaistic artistic activity of the last decades is to be found in the fact that the overwhelming majority of the people did not merely reject it but in the end ceased to show any interest for this kind of Jewish-Bolshevistic mockery of art."

"The sole remaining admirers who still perhaps more or less honestly believed in these follies were at last their manufacturers. In such circumstances the circle of those within a people who are interested in art could not well be smaller—it embraces the imbecile degenerates who, thank God, are still in the minority as well as those forces which are interested in the destruction of the nation. . . ."

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"Just as from the number of creative artists it is always but few who reach the peak of human achievement, so the ultimate understanding of art cannot be shared by all alike. But the way towards this height, no matter at what stage understanding reaches its limit, can always fill everyone with deep inner satisfaction."

"The National Socialist Movement, if it is in the right in attributing to itself a revolutionary significance, is bound to strive by every means to transform its presumptuous view into a claim which shall be justified by its creative achievement: its task is to bring the people to a conviction of its general and of its special higher mission through demonstrating its supreme cultural endowments and the visible outcome of these endowments. In this way its own work and struggle will be rendered only the easier since it will increase the people's understanding for the greatness of its aims through the profound effect which has always been produced by great cultural achievements and especially by achievements in the field of architecture. He who would educate a people to be proud of itself must give to it visible ground for pride. The work and the sacrifices which went to the building of the Parthenon were given once for all, but the pride of Greece for such a masterpiece was continuous; the admiration of contemporaries and of posterity will hardly ever be extinguished. One anxious wish and one alone must therefore fill the hearts of us all—that Providence may grant to us the great masters who shall echo in music the emotions of our soul, who shall immortalize them in stone. We know that here more than elsewhere the bitter saying is proved true: 'many think themselves to be called, but few are chosen.' But since we are convinced that in the sphere of politics we have truly expressed the character and the vital will of our people, we believe also in our capacity to recognize

and thus to find the corresponding cultural complement. We shall discover and encourage the artists who are able to impress upon the State of the German people the cultural stamp of the Germanic race which will be valid for all time."¹

The second objection—that art is a luxury which ought not to be indulged while material needs are still unsatisfied—could have been raised at any time, for poverty and distress were always present. Would distress cease if these artistic achievements were not attempted? No, "if mankind had not ennobled its existence through great creative efforts it would never have found the ladder which points from the material distress of primitive existence to a higher humanity. But it is this which in the end lends to an order of society in which the great eternal values of a people become visibly recognizable and which clearly suggests the care for the life of the community and consequently regard for the life of the individual. Thus the less care a people gives to art, the lower in most cases is its general standard of life, and as a result the greater is the distress of its citizens." . . . Art is not the expression of any capitalistic tendency: "on the contrary, all man's great cultural creations have arisen as creative achievements out of a community-consciousness and therefore in their origin and in the picture which they present they are the expression of the soul and the ideals of the community. It is thus no chance that all great communities which are inspired by a *Weltanschauung* tend to immortalize themselves through great cultural creations. And those ages marked by profound religious feeling and most widely withdrawn from a material outlook could point to the greatest cultural creations, while on the other hand the

¹ The German text has *als einem zeitlos gültigen*, i.e. the State. I think we should read *als einen* . . . i.e. *Stempel*, and translate as above.

Jews, infected through and through with capitalism and acting in its spirit, never possessed an art of their own and never will possess such an art. Although over long periods this people more than others often had at its disposal vast individual fortunes and material wealth, it could never rise to the production of a style of its own either in architecture or in music. Even for the building of its Temple in Jerusalem it owed the final plan to the help of foreign architects just as to-day the erection of most of its synagogues is entrusted to German, French, or Italian craftsmen!"

"I am therefore convinced that but a few years of National Socialist leadership of the people and the State will give to the German people in the sphere of cultural achievements more and greater works than have the recent decades of the Jewish régime taken together". . . .

And from the purely material point of view whatever the erection of these masterpieces may have cost was repaid in wages while "by the circuitous path of a general ennoblement of human nature the whole standard of living was raised. The general self-consciousness of the people was also raised and thereby the individual capacity for achievement was increased. For this to be true one condition is essential: art must be the Prophetess of Sublimity and Beauty and thus sustain that which is at once natural and healthy. If art does this, then no sacrifice in its behalf is too great; if it does not, then every mark spent upon it is money squandered. For in that case art is not an element of health and therefore a constructive element, a source of new life, but a sign of degeneration and downfall. That which poses as a revelation of the 'cult of the Primitive' is not the expression of a naïve, unspoiled soul but of a degeneracy which is utterly corrupt and diseased. He who would seek to excuse the pictures and the sculptures—to take a par-

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ticularly flagrant example—of our Dadaists, Cubists and Futurists or of our vainglorious Impressionists by a reference to the form of expression of primitive folk has not got a suspicion of the fact that it is not the function of art to remind men of the forms taken by degeneracy but rather to combat those forms by pointing to that which is eternally healthy, eternally beautiful. When destroyers of art of this type presume to desire to give expression to 'the Primitive' in the consciousness of a people they should remind themselves that our people at least, some thousands of years ago, had already long grown out of such 'Primitivism'. Our people not only rejects this nuisance, but it regards its manufacturers as incapables, cheats or madmen; and, in the Third Reich, we have no longer any intention to let these last loose on the people."

And if it be pleaded that this was the only means of attracting public attention, we say that this is but evidence of lack of character in the artists, and fifteen years ago we set ourselves in the political sphere to oppose just the same tendencies. "Our sympathy and our respect are reserved for those men who in other fields had the courage not to bow before the *canaille* or to pay their respects to the Bolshevist madness, but who with brave heart and with faith in a mission fought openly and honourably for that mission."

"And we would ask to be spared the objection that it is the function of art to be the servant of reality; that art must therefore contemplate and reproduce not merely that which is pleasant in the life of man, but also the unpleasant, it must represent not merely the beautiful, but also the ugly. Certainly art has always treated the tragic problems of life, it has shown and used for its creations the tensions between Good and Evil, i.e. between the useful and the harmful, but never in order

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to allow the harmful to triumph, but rather to prove the necessity of the useful. It is not the function of art to wallow in dirt for dirt's sake, never its task to paint men only in the state of decomposition, to draw cretins as the symbol of motherhood, to picture hunch-backed idiots as representatives of manly strength."

For such "artists" the time is past. And in becoming ever harder and more rigorous in our rejection, we are convinced that we are making no mistake. For he who has been chosen by Providence to give to that innermost character of a people, which remains eternally healthy, an external expression, visible in vital activity, will never find the way to such aberrations. And let no one talk of a "threat to the freedom of art". Just as one does not permit to a murderer the right to slay the body of his fellow man for fear of having to interfere with his freedom, so it is out of the question to concede to another the right to kill the soul of a people solely in order that no check may be placed upon his dirty and ungoverned fancy.

"We realize that the cultural creations of our day, especially in the field of architecture, must be as immortal in the feeling for the beauty of their proportions and relations as they are fitted to our own time in adaptation to their purpose and in regard for the materials employed in their construction. But there is hardly any word which in this sphere is used with greater absurdity than the word 'practical'.¹ All really great architects have built 'practically', i.e. they realized in their buildings the practical conditions and expectations of their day. It is true that these practical—but often all too human—requirements were not always regarded as of the same significance, and in consequence were treated differently. It is a fundamental mistake to think, for example, that

¹ German: *sachlich*—'realist' or 'practical'.

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such an architect as Schinkel¹ could not have constructed a modern water-closet adapted for its practical purpose: one has to remember that in the first place men's views of hygiene were different then from those of to-day, and secondly that the same importance was not in general attributed to such things as at present. But it is a still greater mistake to think that a modern building which is artistically satisfying cannot at the same time also solve in masterly fashion the problems presented by those features which are now regarded as essential."

"It is no question of any special endowment in an artist, it is a condition which may be taken as a matter of course from the outset that he can satisfy the primitive general demand that a building should serve those special and subordinate purposes for which it is created; the decisive point always remains—that the artist should give to the main purpose which as a whole the building is to serve a form which corresponds with that purpose and brings it into clear expression."

"If I continually put architectural problems into the foreground when I speak on cultural subjects, that is because they lie nearest my heart, since for us they are the most pressing. If fate denied to us to-day a great composer or a great painter or sculptor we might perhaps, though we could not make good the lack, at least in some measure counter it through the care bestowed on what the past has given us. The nation can point to such immeasurably great achievements of eternal value in these spheres of art that it might for a time be content with guarding them carefully. But in architecture our hand is forced by the fact that we need great buildings and their erection cannot be postponed. Our purposes demand their fulfilment and, further, if we did not begin

¹ Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841), Prussian architect, responsible for several well-known buildings in and near Berlin.

the task, the capacity of our craftsmen would slowly die out."

After a period of great artistic confusion there is a danger that we should relapse into a senseless and soulless imitation of the past. "At the present moment the most important point would appear to me to be that we should make a distinction between the erection of public monumental buildings and private building. The building created by the people as a whole must worthily represent those who commissioned it—the whole people—and must be a striking realization of the purposes set before the architect."

That aim cannot be reached either by an obtrusive extravagance or by a false "modesty" which often only serves to veil incapacity. "Buildings must speak for themselves. Buildings are not erected to give excuse for the writing of a literary treatise, nor can a bad building be transformed into a good one by any such long-winded loquacity. The true architect will first profoundly comprehend the purpose of the task set and will then intuitively discover the solution which can give the most striking external expression of that purpose; he will produce the building without attaching to it any philosophical disquisition on the way in which it is to be used"—a theatre, for example, will immediately and without question declare itself through its external form to be a theatre, "it will not create the impression of a Greek temple, a romantic castle, or a corn-silo. The architect will not hesitate to use modern building-materials or to employ them for artistic effect, just as he will without hesitation return to those elements of form which in the past were invented by the genius of a race similar to his own and which can now be still further developed or perfected or which can be regarded as the indispensable syllables of the language of architecture."

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"It is the mark of the really gifted artist that he can express new thoughts with words that have already been coined. And in addition to this there remains a number of modern tasks for which the past provides no examples and no models. It is precisely in these tasks that an opportunity is offered to the really gifted genius to enlarge art's form-language. He will unite this aim and task with the materials which the present gives to his hand, and thus seek that synthesis which, outpacing the mathematical understanding, in its clear realization of its purpose can rightly be regarded as a veritable intuition and thus deserves the name of art. Always the standard to be applied in the judgement of beauty will lie in the conscious and clearest adaptation to the purposed end: to find this is the task of the artist. To feel this, to understand it, to appraise its value" is the task of those responsible for the placing of commissions for the erection of public buildings.¹ And in giving out such commissions and in their execution it must never be forgotten that these buildings are indeed intended to serve immediate purposes, but that they have also a lasting, a timeless significance; they must possess an eternal value (*Ewigkeitswert*). "It is impossible to give to a people a strong sense of its stability if the great buildings erected by the community as a whole are not essentially superior to those which owe their origin and maintenance in a lesser or greater degree to the capitalistic interests of individuals". . . .

"That which gave to the cities of antiquity and of the Middle Ages their characteristic features, those features which are most worthy of our admiration and our love, was not the greatness of the houses of their private

¹ German: *die Aufgabe jener, die als Bauherren die Verantwortung tragen für die Stellung und Vergabung der öffentlichen Aufträge.*

citizens but rather those evidences of the life of the community which towered high above them. It was not these public buildings which had to be sought out with difficulty, but the buildings of private citizens which lay deep down in their shadow. So long as the characteristic features of the great cities of our day, the outstanding points which catch the eye, are warehouses, bazaars, hotels, offices in the form of sky-scrapers, &c., there can be no talk of art or of any real culture. Here it would be better to withdraw modestly into simplicity. Unfortunately in a *bourgeois* age the architectural development in public life was sacrificed to objects serving private capitalistic enterprise. The great task in the history of culture which lies before National Socialism consists above all in abandoning this tendency."

"But it is not only artistic but also political considerations which must constrain us, as we look on the great models of the past, to give to the new Reich a worthy cultural incorporation. Nothing is better calculated to reduce to silence the small carping critic than the eternal language of great art. Before the expressions of such great art the millennia make their obeisance in awed stillness. May God grant to us the greatness so to conceive our tasks that they may not fall short of the greatness of the nation. That is indeed no easy undertaking."

"What our people during the history of two thousand years has achieved in heroic greatness is numbered amongst the mightiest experiences of mankind. There were centuries during which in Germany, as in the rest of Europe, the works of art corresponded with this greatness of the human soul. The lonely sublimity of our cathedrals gives us an incomparable standard by which to judge of the truly monumental cultural outlook of those ages. They compel us to pass from admiration of their work to pay our tribute of profound respect to

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the generations which were capable of planning and of realizing such great conceptions."

"Since that day our people has risen and fallen in the play of the waves of destiny. We ourselves were witness of a heroism which set the world at defiance, of deepest despair, of a shattering discomfiture. Through us and in us the nation has risen again. When we to-day summon German art to new, great tasks, we would conceive of these tasks not merely as the fulfilment of the wishes and hopes of the present, but in the spirit of a millennial inheritance. In doing homage to this eternal national genius we summon into our present world the great spirit of the creative force of the past. And men will grow up to the stature demanded by such higher tasks and we have no right to doubt that if the Almighty gives us the courage to demand immortal achievement He will give to our people the strength to create that which shall be immortal. Our cathedrals are witness to the greatness of the past; the greatness of the present will one day be measured by those creations of eternal value which it leaves as its legacy. Only so will Germany experience a new flowering of its art, only so will our people gain the consciousness of a higher destiny!"¹

This should be compared with Hitler's speech delivered when, on 18 July 1937, he opened the House of German Art in Munich which was to take the place of the former "Glass Palace". In the collapse of Germany after the War, he said, the economic decline had been generally felt, the political decline had been denied by many, the cultural decline had not even been observed by the majority of the people. It was an age of phrases and catchwords: in the economic sphere the hard facts of misery and unemployment deprived these phrases of their force: in the

¹ *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 13 Sept. 1935.

political sphere such phrases as "international solidarity" had more success and veiled from the German people the extent of the political collapse. But in the long run the failure of the Parliamentary-Democratic form of government, copied from the West—a West which regardless of this democratic form still continued to extort from Germany whatever there remained to extort—defeated the phrase-mongers. Far more lasting was the effect of these phrases in the cultural field where they resulted in a complete confusion concerning the essential character of culture. Here the influence of the Jews was paramount and through their control of the Press they were able to intimidate those who desired to champion "the normal sound intelligence and instinct of men". Art was said to be "an international experience", and thus all comprehension of its intimate association with a people was stifled: it was said that there was no such thing as the art of a people or, better, of a race: there was only the art of a certain period. Thus it was not Greeks who created the art of Greece, Romans the art of Rome, &c.—a particular period had found in each art its expression. Art is a "time-conditioned phenomenon". So to-day there is not a German or a French art, but a "modern art". This is to reduce art to the level of fashions in dress, with the motto "Every year something fresh"—Impressionism, Futurism, Cubism, perhaps also Dadaism. These newly created art phrases would be comic, if they were not tragic.

The result was uncertainty in judgements passed on art and the silencing of those who might otherwise have protested against this *Kulturbolschewismus*, while the Press continued to poison our sound appreciation of art. And just as in fashions one must wear "modern" clothes whether they are beautiful or not, so the great masters of the past were decried. But true art is and remains eternal, it does not follow the law of the season's fashions:

its effect is that of a revelation arising from the depths of the essential character of a people which successive generations can inherit. But those who do not create for eternity do not readily talk of eternities: they seek to dim the radiance of these giants who reach out of the past into the future in order that contemporaries may discover their own tiny flames. These facile daubers in art¹ are but the products of a day: yesterday, non-existent: to-day, modern: to-morrow, out of date. The Jewish discovery that art was just the affair of a period was for them a Godsend: theirs could be the art of the present time. Theirs was a small art—small in form and substance—and at the same time intolerant of the masters of the past and the rivals of the present. There was a conspiracy of incapacity and mediocrity against better work of any age. The new rich, having no judgement of their own in art matters, accepted these artists at their own valuation. It was only an attraction that these works of art were difficult to understand and on that account very costly: no one wished to admit lack of comprehension or insufficient means! And if one does not oneself understand, probably one's neighbour will not either, and he will admire one's comprehension of obscurity.

For this "modern art" National Socialism desires to substitute a "German" art and an eternal art. This House of German Art is designed for the art of the German people—not for an international art. "The people in the flux of phenomena is the one constant point.² It is that which is abiding and permanent, and therefore art as the expression of the essential character of the abiding people must be an eternal monument, itself abiding and permanent; there can be therefore no standard of yesterday and to-day, of modern or un-

¹ German: *dieses leichte Kunstschnierantentum*.

² German: *der ruhende Pol*.

modern: there can be only the standard of 'valueless' or 'valuable', of 'eternal' or 'transitory'." "And therefore in speaking of German art I shall see the standard for that art in the German people, in its character and life, in its feeling, its emotions and its development."

From the history of the development of our people we know that it is composed of a number of more or less distinct races which in the course of millennia through the formative influence of a certain outstanding racial kernel produced that mixture which we see before us in our people to-day. This force which formed the people in time past and which still to-day continues that formative activity lies in the same Aryan branch of mankind which we recognize not only as the support of our own civilization but of the earlier civilizations of the ancient world.

The way in which our people was composed has produced the many-sidedness of our own cultural development, but as we look upon the final result of this process we cannot but wish for an art which may correspond to the increasing homogeneity of our racial composition, and thus present in itself the characteristics of unity and homogeneity. Many attempts have been made through the centuries to define what "to be German" really means. I would not seek to give an explanation in the first instance. I would rather state a law—a law previously expressed by a great German: "To be German is to be clear", and that means that to be German is to be logical and true. It is this spirit which has always lived in our people, which has inspired painters, sculptors, architects, thinkers, poets, and above all our musicians. When on 6 June 1931 the Glass Palace was burned down there perished with it an immortal treasure of German art. The artists were called Romantics, and yet they were but the finest representatives of that German search

for the real and true character of our people, for an honest and decent expression of this law of life divined by our people. For it was not only their choice of subject which was decisive but the clear and simple mode of rendering these sentiments. Many of their original works are lost, we possess only copies or reproductions, but the works of these masters are removed by a great gulf from the pitiable products of our modern so-called "creative artists". These masters felt themselves to be Germans, and consequently they created works which should be valued as long as there should be a German people to appreciate them. But these modern works we would also preserve as documents illustrating the depths of that decline into which the people had fallen. 'The Exhibition of the "Art of the Decline"' is intended as a useful lesson.

During the long years in which I planned the formation of a new Reich I gave much thought to the tasks which would await us in the cultural cleansing of the people's life: there was to be a cultural renaissance as well as a political and economic reform. I was convinced that peoples which have been trodden underfoot by the whole world of their day have all the greater duty consciously to assert their own value before their oppressors, and there is no prouder proof of the highest rights of a people to its own life than immortal cultural achievements. I was therefore always determined that if fate should one day give us power I would discuss these matters with no one but would form my own decisions, for it is not given to all to have an understanding for tasks as great as these. Amongst the plans which floated before me in my mind both during the War and after the collapse was the idea of building a great new exhibition palace in Munich; and many years ago I thought of the place where the building now stands. In 1931 I feared that I should be

anticipated and that the "men of November" would erect an exhibition building. Plans indeed were produced for an edifice which might well have served for a railway station or a swimming-bath. But when we came to power in 1933 the plan had not been executed: the erection of the building was left to the Third Reich. And the building is so unique, so individual that it cannot be compared with anything else: it is a true monument for this city and more than that—for German art. [*Hitler here spoke in detail of the work of Professor Ludwig Troost and (after his death) of Professor Gall, the architects.*] It represents a turning-point, the first of the new buildings which will take their place amongst the immortal achievements of German artistic life.

But the House is not enough: it must house an Exhibition, and if now I venture to speak of art I can claim a title to do so from the contribution which I myself have made to the restoration of German art. For our modern German State that I with my associates have created has alone brought into existence the conditions for a new, vigorous flowering of art. It is not Bolshevist art-collectors or their henchmen who have laid the foundations: we have provided vast sums for the encouragement of art, we have set before art itself great, new tasks. As in politics, so in German art-life: we are determined to make a clean sweep of phrases. Capacity (*Können*) is the necessary qualification if an artist wishes his work to be exhibited here. People have attempted to recommend modern art by saying that it is the expression of a new age: but art does not create a new age, it is the general life of peoples which fashions itself anew and therefore often seeks after a new expression. A new epoch is not created by litterateurs but by the fighters, those who really fashion and lead peoples, who thus make history. It is either impudent effrontery or a comprehensible

stupidity to exhibit to the folk of to-day works which perhaps ten or twenty thousand years ago might have been made by a man of the Stone Age. They talk of primitive art, but they forget that it is not the function of art to retreat backwards from the stage of development which a people has already reached: its sole function must be to symbolize that development.

The new age of to-day is at work on a new human type. Men and women are to be more healthy, stronger: there is a new feeling of life, a new joy in life. Never was humanity in its external appearance and in its frame of mind nearer to the ancient world than it is to-day. *Hitler spoke of the Olympic Games, of sport, of the radiant, proud bodily vigour of youth.* This, my good prehistoric art-stutterers, is the type of the new age: and what do you manufacture? Misformed cripples and cretins, women who inspire only disgust, men who are more like wild beasts, children who, were they alive, must be regarded as cursed of God. And let no one say to me that that is how these artists see things. From the pictures sent in for exhibition it is clear that the eye of some men shows them things otherwise than as they are—that there really are men who on principle feel meadows to be blue, the heaven green, clouds sulphur-yellow—or as they perhaps prefer to say “experience” them thus. I need not ask whether they really do see or feel things in this way, but in the name of the German people I have only to prevent these pitiable unfortunates who clearly suffer from defects of vision from attempting with violence to persuade contemporaries by their chatter that these faults of observation are indeed realities or from presenting them as “Art”. Here only two possibilities are open: either these “artists” do really see things in this way and believe in that which they represent—then one has but to ask how the defect in vision arose, and if it is hereditary the Minister for the

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Interior will have to see to it that so ghastly a defect of vision shall not be allowed to perpetuate itself—or if they do *not* believe in the reality of such impressions but seek on other grounds to impose upon the nation by this humbug, then it is a matter for a criminal court. There is no place for such works in this building. The industry of architects and workmen was not spent to house canvases which were daubed over in five hours, the painters being assured that the boldness of the pricing could not fail to produce its effect, that the canvas would be hailed as the most brilliant lightning-birth of a genius. No, they can be left to cackle over each other's eggs!

The artist does not create for the artist: he creates for the people and we will see to it that henceforth the people will be called in to judge its art. No one must say that the people has no understanding for a really valuable enrichment of its cultural life. Before the critics did justice to the genius of a Richard Wagner he had the people on his side, while the people has had nothing to do with so-called "modern art". The people regarded this art as the outcome of an impudent and unashamed arrogance or of a simply shocking lack of skill; it felt that this art-stammer—these achievements which might have been produced by untalented children of from eight to ten years old—could never be valued as an expression of our own times or of the German future. When we know to-day that the development of millions of years repeats itself in every individual compressed into a few decades, then this art, we realize, is not "modern"; it is on the contrary in the highest degree "archaic", far older probably than the Stone Age. The people when it passes through these galleries will recognize in me its own spokesman and counsellor: it will draw a sigh of relief and express its glad agreement with this purification of art. And that is decisive: an art which cannot count on

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the readiest and most intimate agreement of the great mass of the people, an art which must rely upon the support of small cliques is intolerable. Such an art does but endeavour to confuse, instead of gladly reinforcing, the sure and healthy instinct of a people. The artist cannot stand aloof from his people. This exhibition is but a beginning, yet the end of the artistic stultification of Germany has begun. Now is the opportunity for youth to start its industrious apprenticeship, and when a sacred conscientiousness at last comes to its own, then I doubt not that the Almighty from the mass of these decent creators of art will once more raise up individuals to the eternal starry heaven of the imperishable God-favoured artists of the great periods. We believe that especially to-day when in so many spheres the highest individual achievements are being manifested so also in art the highest value of personality will once again assert itself.¹

In his speech at the Kulturtagung of the Nuremberg Parteitag of 1937 Hitler said:

"There is thus no great epoch in the life of peoples in which the interests of the community have not sought to win commanding significance through the impression produced by the sight of great architectural monuments. The achievements and the results inspired by this ambition have above all else mediated to humanity the true community spirit and have thus secured the conditions for the creation and the maintenance of human civilization. That civilization was never born of the busy striving of economic interests for profit and dividends. This stress laid upon life in community through the erection of great architectural monuments has contributed

¹ V.B., 19 July 1937.

to establish an authority without which there can be no lasting community, no economic life of a society. Whether that authority is rooted in religious or civil organizations it matters not. At least in the twentieth century the authority which rescued the German people from collapse, which snatched it back from the chaos of Bolshevism, was not the authority of any economic association, it was the authority of the National Socialist Movement, of the National Socialist Party, and ultimately of the National Socialist State. Opponents may have a dim consciousness of the fact, but it is essential that our adherents should know that our buildings are arising in order to strengthen this authority. The buildings which you see rising in this city, the buildings already erected, in process of erection, or planned in other places—for example, in Berlin, or Munich, or Hamburg—they are intended to serve the interests of this authority. That is the purpose (*Tendenz*) which is the fundamental motive for the erection of these buildings. And since we believe in the eternity of this Reich—so far as we, with our human standards, can count in such terms—these works of ours shall also be eternal, that is to say that not only in the greatness of their conception but in their clarity of plan, in the harmony of their relations they shall satisfy the requirements of eternity."

"The small needs of daily life, they have changed through the millennia and they will continue to change eternally. But the great evidences of human civilization in granite and marble they stand through the millennia, and they alone are a truly stable pole in the flux of all other phenomena. In them, in periods of decline, humanity has ever sought and found afresh the eternal, magic strength which should enable it to master confusion, to restore out of chaos a new order. Therefore these buildings of ours should not be conceived for

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the year 1940, no, not for the year 2000, but like the cathedrals of our past they shall stretch into the millennia of the future."

"And if it is the will of God that the poets and singers of to-day must be fighters, yet to this generation of fighters He has given the architects and they shall see to it that the success of this fight shall find its confirmation in the documents of a great, a unique art."

"This the little minds may not understand, but then they have never understood our whole fight. This may embitter our foes, but this hate has never yet prevented our success. But the day will come when men will understand in complete clarity how great the blessing is which radiates into the centuries from these mighty buildings of this period when history is in the making. For it is precisely these buildings which will co-operate to unify our people politically more closely than ever and to strengthen it: for the Germans as a society these buildings will inspire a proud consciousness that each and all belong together; they will prove how ridiculous in our social life are all earthly differences when faced with these mighty, gigantic witnesses to the life which we share as a community; they will by their effect upon the minds of men fill the citizens of our people with a limitless self-confidence as they remember that they are Germans."

"These mighty works will at the same time represent the most lofty justification of the political strength of the German nation. This State must not be a Power without culture, nor must its force be without beauty. For even the armament of a people is morally justified only when that armament serves as shield and sword of a higher mission. We do not strive for the rude violence of a Gengis Khan, but for a Reich of power whose form is a strong community, with its welfare and protection

secured, its people the bearers and guardians of a higher culture."¹

In the same speech Hitler attacked the dreamers who extolled the beauty of "freedom" and "heroism" but who hated those who had realized the truth that freedom could be won only by fighting. "The weapons of these bourgeois singers of freedom were, at worst, only pen and ink. But from the National Socialists a thousand privations were demanded. From their struggles alone real freedom gradually came, a freedom which was not a result of poetical effusions but the outcome of hard political fights, and those fights did not consist of essays or leading articles: their elements were events which have their secure place in history, which were in truth achievements." . . . "History, it is certain, will take as its standard only the accomplished fact: in other words, what is decisive in history is not political aims or theoretical discussion but political achievement, and that means action. So it is in the sphere of cultural development. Just as political regeneration comes not through a literary treatment of the theme but only through positive achievement, so a cultural renaissance cannot spend its force in leading articles, in art criticism, in discussions, and treatises on art: it must lead to a positive cultural achievement" . . .

*"The great work of art bears in itself an absolute value. This value will not be measured by the standard of a theory which is more or less governed by temporary conditions and which has no concern whatever with the work of art as such. In general if every generation were to claim the right simply to abolish works of art representing the politics, the *Weltanschauung*, or the religious views of the past, then assuredly every political revolution would immediately involve the destruction of the*

¹ *V.B.*, 9 Sept. 1937.

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civilization which had grown to greatness in different political surroundings. But this would be just as senseless as it would be on the basis of National Socialist economic theory to destroy all material values which under modes of thought which were not National Socialist had been created and stored up during the course of centuries."

"Above all, however, it is in general futile to attempt to belittle art through literature, through speech or through writing; art can be superseded only by higher achievement—music by better music, poetry by better poetry, and so on. . . . Never can it be superseded merely by literary treatises! For were this possible, one could simply without more ado tear from a people's possession its cultural achievements without providing any substitute in its place. . . . The supreme law, then, in any appreciation of art is the duty to exercise the greatest tolerance towards the truly great cultural creations of the past. A time which is itself great can allow itself to treat, both politically and culturally, the work of its ancestors with that respect with which it desires that its own age shall one day be honoured by posterity."¹

In his speech at the Kulturtagung, delivered in Nuremberg on 6 September 1938, Hitler said that the achievements of the Third Reich in the economic and social spheres were gradually coming to be recognized and envied by the democratic plutocracies. "The only sphere in which the Jewish international newspapers still to-day think that they can attack the new Reich is the cultural sphere. Here they attempt, by a constant appeal to the sentimentality—untroubled by any sort of knowledge—of the world-citizens of democracy to bewail the downfall of German culture: in other words, they lament the

¹ *V.B.*, 9 Sept. 1937.

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commercial closing-down of those elements which, as the heralds and exponents of the November Republic, forced their cultural characteristics, as unnatural as they were deplorable, upon the period between the two Empires; and which have now played out their role for good and all". . . .

"Fortunately, however, despite the short time which the National Socialist leadership has been able to allot to works of culture, positive facts, here too, speak louder than any negative criticism. We Germans can to-day speak with justice of a new awakening of our cultural life, which finds its confirmation not in mutual compliments and literary phrases, but rather in positive evidences of cultural creative force. German architecture, sculpture, painting, drama, and the rest bring to-day documentary proof of a creative period in art, which for richness and impetuosity has rarely been matched in the course of human history. And although the Jewish-democratic Press magnates in their effrontery even to-day seek brazenly to turn these facts upside down, we know that the cultural achievements of Germany will in a few years have won from the world respect and appreciation far more unstinted even than that which they now accord to our work in the material field. The buildings which are arising in the Reich to-day will speak a language that endures, a language, above all, more compelling than the Yiddish gabblings of the democratic, international judges of our culture. What the fingers of these poor wretches have penned or are penning the world will—perhaps unfortunately—forget, as it has forgotten so much else. But the gigantic works of the Third Reich are a token of its cultural renaissance and shall one day belong to the inalienable cultural heritage of the Western world, just as the great cultural achievements of this world in the past belong to us to-day."

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"Moreover, it is naturally not decisive what attitude, if any, foreign peoples take towards our works of culture, for we have no doubt that cultural creative work, since it is the most sensitive expression of a talent conditioned by blood, cannot be understood, far less appreciated, by individuals or races who are not of the same or related blood. Therefore we do not trouble in any way to make German art and culture suit the tastes of international Jewry."

Later in the speech, Hitler spoke of art as the demonstration of the ideals of an age, whether religious, cultural, or political. "The art of Greece is not merely a formal reproduction of the Greek mode of life, of the landscapes and inhabitants of Greece; no, it is a proclamation of the Greek body and of the essential Greek spirit. It does not make propaganda for an individual work, for the subject, or for the artist; it makes propaganda for the Greek world as such, which confronts us in Hellenism. A cultural ideal stands before us which even to-day, thanks to its art and to our own origin which relates us to it by our blood, still mediates to us a compelling picture of one of the fairest epochs of human development, and of the most resplendent bearers of its culture."

"And the art of Rome similarly bears witness to the imperial might of the Roman world. It is no accident that the growing alienation of Roman art from its real character should coincide with the social degeneration and the consequent gradual political collapse of the ancient world-empire. In the same way, moreover, we can see in Christian art the herald of an age whose whole essential character, whose ideas, thought, and action find a truly striking expression in its churches, its sculpture, its carvings, its music, and so forth, and not only in these, but in all the other treatments in art of the common life of the period."

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"And so art to-day will in the same way announce and herald that common mental attitude, that common view of life, which govern the present age. It will do this not because this age entrusts commissions to artists, but because the execution of these commissions can meet with understanding only if it reveals in itself the true essence of the spirit of this age. The mysticism of Christianity, at the period of its greatest intensity demanded for the buildings which it ordered an architectonic form which not only did not contradict the spirit of the age, but rather helped it to attain that mysterious gloom which made men the more ready to submit to renunciation of self. The growing protest against this crushing of the freedom of the soul and of the will, which had lasted for centuries, immediately opened the way to new forms of expression in artistic creation. The mystic narrowness and gloom of the cathedrals began to recede and, to match the free life of the spirit, buildings became spacious and flooded with light. Mystical twilight gave way before increasing brightness. The unsteady, groping transition of the nineteenth century led finally in our days to that crisis which in one way or another had to find its solution. Jewry, with its Bolshevik onslaught, might smash the Aryan States and destroy those native strata of the people whose blood destined them for leadership, and in that case the culture which had hitherto sprung from these roots would be brought to the same destruction." . . . The other alternative was the victory of the National Socialist Revolution, which in no way implied a destruction of historical and traditional values, but which aimed at preserving the past, and further at making a new contribution of its own to the artistic heritage of the German people.¹

¹ *F.Z.*, 8 Sept. 1938.

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Hitler's passionate interest in architecture is reflected in many of his speeches. At the laying of the foundation stone of the new building of the Faculty of Military Science on 27 November 1937 he spoke of the replanning of Berlin which should make it the capital of the first German People's Reich. As a great historian had said: it was the misfortune of the Germans that they had many capital cities but never a true capital. The leadership of a real national community must possess its leading local centre which is raised above all rival cities. Not a few of the great States of the past had been not merely associated with the birth of a capital but had borne the name of their capital city. The view that the fall of these States had been the result of the development of these dominating capitals as centres of the entire administration of the State was mistaken. For the States of the ancient world were not ruined by their cities, but rather the cities were ruined because they failed to recognize and disregarded the laws of blood which conditioned and thereby supported their life. The Roman Empire did not fall on account of the city of Rome, for without the city of Rome there would never have been a Roman Empire. The most natural way for the formation of great States—the way in which most great States had arisen —was to begin with a crystallization point of the political and later the cultural life which then, as the capital city, often gave its name to the State. Germany owing to the manifold divisions in its history lacked such a centre of political power. The significance of such a centre did not depend so much on the size of its population but much more on the grandeur and the scale of the picture which it presented as a whole and therefore of its value as a whole. Berlin had not the same cultural importance, its monuments had not the same significance and beauty of form as those of other cities of the Reich. "It is therefore my

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unalterable will and determination to provide Berlin with those streets, buildings, and public spaces which will make it appear for all time fit and worthy to be the capital of the German Reich. The magnitude of these constructions and these works is not to be measured by the needs of the years 1937, 1938, 1939, or 1940, it is to be determined by recognizing that our task is: to give to a people, which has existed for a thousand years, with its millennial past of history and civilization for the limitless future which lies before it a city worthy of that future—a millennial city. Therefore of set purpose we withhold from the criticism of our own day the work which must be achieved in Berlin during the next twenty years: we submit it only to the judgement of those generations who one day shall come after us. Whatever that judgement may prove to be, one claim the future will allow for our justification: in this work we have thought not of ourselves, but of posterity.”¹

*With this should be compared Hitler's speech at the dedication of the new Reich Chancery: “Everyone who had taken any part in the building could have the consciousness of having helped to erect an architectural monument which would outlive many centuries and as the first building constructed under the Great-German Reich would bear its testimony to our age.”*²

At the opening of the Exhibition of Architecture at Munich in his speech (22 January 1938) Hitler said:

“Every great period finds the final expression of its value in its buildings. When peoples experience in-

¹ *F.Z.*, 29 Nov. 1937. Only a summary: my extracts are a translation from this summary, but I am not sure how far the earlier part of this summary represents precisely Hitler's own words.

² *F.Z.*, 10 Jan. 1939.

wardly periods of greatness, then they represent those periods through external forms. And their word through this representation is more convincing than the spoken word: it is the word fashioned out of stone. The understanding of contemporaries when faced with great creative works does not as a rule keep pace with the appearance of these works. Often centuries may pass before the greatness of an age, even in its visible documentation through its buildings, is comprehended. A good example of that truth is to be found in this city, for it failed formerly to understand the king¹ himself who created its greatest buildings, nor did it understand the buildings which were the outcome of his thought. To-day they are differently judged. We may hope that we, too, may count upon a similarly favourable judgement in the course of time."

The Exhibition stood, *he said*, at the beginning of a new age: since the creation of the German cathedrals here for the first time was displayed a truly great architecture which no longer served petty everyday needs but "could stand the critical judgement of the millennia and would be for millennia the pride of the German people". Here was the result of efforts which had been proceeding for years and only now were made public. "For it is a fundamental principle of National Socialists not to present difficult problems to the public for discussion but first to mature the plans and then to lay them before the public. There are some things which do not admit of discussion and among these are all eternal values. . . . The great artists and architects have the right to be withdrawn from critical consideration by their petty contemporaries. . . . Do not forget that here for the first time the curtain is drawn back and the public can see works which are destined to set their

¹ Ludwig II of Bavaria.

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mark not on decades, but on centuries. At this moment there should come upon you that feeling of consecration which is so finely experienced in *The Meistersinger*: 'Here a child was born'.¹

*At a speech in Augsburg on 21 November 1937 Hitler said that his great building programme was a tonic against the inferiority complex of the German people which had been nurtured by previous Governments. "In order to become a great world power this inferiority complex must be overcome."*²

*In a speech delivered to the "Old Guard" in Munich on 19 March 1934 Hitler said: "The harvest will endure so long as this people does not forget the meaning of this Revolution. To-day we stand in the midst of our spring-battle against the night of winter, and the mission of this the oldest city of our Movement, which was the starting-point of the new German redemption, is this: it must be the central point from which shall be waged the battle for Germany's great future. Munich has a greater task than that of any other city. This city as the central point of the Party must ever again and again let new life foam up."*³ Munich is not merely in theory the capital of the National Socialist Party, it is so in fact and spiritually in the best sense of the word."⁴

On 15 October 1933 Hitler delivered a short speech at the laying of the foundation-stone of the House of German Art. He said: We cannot conceive of any restoration of the German people unless the culture of Germany—

¹ *F.Z.*, 23 Jan. 1938.

² Cited from *The New York Times*, 22 Nov. 1937.

³ German: *muß . . . immer wieder neues Leben aufschäumen lassen.*

⁴ *F.Z.*, 21 Mar. 1934. The German does not lend itself readily to translation into English. See also the speech delivered in Munich on 22 May 1938. *V.B.*, 23 May 1938.

above all the art of Germany—rises afresh. The Glass Palace was destroyed but that destruction cannot remain for ever: "with confidence and looking to the future we begin the building of the new." "Young Germany builds for its art its own house. And in giving this building for German art to the city of Munich it professes its allegiance to the spirit of him who as King of Bavaria¹ made of this city a home of German art." We do but obey the behest of justice in choosing this city above all others to be the centre of a new creative artistic activity, of a new art-life. We wish to foster the riches of the many-sidedness of our inner life. "We would remain true to the peculiar individuality of this city: if Berlin is the capital of the Reich, if Hamburg and Bremen are the capitals of German shipping, if Leipzig and Cologne are the capitals of German trade, Essen and Chemnitz the capitals of German industry, then Munich shall once more become the capital of German art. Thus Munich finds her way back to her proper greatness . . . May this city bethink herself once more of her proper mission—to be the home of the sublime and of the beautiful, so that it may once again be true that if one would know Germany one must have seen this city."²

In his speech at the opening of the Olympic Games in Berlin on 1 August 1936 Hitler said that Olympia had been excavated by the Germans during the years 1875 to 1881, but that excavation was never quite completed. "I have now decided to take up and complete the excavation of the festival ground and the sports ground as a permanent memorial of the celebration of the eleventh Olympiad in Berlin. I thank the Greek Government for

¹ Ludwig II.

² *V.B.*, 17 Oct. 1933. And with this cf. Hitler's speech in Munich on 11 Mar. 1934: "The capital of art and of our Movement is and will ever remain Munich." *F.Z.*, 13 Mar. 1934.

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its ready assent to the undertaking. Thus a consecrated site of ancient civilization will be restored to the men of to-day."¹

Other speeches of Hitler on art do not add much to the ideas expressed in these translated extracts. In his speech at the opening of the Second Exhibition of German Art in Munich on 10 July 1938 Hitler poured scorn on the Exhibition of Modern German Art held in London and criticized "the great artists of the period of the November Republic drawn from the tribes of the Dada and the Cubi". In 1937 he had been so shocked by the character of the paintings submitted that he had hesitated whether the whole idea of an Art Exhibition should not be given up. He decided to draw a clear and rigorous line between the art of the past and that of the present, and to compel artists to keep to that path which National Socialism had laid down for the new life of Germany. "The German people of this twentieth century is the people of a newly awakened affirmation of life, seized with admiration for Strength and Beauty and therefore for that which is healthy and vigorous. Strength and Beauty—these are the fanfares sounded by this new age, clarity and logic dominate its effort. He who would be an artist in this century must dedicate himself to this century. For the Neanderthal men of art there is no place in the twentieth century—at least not in National Socialist Germany."

"It is, as always, difficult to decide if to-day we possess any geniuses of permanent significance, but that is not the essential point which must determine our action. The decisive point is that we should not offend against

¹ *F.Z.*, 2 Aug. 1936. For Hitler's acquisition from Italy of a Roman copy of a statue by Myron cf. the close of the speech delivered in Munich on 10 July 1938. *F.Z.*, 11 July 1938.

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the conditions from which alone great geniuses can arise." That means that the average of creative work in art must be solid and decent; that the average must be kept as high as possible, and thus the probability will be increased that outstanding work will be produced. It is only against such a high average of general achievement that the genius can be recognized and appreciated.

Art, *Hitler once more asserted*, cannot be constantly changing with changing fashions. We speak of an "eternal art", and that eternity is conditioned by the unchanging character of the people which creates or sustains that art. "The creator of the art alters its character only imperceptibly through the centuries and thus true art as its closest reflection is only subject to slight changes. To produce these changes is the privilege of those God-endowed artists to whom it is granted to draw their inspiration from a people's innermost heart, to fulfil that which has found no words or which has not been consciously seen by the folk of their day and recognizing it to make it generally visible and comprehensible through their art. Before these highest achievements Time as a standard pales into insignificance."¹

In his speech at the opening of the Third Exhibition of German Art in July 1939, Hitler spoke of the failure of the Second German Reich to give in art any adequate expression of the greatness of the period. The Second Reich was so exclusively concerned with the State and political affairs that its leaders never gained any contact with or personal knowledge of the contemporary artists. In times when victorious political or religious ideas develop gradually, artistic production naturally comes to take its place increasingly in the service of the dominant ideas.

¹ F.Z., 11 July 1938.

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"But in periods of rapid revolutionary development such an assimilation needs to be ordered and guided from above. Those who are responsible for the shaping of peoples in the sphere of politics or *Weltanschauung* must endeavour to direct the people's artistic forces—even at the danger of most rigorous intervention—upon the lines of their general *weltanschaulich* tendencies and demands. Only by this means is it possible to prevent art which has not kept pace with this development from becoming farther and farther removed from the real life of peoples until it ends in isolation. . . . For this purpose one must create for artists the necessary possibilities for the practice of their art: one must give them such commissions as may serve the needs of the time. For it is only in achievement that the conclusive proof of capacity must lie. If the stones are to speak, they must first be laid." . . . During the period of its struggle for power National Socialism could do nothing for art: "it was only with its assumption of power in January 1933 that it could be determined whether here, too, as in the political sphere, the Movement would do justice to its mission or whether it would fail, as the past age had done, in perpetuating its work in the field of culture."

The limitation of the freedom of the artist which, just as in the political sphere, followed the National Socialist victory, was resented by many, was even felt to be a proof of the hostility to art of the new régime. For the champions of false freedom saw themselves deprived of their most powerful instrument: the means of publicity were closed to them and could no longer be used to confuse the people. The Press and every other agency which might influence public opinion were controlled, while the new State recognized its cultural tasks and regarded these as an important and significant part of its mission: art became a vigorous element in the life

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of our people, it ceased to be merely a subject of conversation amongst consumptive aesthetes. He now felt assured, *Hitler said*, that the first aim of the new German creative activity in art had been attained: a decent general average of achievement had been secured and more than that: really creative geniuses—the stars in the Heaven of German art—were, they knew, already making their appearance. He expressed the hope that in the future “individual outstanding artists might turn their thought to the experiences, the events and the fundamental ideas of the present. For however numerous in their thousand-fold variety may be the historical visions or the other impressions which life may make upon the artist and which enrich him for his creative work, which rise before his mind and awake his enthusiasm, yet over and above them all stands the present-day splendour of his own time which need not fear comparison with the grandest epochs in our German history.”¹

THE GERMAN SONG

On 1 August 1937 Hitler spoke before 500,000 Germans at a Festival of the League of German singers; he said:

“A people that for so many centuries was unable to form a political unity must possess other means which at least in idea can take the place of that political unity which is in reality lacking. The first means is our German language which is spoken not merely by 68 millions but by 95 millions, and the second is the German *Lied*—the German song . . . which is heard wherever in the world Germans are living. Songs go with us from our childhood to old age, they live in us and with us and it matters not where we be, songs bring back to our eyes the home-land from which we came—Germany and the German Reich.”

¹ *V.B.*, 17 July 1939.

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"The bird, when its eye has been blinded, pours into its song with only the greater passion its suffering and its feelings. And it is perhaps no mere chance that the German who so often on this earth had to pass his life in suffering and anguish found refuge at such times in song; through song he could express all that which was barred for him by stern reality; and this bitter truth we to-day perhaps feel more strongly than ever before. It is precisely at this time of unrest, of a world in commotion that the whole body of those who form the German people, including those who are outside of the Reich, looks once more to the home country of its origin—to Germany—and seeks when no other connexion is possible at least the one link of union—the German song."

"And so these songs of our people are heard to-day, not only within the Reich, but far beyond its boundaries. They are sung with a fervent faith for in these songs live the hope and the longing of all Germans. And thus this great song of our longing is for us Germans the holiest song of all. Many amongst other peoples do not understand this: in that song which is most removed in spirit from imperialism they see something imperialistic. For what finer hymns can there be for a people than those which represent a profession of faith—a pledge to seek one's welfare and one's fortune in one's people and to place one's people above everything else on earth?"

And when to-day you sing this song, then sing it with the happy consciousness that Germany is once more worthy to be *our* Germany, worthy to stand for us above everything else the world can give. "And then, as it has ever been, the song will become once more a source of new power. 'Deutschland über alles' is a profession of faith which to-day fills millions with a great strength, with that faith which is mightier than any other earthly might."

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"And this song is also a profession of faith in the Almighty—a pledge to do His will, His work. For it is not men who have created this people but the God who stands above us all. He has fashioned this people, it has come to be according to His will and our will is that it shall remain and never more shall it pass away"

And as you leave this gathering to go to your homes beyond the frontiers of the Reich "you will all take with you the feeling that a people has arisen again: a Reich has been renewed! The German has found himself and finding himself he has acted in accordance with the design of his Creator. . . . We all feel ourselves here as one community: singers you are, and, because singers, you can speak for the life of the German people!"¹

Note I

For the planning of Berlin see Hitler's speech on 14 June 1938 (*F.Z.*, 15 June 1938) at the foundation stone-laying of the "House of German Tourism". In the report of this speech in *The Times* of 15 June 1938 Hitler is reported to have said: "The world will come to Germany and convince itself that Germany has become the guardian of European culture and civilization. When I read of other countries, and particularly of democratic countries that they are called upon to protect culture I say, 'First build up a little more culture yourselves and then you can protect it.' We in Germany will do everything to set our cultural house in order, and we ourselves will protect it." This does not appear in the German report of the speech.

Speaking of the wonderful advance of the cultural life of Germany in 1938, Hitler said that they had in that year made good the sins of decades, nay, of centuries under which the German people had suffered.²

For the architecture of Nuremberg cf. Hitler's speech in September 1938: "Nuremberg had become the expression in stone of German strength and German greatness in a new German Reich."³

¹ *V.B.*, 2 Aug. 1937.

² New Year Message, 1 Jan. 1939.

³ *F.Z.*, 6 Sept. 1938.

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For Hitler's essay on the new Reich Chancery cf. *F.Z.*, 17 July 1939 (published in the journal *Kunst im Dritten Reich*).

Note II

A few references to texts illustrating the cultural policy of the Third Reich may be of service:

Universities and Students.

1933. 22 Apr. Law creating *Studentenschaften* representing the whole body of students in each University with the function of securing that "students fulfil their obligations to people, State and University". Text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 258.

25 Apr. Law reducing the numbers of those attending schools and Universities (other than schools providing compulsory education) and reducing the proportion of Non-Aryan scholars and students. Text: *ibid.* i (1935), p. 259.

29 Apr. The Reich Minister for the Interior recognizes the Constitution drawn up for themselves by University Students; this is later held to be inadequate in respect of relations with the NSDAP. and is superseded by a

1934. 7 Feb. Constitution *der Reichsfachschaft*¹ for Students at Universities and Technical Schools. Text: *ibid.* ii (1936), pp. 252-8.

1938. 6 July. Foundation of the *Reichsstudentenwerk*—an institution to grant financial aid to promising boys to enable them to go to the University. Text: W. Hoche, *Die Gesetzgebung Adolf Hitlers*, Heft 27, pp. 503-5. The objects of this organization were set forth at the *Sondertagung des Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Studentenbundes* at the Nuremberg Parteitag, 8 Sept. 1938. Cf. *Dokumente etc.* vi (1939), p. 628.

During the course of the year 1938 three Academies of the National Socialist League of Dozents were founded—at Kiel, Tübingen, and Göttingen: the object of these Academies is "the creation of a truly National Socialist University".

1934. 1 May. Creation of the Reich Ministry for Learning, Educa-

¹ The *Deutsche Studentenschaft* is the union of the German students in the Universities; the *Deutsche Fachschulschaft* unites the students of specialist schools. Both these bodies are united in the *Deutsche Reichsfachschaft*.

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tion, and Popular Culture (*Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung*). [See the order of the President of the Reich of 30 Apr. 1934, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, ii (1936), p. 285 n. 1.] Text: *ibid.* ii (1936), pp. 285-6.

1937. 30 Sept. Order (*Erlaß*) establishing a University (*Hochschule*) for Politics as a Reich-Institution. [The *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik* was founded in 1920; in Apr. 1933 it was placed under the Propaganda Ministry and reorganized under the Presidency of Meier-Benneckenstein.] Text: *ibid.* v (1938), pp. 415-16.

There is a frank statement of the duty of all Professors in German Universities actively to support the *Weltanschauung* of National Socialism in the speech delivered by Rust as Minister for Education on 6 May 1933. Text: *ibid.* i (1935), pp. 259-66. See further his speech delivered on 29 June 1936 at the 550-Year Celebration of the University of Heidelberg. Text: *ibid.* iv (1937), pp. 310-17, and the speech of Schultze, *ibid.* vi (1939), pp. 630-40.

1938. 27 Oct. Dedication of the Reichsschule of the National Socialist Teachers' League in Donndorf (near Bayreuth). Rosenberg, in his speech on that occasion, said that he hoped that the school would be a bulwark against all internationally minded folk and the home of aggressive National Socialism. Text: *ibid.* vi (1939), pp. 670-5.

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1933. 30 June. Order determining the functions of the Ministry of Propaganda. Text: *ibid.* i (1935), pp. 280-1.

22 Sept. Foundation of the Reich Chamber of Culture (*Reichskulturkammer*). Text: *ibid.* i (1935), pp. 290-1.

4 Oct. Law concerning editors of newspapers, political journals, &c. (*Schriftleitergesetz*). Text: *ibid.* i (1935), pp. 291-8. The law came into force on 1 Jan. 1934. See in particular the general explanation of the purpose of the law: reproduced *ibid.*, pp. 298-301, and cf. *ibid.* vi (1939), p. 656.

1937. 30 Jan. Foundation of a German National Prize for Art and Science. Text: *ibid.* v (1938), p. 394, and Regulations of Award, pp. 394-5. First Award: *ibid.*, pp. 395-8 on 7 Sept. 1937. To take the place for Germans of the Nobel Prize after

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the award of the latter to Karl von Ossietzky on 25 Nov. 1936.

1938. 18 Mar. Founding of German Film Academy. Text: *ibid.* vi (1939), p. 668. In April Wilhelm Müller-Scheld was appointed President.

31 May. Law on confiscation of products of debased art (*Gesetz über Einziehung von Erzeugnissen entarteter Kunst*). Text: *ibid.* vi (1939), p. 669.

For the work of the *Kulturkammer* see the annual surveys by Goebbels, e.g. 15 Nov. 1935; text: *ibid.* iii (1937), pp. 271-80; 27 Nov. 1936; text: *ibid.* iv (1937), pp. 319-28; 26 Nov., 1937; text: *ibid.* v (1938), pp. 416-26. Cf. the speeches by Goebbels on the Press, 19 Apr. 1934; text: *ibid.* ii (1936), pp. 280-5,¹ and on films, 10 Feb. 1934; text: *ibid.* ii (1936), pp. 258-66.² See further H. Schmidt-Leonhardt, *Die Reichskulturkammer*, Berlin, Spaeth & Linde, 1936; *Deutsches Kulturrecht* (reprint of articles from the journal *Deutsches Recht*), Hamburg, Falken-Verlag, 1936. H. Erler, *Das rechtliche Wesen der Reichskulturkammer*, Dresden, Dittert, 1937.

On the burning of "un-German literature" see the speech by Goebbels delivered on 10 May 1933. Text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 277-9.

Development of Cities.

1937. 4 Oct. Law on the New Formation of German Cities (*Gesetz über die Neugestaltung deutscher Städte*). Text: W. Hoche, *Die Gesetzgebung Adolf Hitlers*, Heft 25, Berlin, Vahlen, 1938, pp. 513-21, and issued under this law:

Berlin. 5 Nov. 1937. *Verordnung über die Neugestaltung der Reichshauptstadt Berlin*. *Ibid.*, pp. 521-5.

30 Nov. Second order: p. 525.

For the appointment of Professor Albert Speer as General Inspector of Buildings in Berlin cf. *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, v (1938), pp. 392-3 (30 Jan. 1937). Professor Speer

¹ Cf. pp. 511-2, *supra*, and cf. the speech of Dietrich (7 Mar. 1938), *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, vi (1939), pp. 650-67.

² I have not seen Schrieber and F. K. and B. Pfennig, *Filmrecht, Sammlung der für die Reichsfilmkammer geltenden Gesetze und Verordnungen*, Berlin, 1936.

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- published in the spring of 1938 the plans for the rebuilding of Berlin.
1938. 14 June. Work was begun simultaneously on sixteen large buildings in Berlin. On this day the House of German Tourist Traffic was dedicated by Hitler.
1939. 9 Jan. Dedication of the enlargement of the Reich Chancery.
- Munich. 30 Jan. 1937. *Neugestaltung* announced in Hitler's speech in the Reichstag. 2 May 1938: Plan of developments published.
1938. 22 May. Work begun on the Underground Railway.
21 Dec. *Erlaß* on appointment of a General Consultant on Buildings. Text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, vi (1939), pp. 676-7. Under this *Erlaß* Professor Hermann Giesler was appointed.
- Nuremberg. 9 Apr. 1938. *Erlaß*. Text: W. Hoche, *Die Gesetzgebung Adolf Hitlers*, Heft 26, p. 489.
- Hamburg. 31 May 1938. *Erlaß*. Bridge over the Elbe. Text: W. Hoche, *ibid.*, Heft 27, pp. 425-6. For the town to be created for the workers in the People's Motor Car Factory, text: *ibid.*, p. 426.
- Two new theatres: 29 May 1938 in Dessau; 9 Oct. 1938, Gau-theater Saarpfalz in Saarbrücken.
- For a list of buildings see the speech of Goebbels (22 Jan. 1938): *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, vi (1939), pp. 641-5 at p. 644.

I am quite incapable of compiling any bibliography of works estimating the achievement of the *Kultur* of National Socialist Germany and, considering the limited range of Hitler's speeches on the subject, it would be irrelevant in this place: reference may, however, be made to

- C. & H. Michaelis and W. O. Somin, *Die braune Kultur. Ein Dokumentenspiegel*, Zürich, Europa-Verlag, 1934.
- Dorothy Thompson, "Culture under the Nazis", *Foreign Affairs* (New York), xiv (1936), pp. 407-23.
- Hans Kohn, *Force or Reason. Issues of the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1937; and cf. O. F. Bollnow, "Zur Frage nach der Objektivität der Geisteswissenschaften", *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, xcvi (1937), pp. 335-63.

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Rosenberg's official pronouncement headed *Freiheit der Forschung* which declared that in "kosmophysics", experimental chemistry and prehistoric geology the Party had no "weltanschauliche dogmatische Haltung" is interesting: dated 7 Dec. 1937 and reproduced in *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, ix (1938), p. 655.

22. THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE: THE TASKS OF THE MOVEMENT

In his speech delivered in Munich on 24 February 1935—the Anniversary of the Founding of the Party—Hitler outlined his vision of the future tasks of the State and the Party. He said:

“We have laid firm foundations for the new State, we have raised no merely external building, we have sown seeds that have sunk deep. It is not enough to define a *Weltanschauung* in a programme that one can give as a birth-certificate to the new State. This *Weltanschauung* must be anchored in the people. In essential questions one must fuse a whole people into a single view. But that one can never do if one day one merely dictates such an opinion: the opinion must be part of a people’s own experience. One must mediate to men the new idea, bring it to a people’s consciousness through so long a period that at length the people itself becomes the bearer and the propagator of the new idea.”

“The State of to-day is secure not because we give to it laws: it is secure because in the heart of the nation our law finds its affirmation. The people is the support, the guarantor of the State. We have won millions upon millions of men for the ideas on which this State is based, we have introduced them to the life of this State, always in the conviction that it is not laws which protect a State: it is the living will, the faith, the confidence, and the courage of a people which are its true protection. And success has crowned our efforts. And thus I can only say: all the imbeciles who count on a return of the past must make up their minds to go the same way as I went, that is a nameless man would have to come, and he must begin the struggle as I began it—only with a

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difference: I have conquered the democracy through its own madness. No democrat can overthrow us. For the coming centuries we have destroyed the conditions necessary for starting afresh any such game as that. If it was possible for me to overthrow my opponents when they had all power in their hands and we had nothing, then my word to them is 'To-day we have the power and you have nothing! It is a fact that you cannot overthrow us.'"

"Therefore we must keep the Movement continuously intact and energetic that it may serve as the living driving-force of the State of to-day. There are folk who believe that the strength of the Party is exhausted: it will not be exhausted 300 years hence! 'The joy in leading the attack is growing weaker.' They will see that it will reach its full development only in the coming decades. 'The Movement will fulfil its great mission when the whole people professes its faith in our ideal. Men must have tasks to perform. When no moral tasks are set before them they will seek tasks for themselves—with this one difference, that while the former tasks are great because they are set by the community, the others will be small tasks because they are set by the individual. In that case a period of Materialism and Mammonism would return when the individual thinks only of himself. To avoid that peril we have the duty ever more and more to encourage in the people the sense of community'

"When many say, 'Yes, but we are a very long way from the realization of our aims', I would reply: 'Thank God! if it was to go as quickly as that, it could not last.' All of us still suffer from the shadow of the past; we are all tied to the past. But there are young generations coming after us. They are free of the past. A generation is coming which is growing up into this community and

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not growing out of another. And they will complete in its fullness that which we see before us only with the prophet's eye". . . .

"And finally for the present we have a splendid goal: the freedom of our people. We must ourselves win this freedom. How often have I said to you in this hall [of the Hofbräuhaus]: We dare not leave to those who come after us the restoration of this German freedom. How often have I heard folks say, 'That is not for us to experience: that our children will do.' No, that we ourselves must do! It is *we* who must liberate Germany! That is *our* task: it is our generation that failed: that failure our generation must make good. Youth cannot grow up otherwise—it can grow up only in the spirit of freedom."

. . . And this struggle for our people "keeps us all young. Externally our hair may grow grey, but in the inner man we have only now learnt youth's secret. It is the eye which reflects the spirit and your eyes can look on the world with a pride and a brightness all their own! . . . And thus it will remain so long as there remains a German eye to see the light, for our love towards our people will never alter, and our faith in this Germany of ours is imperishable!"¹

In his speech delivered in Berlin on 1 May 1937 Hitler said:

"At the head of our National Socialist economic leadership there stands as watchword not 'Theory', not 'Money', not 'Capital' but the word 'Production'. Believe me, my fellow countrymen, it costs far more hard thinking, more effort and more concentration to devise and carry into execution a Four Years Plan whereby the necessities of life will be secured to our people than it

¹ F.Z., 26 Feb. 1935.

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would to set the rotary machines in motion to print more paper money. It is a very simple matter to come before a people to-day and to say, 'We are raising salaries, receipts (*Bezüge*), and wages'; then to-morrow we raise prices. It is very simple to say 'We lessen the hours of work, that is the amount of work done, and we raise the wages for that work'. That is perhaps popular for the moment. But the crash must come, for the individual does not live on a paper salary, but on the whole sum of the production of his fellow-countrymen. That is the first principle of all in National Socialist economic policy.¹

"... We have not merely brought the unemployed back to be wage-earners, but we have also increased the production of all the rest in order thereby to give a real foundation for their wages. That is the whole secret of German economic leadership and of German economic success! We have succeeded hitherto, and that success will continue in the future. I am further convinced that our people itself will continuously grow more healthy with this sober, clear, and decent political and economic leadership. I say 'political leadership', for these successes are not due primarily to economics, but to the political leadership. Clever economists, one may presume, there are elsewhere, and I do not believe that German economists have grown clever only since the 30th of January 1933. If, before that date, there was no progress, that was because the political leadership and the formation of our people were at fault. The change is due to the National Socialist Party! And that change could be effected only by a Movement which was

¹ Cf. the Proclamation of Hitler at the Nuremberg Parteitag of Sept. 1937. "That which determines the people's standard of life is always the total amount (*Gesamthöhe*) of the national production", *V.B.*, 8 Sept. 1937.

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not under obligations to one or another, which existed neither for employer nor for employee, not for the townsman and not for the farmer, neither for the middle classes nor for trade, but only for the German people and for this community bound together by our common destiny. This Movement is subject to none, the servant of none, it belongs to no individual member of our people. It belongs to all and serves all! Its aim is to raise up a strong community, to govern with reason and with prudence in order thereby to give to all our fellow-countrymen the necessities of life."

"Let no man say that since these tasks are solved nothing remains to be done. Life constrains every generation to wage its own struggle for this life. But what centuries have built up in prejudices and unreason that cannot in four years be destroyed so as to leave no trace behind. The task cannot be accomplished once for all. But the will to be quit of the past, that we have and with this will we shall never capitulate!"

"And I think you will admit that we have no superficial conception of our task. In these four years we have created order; we have taken care that the man who is not prepared to act decently shall not in the last resort pocket the salary, but that the millions of the honest hard-working masses in town and country shall be able to come to their own. We in Germany have really broken with a world of prejudices. I leave myself out of account. I, too, am a child of this people; I do not trace my line from any castle: I come from the workshop. Neither was I a general: I was simply a soldier, as were millions of others. It is something wonderful that amongst us an unknown from the army of the millions of the German people—of workers and of soldiers—could rise to be the head of the Reich and of the nation. By my side stand Germans from all walks of life who to-day are

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amongst the leaders of the nation: men who once were workers on the land are now governing German States in the name of the Reich, former metal-workers are Governors of German shires (*Gauleiter*) and so on. It is true that men who came from the *bourgeoisie* and former aristocrats have their place in this Movement. But to us it matters nothing whence they come if only they can work to the profit of our people. That is the decisive test. We have not broken down classes in order to set new ones in their place: we have broken down classes to make way for the German people as a whole. Our action has been consistent. We have removed the animosity which some strata in our society felt for the hand-worker: we have introduced compulsory labour service. If one realizes that he who was once the young son of the *bourgeoisie* now shoulders the spade and in marsh and quarry takes his share of toil like any other, then, my fellow countrymen, you see our education at work, that education which is in the interest of all. But our education also trains men to respect intellectual achievement: we bring one to respect the spade, another to respect the compass or the pen. All now are but German fellow-countrymen and it is their achievement which determines their value."

"If a man is a genius, then assuredly I shall not employ him all his days in digging potatoes, but set him in another post. That, in the last resort, is the task of our community of the people. For what is the meaning of Socialism and democracy? Can there be anything finer than an organization which draws from the people its most capable personalities and places them in positions of leadership? Is it not wonderful for every humble mother amongst our people and for every father to know that perhaps their boy may become anything—God knows what!—if only he has the necessary talent? That

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is Socialism at its highest, because then is Socialism most reasonable, most sensible. And then it benefits us all!"

"We have sought alike in town and in country to remove the great barriers. Many disapproved. Many still are scandalized at what we have done and seek to oppose us with ridiculously small means. It was so fine for them at a time when there was not one single banner only, but everyone had his own banneret. It is, of course, easier to play a part in an association with only twenty members than in the great community of the people. That we realize. But folk must learn to subordinate themselves, since subordination is the law for all men. We, too, have subordinated ourselves. For nearly six years I was a soldier and I have never protested, I have always only obeyed. To-day Destiny has brought me to a position where I can command. And of every German I am bound to ask this: 'You, too, must learn to obey, otherwise you are unworthy ever to command.' That is the condition: to that we will educate our people and over the obstinacy or the stupidity of the individual we shall pass triumphant: bend or break, one or other. We cannot permit this authority which is the authority of the German people to be gainsaid by any other power."¹

In his closing speech to the Nuremberg Congress on 12 September 1938 Hitler said:

"If the question is still asked to-day why National Socialism combats the Jewish element in Germany so fanatically, and has pressed and still presses so urgently for its removal, the answer can only be, because National Socialism wishes to establish a real community of the people. It is because this community possesses a moral justification for its existence only when the necessary

¹ *F.Z.*, 3 May 1937.

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work of construction both amongst the leaders and their followers is conducted on lines which can be challenged neither on national nor material grounds.¹ Since we are National Socialists, we cannot permit an alien race, which has no connexion with us, to impose itself upon our working people as their leaders. We know that the enormous tasks which lie before us can be accomplished only by the most enormous expenditure of force and by the strictest discipline, only, that is, if the community of the people, as a closely united body, sets itself to the solution of these problems. This at the same time presupposes an unconditioned authority in the leadership. The formation of such an authoritative leadership is morally justified and tolerable for a proud people only if it is entrusted to the most capable sons of the people, regardless of their origin or their social position. It is therefore the chief concern of the National Socialist State to discover ways and means whereby industry, vigour, enterprise, insight, courage, and perseverance, wherever they reveal themselves in a personality, may find the upward path smoothed and made easy for them. In this State the poorest child, if he is evidently destined for higher things, must be able to reach the highest position of all. When this is so, there will never be conflict between leadership and people, for every peasant, every workman will always know that the leadership of all is also his leadership, since the leaders are his own flesh and blood. Therefore the strongest evidence for the truly Socialist character of the National Socialist Movement is its struggle against an alien leadership which has not sprung from its own people. . . . Thus this German community of the people is no theoretical phenomenon, no dead concern: it lives as an

¹ German: *nach volklich und sachlich unanfechtbaren Gesichtspunkten.*

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organization for all to see. There were anxious folk who, especially after 1933, raised the question why it was that National Socialism, when it had gained control of the State, still remained in existence as a separate Party. This question is just about as intelligent as it would be to ask why we still retained an army after the introduction of universal military service despite the fact that the idea of national defence had triumphed and the problem was thus settled."

"The formation and maintenance of the German community of the people presupposes an organization responsible for the support and education of this community. Its solid core is the National Socialist Party and the Party forms the defence-force (*Wehrmacht*) of the community of the people in its domestic life (*nach innen*). Not only does it build up the single organizations of this community, and provide them with leadership, but above all it educates, year after year, millions of young Germans for this community of the people, and introduces them into its ranks. The organization of this community is a thing gigantic and unique. There is hardly a German at the present time who is not personally anchored and active in one or another of the formations of this National Socialist community. It reaches into every house, every workshop, and every factory; into every town and every village. It embraces, moreover, all those belonging to the Reich who reside in foreign countries, and draws them together into the National Socialist community. Thus we are building here a vast organization, whose ramifications start with the family, and finish with the whole nation."¹

In the speech which closed the Nuremberg Parteitag of September 1934 Hitler said: "The laws which formed

¹ V.B., 14 Sept. 1938.

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the foundation for our rise and growth in the past are valid also for the future. The following principle must be recognized: always only a part of the people will be composed of really active fighters. They have been in Germany the supporters of the National Socialist struggle: they were the fighters in the National Socialist Revolution and it is they who uphold the National Socialist State. From them more is demanded than from the millions of their other fellow-countrymen. For them the mere profession 'I believe' is not enough: their vow must be 'I fight'."

"The Party will for all time form the picked body of the leaders of the German people. It will develop a State of political apostles and combatants who then as obedient officers, true to their duty, will serve the Movement. It will be that great school which attracts to itself the millions of our people, educates them and then sends them out into the world. In it there will develop a tradition in the art of leading a people which will not permit that men of alien spirit should ever again confuse the brain and the heart of the Germans."

"It will be in its teaching unalterable, in its organization hard as steel, in its tactics supple and adaptable, but in its whole appearance it will resemble an Order."

"It is for all time the mustard-seed of the National Socialist idea, the teacher of the art of National Socialist organization, the school of National Socialist propaganda."

"The aim must be that all decent Germans shall be National Socialists: only the best National Socialists shall be members of the Party."

"If these views are not understood especially by the members of the *bourgeois* class, if we are asked whether the people will in the long run be content to be led by

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such a minority, then we must answer these inquisitive, anxious folk as follows":

- (i) "Peoples have never yet been successfully led by a majority but always only by a minority."
- (ii) "This minority is not something other, alien to the majority and opposed to it, it is composed of the best elements chosen out of the people as a whole. Just as the nation entrusts to a minority the defence of all its individual vital interests and feels no jealousy, so it will without hesitation entrust to a minority also the defence of its most weighty affairs so soon as it realizes that the minority is the most capable authority and, further, represents those from its own ranks best qualified to perform these tasks". . . .

"Now that the National Socialist Movement has come to power in the State it is thus of the highest importance that never for a second should we forget that as in the past the greatest missionary effort in the German revival was that of the Party, so it must always remain in the future. In the 'Sturm und Drang' period of the Movement one or another might take offence at this or that and it mattered little. No improvisation that was ever called into life in Germany was perhaps so clearly marked by genius as was ours: and, seen in the large, it has more than richly fulfilled the hopes which men set upon it. But while we must always maintain the living character of the Party's organization, it will now be our task to work constantly for its internal improvement."

"It is above all else our task to admit to the Party as new members only those who can offer us guarantees that they do in fact belong to that minority which in the past by virtue of its intrinsic worth has always made history. If formerly the necessary conflict, the demands made and the sacrifices called for secured of themselves

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a sound selection amongst the candidates for membership and prevented the chaff from mingling with the wheat, in the future by conscientious methods and rigorous tests we must see to it that the same care is taken.¹ For in the early days it was dangerous to become a National Socialist, and for this reason we gained the best fighters. Now it is profitable for folk to 'co-ordinate' (*gleichschalten*) themselves with us, and we must therefore be on our guard lest those hasten to join us who under the symbol of our fight and our sacrifices do but wish to do business cheaply. In the early days our opponents took good care that through waves of vetoes and persecutions the Movement should from time to time go through a fresh 'combing out' process and we thus got rid of the light trash that began to find its way into our ranks. To-day we ourselves must hold a muster and must reject what has proved itself to be base and which therefore does not in any true sense belong to us."

"The great virtues of readiness for sacrifice, of loyalty and obedience in which from time to time we were tested by our opponents in the early days we must now subject to our own tests, and what does not stand that test must leave us. It is in general by no means necessary that the National Socialist Party should be reinforced only from those out of the nation who might have joined us in former years, but who, for whatever reason, did not do so. Let us turn our eyes from this world of the past and look to the German future. It is our wish and will that this State and this Reich shall continue to exist in the coming millennia. But for that end the decisive factor will be not that which we draw from a none too gratifying political past but what we win for the Reich from the future. And we can moreover be happy to know that this future is already ours—completely ours.

¹ With this cf. p. 479, *supra*.

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A young generation is growing up and it has never experienced the infection of our poisonous party politics, it has never experienced the corruption of our parliamentary-democratic system: all this is alien to our youth, it is from the outset incomprehensible. Those of advanced years may still have their doubts, but youth is devoted to us: it has joined us in body and in soul. Youth lives in this proud Germany of the swastika, and that symbol it will never more be able to tear from its heart. Youth loves the singleness of purpose, the resolution of our leadership, and would not understand if suddenly a mummified past were to come with utterances which even in their language are drawn from an alien period—a language no longer spoken, no longer comprehended. Youth is not growing up in the belief that status, classes, professions are of importance; its faith is in a single German nation. In their hearts there is no room for the prejudices, the conceit, the arrogance which in former generations were the characteristics of some classes of our people. For the young live with one another, they march together, they sing in common the songs of the Movement and of the Fatherland: they believe in a Germany which belongs to them all. In their ranks we shall find the best recruits for the National Socialist Party. We see them grow from childhood: we watch them as they develop. We can test the character of each, we can follow their individualities, and at length we can choose from their number those who seem to us the worthiest to take their places in the ranks of the Old Guard."

"The obligations of those who to-day are called upon to care for the Party and its future are very heavy. The first task set us to-day lies in the necessity of uniting ever more closely the separate branches of the Party. They must understand that they do but exercise different

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functions, as National Socialists and Comrades in the Party—whether members of the political organization, of the SA., the SS., the Women's Union (*Frauenschaft*), or the associations of Peasants and Workmen—they are all only fighters in the different detachments¹ of the NSDAP. It is their task to sustain this new German Confederation which provides the political life of the German nation with its leaders. The harder, the more unbreakable this community is, the more easily will it control the great organizations which are essential for the building up of the political and social life of the body of our people. As soldiers and officers of a community of the spirit based upon a common outlook on the world² they have the responsibility of educating the whole nation into this common life. They must mould youth and introduce it into the State as it is to-day and as it shall be in the time to come. They must give to those organizations which include millions of our workers and peasants a backbone of National Socialist doctrine,³ they must see to it that the supremacy of the National Socialist idea is anchored and secured in all important posts whether in the State or in the economic sphere. And all this they can do only if they form a community amongst themselves—a community under a perpetual vow and chained together in the bonds of loyalty and obedience. They must never expect more in virtue and readiness for sacrifice from the nation than what they are ready to do, to give, and to achieve a thousandfold. They cannot look for more idealism in the people than they are ready to keep alive in their own hearts and to show in action. They have no right to count on readiness for sacrifice within the nation if they

¹ German: *Kommandos*.

² German: *als Soldaten und Offiziere einer geistigen weltanschaulichen Gemeinschaft*.

³ German: *das weltanschauliche Gerippe*.

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are not prepared always to be themselves models for the people, ready to endure every sacrifice, however heavy that may be. And above all they must never expect that the people's faith in the National Socialist idea can be greater than their own faith, their own devotion to that idea. They must recognize certain principles as fundamental, as a basis which, whatever their position be, they can never desert. He who breaks his vow of loyalty has no longer any right to demand loyalty from his subordinates. He who refuses to obey has no longer any right to expect obedience. He who ceases to act as a comrade must not be surprised if one day he also finds himself lonely, betrayed, abandoned."¹

In his May Day speech at Berlin in 1935 Hitler said, with reference to the period following the European war:

"A writer has summed up the impressions made on him by this time in a book which he entitled 'The Decline of the West'. Is it then really to be the end of our history and of our peoples? No! we cannot believe it. This age must be called, not the decline of the West, but the resurrection of the peoples of this West of ours! Only that which was old, decayed and evil perishes: and let it die! But new life will spring up. Faith can be found, if the will is there. Our leadership has the will, and faith is with the people". . . .

". . . So we have come together on this day to prove symbolically that we are more than a collection of individuals striving one against another, that none of us is too proud, none of us too high, none is too rich, and none too poor, to stand together before the face of the Lord and of the world in this indissoluble, sworn community. And this united nation, we have need of it.

¹ The closing passage of this extract is translated here as a good example of Hitler's oratorical practice of amplifying a simple idea. *F.Z.*, 12 Sept. 1934.

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When was a leadership at any time faced with a heavier task than our German leadership? Consider, my comrades, what our Germany is, and compare it with other countries. What have we? One hundred and thirty-seven people to the square kilometre; no colonies; no raw materials; no foreign exchange, no capital, no longer any foreign credits, only heavy burdens, sacrifices, taxation, and low wages. What have we, compared with the wealth of other States, the wealth of other countries, the wealth of other peoples, with the possibilities of living that they possess? What have we? One thing only; we have our people. Either it is everything or it is nothing. On it alone can we count. On it alone can we build. Everything that we have created up to the present we owe solely to its goodness of heart, its capacity, its loyalty, its decency, its industry, its sense of order. And if I weigh all this in the balance, it seems to me to be more than all that the rest of the world can offer us. So this, I believe, can be our message to the other peoples on this 1st of May: 'You need have no fear that we want anything of you. We are proud enough to confess that we ourselves own that treasure, which you certainly could not give us—our people.' I could, as leader, think of no more glorious, no prouder task in this world than to serve this people. One might give me continents, but I would rather be the poorest citizen among this people. And with this people we must and shall succeed in achieving also the tasks that are still to come."¹

In his speech at Karlsruhe (on 13 March 1936), which opened the electoral campaign of the spring of 1936, Hitler said:

"It is my desire to resolve the great antagonisms which exist in the life of peoples, in the same way as domestic

¹ *F.Z.*, 2 May 1935.

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antagonisms, from the standpoint of justice and equity and therefore of reason. It might be said: that is impossible, that is fantastic; such hopes are but ideologies. Well, I believe in these ideologies, and on this basis wonderful success has already been attained. It is not as an idle talker that I come before the German people. I can say: 'These ideas have guided me for three years and they have guided me well. When I took over the Government three years ago the German people in Europe was surrounded by nothing but hostilities. And the worst of it was that this mentality seemed on all sides to be based upon so little real deliberation: neither in this country nor elsewhere had the problems been thought out with sufficient consideration. Men let themselves be driven into hatred, ill-will, fear, and jealousy. I have tried to bring reason into Germany's relations with her neighbours. I have tried to build up our relations on principles which have always proved to be right—on the community of man and human co-operation. I have endeavoured to make clear to the world and to the German people that Europe is a small idea, that for centuries past within this small Europe profound displacements have not taken place, that here in Europe we have to deal with a single family of peoples, that the individual members of this family have each become consolidated to an infinite degree—that they represent nations, filled with traditions looking back on a great past, each regarding its own culture as its peculiar property and facing the future with pride and hope. I have tried to make our own people understand, and the others too, that every disagreement inspired by hatred can result only in small and impermanent successes. The European frontiers of States may change, but their peoples remain stable. The frontiers of States can be altered, but a people's frontiers have become positively

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unalterable. There are no empty spaces in Europe into which the masses of a people can stream. There are no peoples in Europe not yet consolidated who could out of hand be alienated from their essential character. But there is no necessity and therefore it is senseless to try to strip peoples of their individuality in order to force upon them an alien individuality. I have endeavoured, starting from this quite sober weighing of the facts, to better the relation of Germany to her neighbours and my endeavours have not been without success". . . .

"There are many who say that reason is not the decisive factor, but that other imponderables must be considered. I believe that there can be nothing of value which is not in the last resort based on reason. I refuse to believe that in statesmanship one should regard as right any views which are not anchored in reason. . . . People tell me that if I am a German Nationalist I must necessarily wish for military triumphs. I can only say that my ambition is to win triumphs of a very different kind. I am a German Nationalist and I will represent my people with all the fanaticism of a soldier of the great army of former days. I have the ambition to raise for myself one day a monument in the German people, but I know that it is better to raise this monument in peace than in a war. The aim of my ambition is rather that we should create in Germany the best institutions for the education of our people; my wish is that we in Germany should get the finest stadia, that our road-system should be developed, our culture elevated and ennobled. I wish that our towns should be made beautiful. I wish to place Germany among the first in all spheres of human culture and human effort. That is my ambition!"

"I want the working-strength of my people not to lie fallow, I wish it to be turned into money to create for us

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once more new values. I want this working-strength to be transformed into beauty for our people—into life and joy for our people. My aim shall be that this people shall live, so far as possible, a life freed from care, that the goods of this life shall be distributed as reasonably as possible. But I will not allow another to interfere or think that he can rob us of anything.”

“I live only for my people, and the National Socialist Movement thinks only of this people. I live only for the thought of this people’s future; I see before me the countless millions who work so hard and have so few of life’s gifts, who so often have to struggle with cares and so seldom have their share of happiness. The National Socialist Movement desires only to help these men; it will endeavour to lighten their lot, to bring into it some beauty. To that end, to the service of the maintenance of the people’s life, it will devote all its powers of work, all its genius and all its skill in organization.”¹

In his speech to the German Youth at Nuremberg on 10 September 1938 Hitler said: “It is the imperishable service of the National Socialist Movement that during the period of our people’s deepest humiliation it never for one moment lost its faith in the future, that it fostered this faith, and taught Germans to live in accordance with it. What meaning could this old Germany, torn by inner dissension, still have for our future? Does anyone believe that this Germany of the past could have formed that which to-day is a reality? A new Movement had to come, to educate our people for this, and to make them ready to give their energies to the task! And if National Socialism in its historical existence had achieved nothing else than the days of 12 and 13 March 1938,² it would, even so, have already vindicated its

¹ *V.B.*, 14 Mar. 1936.

² The march into Austria.

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right to exist for a millennium! But I believe that this is only the beginning of the beneficent activity of our Movement. Immeasurable are the tasks which are set before us; but, whatever be those tasks, they can be solved only by a people closely united into one body, and such a body cannot be formed by wishes and by hopes, but only by education. By that alone can we create for ourselves the people that we require, the people that they will need who are to make history when we are dead. This people will not be trained through the older generations: that training will ever come afresh through its youth. And that is the reason why the sight of you fills me with such pride and joy! . . . It is a different people from that which in the experience of my youth I myself came to know—a people more closely knit together than ever before, understanding the great task which life holds for it, a community, sharing in a common destiny, pledged in life or death to fulfil this task.”

“In this community of destiny you are enrolled! You will grow up into it and one day you yourselves will be its support. By your steadfastness men will one day measure the steadfastness of Germany. And blindly and confidently I build on you! When Providence one day takes me from my people, I shall leave to the future Leader a people welded fast together, bound up together as with iron bands, a people which can nevermore be sundered and torn apart, standing unshakeably together, joyful in happy times and defiant in disaster! And of this you are for me, boys and girls, each and all the living guarantors!”¹

In his speech to the “Old Guard” on 24 February 1939 Hitler said:

“Germany has now become that which always hovered

¹ *V.B.*, 11 Sept. 1938.

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before us and that it may ever more nearly approach that ideal which, as our programme, we announced nineteen years ago in this hall, that shall be our task now, and in the future. And that we shall attain it, that is as certain as that I stand here."

"When the time comes for us to close our eyes in death, then those who come after us will receive something different from that which was given into our hands nineteen years ago."¹

¹ *V.B.*, 26 Feb. 1939.

23. THE YEARS IN RETROSPECT AS HITLER SAW THEM

THE FIRST SIX MONTHS

In a speech to the Party officials of Saxony delivered at Leipzig on 16 July 1933 Hitler said:

"In these six months history has been made in Germany. Germany lives again and let no man think that he will ever again be able to destroy this people (*Volks-tum*). The parties have been broken up in Germany, and the conception of democracy has followed them. Through the Concordat with the Catholic Church the participation of clergy in the political life of the parties has been brought to an end. We will strengthen religion, the churches shall have their freedom: but politics are our task."¹

In his speech (16 July 1933) to the demonstration held at the monument commemorating the Battle of Leipzig Hitler said:

"Through a revolution the young National Socialist Germany has finally swept out of Germany the men and the authorities of the November-Disgrace. If this revolution could be carried through with so triumphant an enthusiasm, and if from the first moment its success was assured, then we owe this to the unique fact that Fate gave to us the possibility of systematically schooling and organizing during fourteen years the forces which were to effect the revolution. You, the men who stand here, have been the support of this revolution, you are the guarantors of its final success, i.e. that to the German people shall be restored that inner strength without which no people on this earth can live."

¹ V.B., 18 July 1933.

THE YEARS IN RETROSPECT

"This Movement has already passed through two phases: in the first phase we waged a battle for and in defence of our *Weltanschauung* in Germany against the terrorism of our foes. Never would our idea have prevailed in Germany had not at first thousands, tens of thousands, and later hundreds of thousands of our fellow-combatants in brown voluntarily risked their lives for this great idea."

"Then came the second phase of the battle: we could with a single revolutionary onrush frame our attack to win power in the State, and now before us there stands the third phase of our struggle, the phase which is decisive for the future. To-day we lead the whole people . . . and thus we are faced with the gigantic task of educating the millions who do not yet in their hearts (*innerlich*) belong to us till they become soldiers of this Third Reich, soldiers of our *Weltanschauung*". . .

"The form of the old State is shattered: the new form is there. For this new form men must now be trained. This form prevails now and it shall prevail into the most distant future" that Germany may never see again the humiliation of November 1918. . . . "The great fighting Movement of the German people enters on a new stage. You, my comrades, must be the iron stock from which generation after generation shall be formed."¹

In an address to men of the SA., the SS., and the Stahlhelm delivered at Nuremberg on 3 September 1933 Hitler said:

"Heaven can bear witness: the guilt of our people is blotted out, the crime is atoned for, the shame is removed. The men of November are overthrown and their power is at an end."²

¹ *V.B.*, 18 July 1933.

² *V.B.*, 5 Sept. 1933.

AS HITLER SAW THEM

THE FIRST YEAR'S ACHIEVEMENT

In his proclamation issued on New Year's Day 1934 Hitler said:

"The year 1933 had to bring the decision. For thirteen years as National Socialist and as your Leader I have with the utmost fanaticism maintained the thesis that the word 'capitulation' must never find a place in our dictionary. It is always better to be destroyed in honour than voluntarily to submit to the foe. And only he who is determined to hold the field to the last man can hope in the end to come successfully to his rights. It was in this frame of mind that we had fought for thirteen years, and now in the fourteenth, although we had suffered very heavy sacrifices, already in the first month of the year we won once more a new great victory. The success of 15 January 1933 in Lippe-Detmold led to the final discouragement of our foes and thus introduced the greatest revolution which Germany had experienced for many centuries. . . . What has happened during the eleven months since 30 January 1933 is a change of such wonderful range and content that later generations will hardly be able to grasp it in the whole of its scope". . . .

"The great life-task which I had set before myself was completed in barely six months! Marxism was destroyed and Communism laid in the dust. Fourteen years long have I preached the necessity of conquering this doctrine of madness and of destroying the organizations infected by it as the condition for the restoration of Germany. Marxism in Germany exists no longer. . . . National Socialism has remained the conqueror and it will never allow its foes to raise themselves again. For, my comrades, we have not forbidden to Marxism its organizations: we have taken from it the people. The

THE YEARS IN RETROSPECT

army of the millions of German working men who had fallen victims to this madness has been led back into the community of the German people. The German working man is no longer an alien body in the German State: he is the force which sustains the German nation. And just as the Marxist foe of our people has been annihilated, so in the same way have the *bourgeois* parties been destroyed. The organizations of class-division, of class-hatred, and of class-war have on both sides been dissolved and swept away. And the State of these parties—it, too, exists no more.”

“Once for all parliamentary transactions with their corrupting intrigues¹ have been brought to an end.”

“The National Socialist principle of the authority of the leadership has conquered parliamentary incompetence.”

“Thereby the conception of the value of personality has been secured in all its commanding significance: it is destined to form the foundation of our whole work of organization and reconstruction. At the same time we all clearly realize that the penetration of our public life by this new conception will take not merely a few months but will need an education lasting for decades and a continuous development.”

“Parallel with this victory over the party-State went the strengthening of the authority of the idea of the Reich. The elements responsible for continuous opposition, perpetual criticism, and unending carping—responsible even for the conscious sabotage to which the Reich was subjected—have either been overcome or destroyed. And this re-formation of the Reich gains its highest significance only through the formation of a real German nation. The German people, triumphing over parties, castes, confessions, and *Weltanschauungen*, has

¹ German: *Kuhhandel*.

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at length come together into a unity, and upon those who would harm this community a pitiless war has been declared in all spheres of our public life."

"Without respect of person or descent, of caste, of calling, or of property, we have attacked corruption with vigour. We have really broken with the principle that one must indeed hang the small thief, but let the large thief go his way unharmed."

"We have endeavoured to free economic life from those parasites who saw the safety of their own existence in organizing divisions amongst the people. We have accordingly taken the organizations out of the hands of the international Marxist destroyers of our trades unions as they were originally conceived, just as on the other hand we have taken them from the representatives of big-business syndicates."¹

"We have taken economic differences and their settlement out of the sphere of economic, political, and social struggles for power and have handed them over for consideration and solution to a superior authority which might keep in view the interests of all. Thereby we have so strengthened in all those interested in our economic life their trust in the political leadership of the nation that it can henceforth do justice to the great tasks which we have been compelled to set before it. This general confidence in the leadership is essential if the attack upon unemployment is to be successful". . . .

"The motorization of our traffic was freed from a state of positive lethargy and in this year has seen an extraordinary revival."

"A mighty network of roads is in course of construction."

"The threatened ruin of the whole of German housing was averted. Over one and a half million workers and

¹ German: *den Vertretern großkapitalistischer Syndikate.*

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craftsmen in the building trades are at present employed in Germany on repairs to houses and dwellings."

"Work has been begun on great private and public buildings, some designed for State purposes and others as national monuments."

"In many spheres national production which we have systematically encouraged can to-day point once more to very great achievements."

"The State by legislation which went to the root of the evil has put a stop to the activity of those who were systematically ruining our peasantry."

"Vast undertakings for public assistance have been called into being, and although the results already attained have fallen far short of our hopes the second year will learn from the mistakes of the first and will increase the success and the third year will do yet better; it is our purpose which nothing shall weaken that just as we have fought the battle for power during fourteen years and that battle has been crowned with success, so in the end we shall be successful in our fight against distress."

Towards the close of the Proclamation Hitler turned to a review of foreign policy: "I have always passionately protested against the attempt to misrepresent the inferiority of Governments as though that implied the inferiority of the German people. And if at last on the 12th of November the German people supported the great fight of our Movement and of the German Government, inspired by our Movement, for peace, honour, and equal rights with the mightiest vote of confidence that was ever given, then I know that that was not so much a sign of the excellence of the present Government, but rather a sign of the inner decency of our people which had returned to its better self. That is the highest and fairest success of this year."¹

¹ V.B., 2 Jan. 1934.

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*In a speech to the "Old Guard" delivered on 19 March 1934 in Munich Hitler said: "That which the centuries did not venture to attempt, that in which half a millennium failed, what generations sought to achieve but could not, that we have created in a single year."*¹

THE YEAR 1933-1934

In his Proclamation read at the opening of the Parteitag in Nuremberg in September 1934 Hitler said that the period between the Parteitag of 1933 and that of 1934 could be characterized as the year in which their political power in Germany was assured.² "Thereby the form of German life was finally determined for the next millennium."

"In this same period there falls also the continuance of the work of fashioning the internal construction of the German Reich. Five hundred years of division and therefore of weakness for the German nation thus finds its close. The German people in future will see its destiny to lie in a single State just as there is but a single National Socialist Party. The crippling opposition between the Reich and Prussia is resolved in the same way as the incomprehensible antagonism of individual South German States has been liquidated."

"All the leading posts are being occupied by obedient sons of the National Socialist Party, and they thus guarantee that a single will dominates Germany and so Germany itself appears once more united in one will. . . . Through legislation and measures of organization the Press has entered into the service of this mighty idea and of our people's task and now co-operates to produce in an ever higher degree the unity of opinion and of will."

¹ *F.Z.*, 21 Mar. 1934.

² German: *das Jahr der politischen Machtsicherung in Deutschland.*

THE YEARS IN RETROSPECT

"Wherever we look in Germany we see on every side only one thing: the Reich and the people during the last twelve months have rapidly and quickly¹ adopted National Socialist teachings and have been won for our idea: thus, as it were by some transformation, they have become a mighty force". . . .

"Through the attitude adopted by the army, the sole bearer of the nation's arms, to this new State the final guarantee of the new conditions is assured—a guarantee which will have its effect for an unlimited future".²

THE YEAR 1934

In his New Year's proclamation to the Party, 1 January 1935, Hitler said:

"A year eventful for Germany has come to an end. For the second time we celebrate the 1st of January in our State. The Movement can look back with pride on its achievements of the last twelve months, for the political and moral regeneration, no less than the economic revival, of our people are its work. Where would Germany have been without it? In days to come posterity will establish historically the greatness of this general revolution, which in the second year of the National Socialist régime was continued and secured."

"Twelve months ago our opponents were prophesying for 1934 the inevitable collapse of the new Reich. Yet Germany and the German people have become stronger in all aspects of their national existence and their self-defence."

"Although Providence has taken from us this year a large-hearted mediator in the person of our Field Marshal,³ mutual harmony between the idea and purpose

¹ German: *mit rapider Schnelligkeit*. ² *F.Z.*, 6 Sept. 1934.

³ i.e. von Hindenburg.

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of the National Socialist Movement on the one hand, and the German people on the other, has become ever more close. Since the purge of unworthy elements within the Party which took place last summer the Party is to-day more than ever the actual political representative of the nation's will; and this not by any unauthorized and therefore presumptuous usurpation, but justifiably, as is shown by the recent fresh affirmation of the will of the overwhelming majority of our people."

"I know, my comrades, that in the coming year this will not only remain so, but will gain in strength, for the great work of reform in people and Reich will be carried farther. The fight against unemployment and social distress will go on. As for our enemies, and those visionaries¹ who imagine even now that they can, by a flood of conventional lies and insinuations, disunite the people and Reich of National Socialist Germany, and bring down the Government which they hate—in twelve months' time stern reality will refute them, even as it has in the year which lies behind us."

"In face of the discipline and loyalty of the National Socialist Party and its adherents, in face of the unshakable faith and resolution of its leaders, every attempt to injure Germany will in the end prove ineffectual. . . . The year 1935 shall see us all filled with a more intense eagerness to fight and to labour for our people. And for this people we can wish nothing better than a life in honour and in peace, for then by God's help will our work succeed in assuring to the nation its daily bread. But our most ardent wish for this year 1935 is the return of that German territory² which, through the voice of its blood, will on 13 January declare before the whole world its inseparable community with the German Reich.³

¹ German: *Phantasten*.

² The Saar.

³ *F.Z.*, 2 Jan. 1935.

THE YEARS IN RETROSPECT

In his Proclamation to the German people on the second anniversary of the coming into power of the National Socialist Government (30 January 1935) Hitler said:

"The outbreak of the World War represents a turning-point in history not merely in the memory of the living witnesses of the event but also for the generations yet to come. Such another turning-point for our German people was the coming into power of the National Socialist Government. A nation that was wasting away in dull despair has been set upon its feet once more; it has been filled with a strong faith and confidence in the spiritual value and the creative force of its own life. And its greatest and decisive service lies in this fact: with the change of the external symbols there corresponded a change in the inner life of men. In joyous self-discipline countless millions of our people have devoted themselves to the service of the new idea. By the side of the fanatical fighters of our revolutionary National Socialist Party there have taken their stand the soldiers of our army, an army rich in the traditions of the past. A mobilization of human forces began on a scale hardly dreamed of before. Starting from the companies of our youth in their millions up to the gigantic community of the active workers with head and hand¹ united in a single front—we see in them all the witnesses to National Socialist skill in organization, and to the National Socialist work in organization. It is not that an old world was broken, in order later to build up a new world, but rather that the uprising of a new world has superseded the old."²

In his speech at the celebration of the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Party (24 February 1935) Hitler said:

Fifteen years ago in our programme we promised a

¹ German: *Arbeiter der Stirn und Faust*: 'workers of the brow and the fist'.

² *F.Z.*, 31 Jan. 1935.

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revolution: "and over Germany there has come a revolution, deep and mighty. Not externally have we conquered the old system, but in the hearts of men. All the ferments which were destroying the people have been banished—Marxism and just to the same extent our rootless and equally international *bourgeois* party system. In its place there has come a community, in the political sphere the community of the German people, in the economic sphere the Front of our workers."

"We have been in power only for two years. People must not imagine that our energy now after some twenty-five months is exhausted. On the contrary, we stand only at the beginning of the new development. What we have created in two years is but the proclamation of that which one day shall be."

"To all those who roam through Germany still cherishing their silent hopes I have only one thing to say: So often in my life I have been a prophet and you have not believed me but have laughed at me and mocked me. But I would wish to be a prophet still and I would say to you: you will never come back! That which to-day is will never fade away, and that which was will never return."¹

THE YEARS 1933-1935

In his Proclamation of 1 January 1936 Hitler said: "For us to whom it has been given to fashion and to experience this great turning-point in the history of our people it is difficult to estimate which of the three years which now lie behind us possesses greater significance for the resurrection of the German people. In 1933 we won power within the State. In 1934 we strengthened and widened that power through our preparations

¹ *F.Z.*, 26 Feb. 1935.

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towards securing our external freedom. The year 1935 is marked by the winning of that freedom in relation to the world beyond our frontiers and within the Reich by the farther advance of the National Socialist idea and of National Socialist principles. That along with this tremendous work of the political restoration of Germany we also succeeded in carrying through and continuing Germany's economic rebuilding may fill us all with special pride."

"While we may look back with justifiable satisfaction on a truly tremendous work of political, cultural and economic reconstruction, certain clairvoyant journalists have chosen this moment to fix once more the date at which the downfall of Germany is to ensue. Here too we can still remain satisfied. For these empty phrases will pass, but the results of our work will remain. And the year 1936 which lies before us must and shall be a further year of National Socialist resolution and energy."

"But the greater grows the strength of the Reich, the more clearly that strength finds its expression in the re-creation of the army of our people, the more conscious must we be of the burden of the obligation which this new arm lays upon us. When we look upon the many confusions and disturbances of the rest of the world, it is only then that we begin to realize the blessing of the clear and stable régime in our own State and at the same time the blessing and the profit of the peace which that régime guarantees. To remain such a bulwark of national European discipline and culture against the Bolshevist enemy of mankind will in the coming year also be our zealous aim. . . . Our supreme effort also in the coming year must be to preserve peace abroad in the interest of that life of freedom and honour which we have now re-discovered."¹

¹ *V.B.*, 2 Jan. 1936.

AS HITLER SAW THEM

For the new confidence of Germany may be compared two sentences of Hitler's from a speech delivered to "Old Fighters" on 30 January 1936:

"If anyone should think that he can treat us as slaves he will find that we are the most stubborn people in the world."

"We are no longer defenceless helots, we have become free and self-conscious 'Citizens of the World'."¹

Speaking to the workmen at Essen on 27 March 1936 Hitler said:

"No man of honest and upright character can deny that in many fields an extraordinary amount has been accomplished in the last three years. The life of our nation has experienced a new order. Our economic life has reached a new level of prosperity. You yourselves, workmen here in Germany's greatest factory, can bear witness to this. You know how empty these halls used to be, how dead things were in so many of these steel cathedrals of industry. And you hear and see how life here to-day is humming with busy energy, not only in the armament-producing works, but everywhere throughout this giant concern. It may be only a small section of our whole economic life, but it is symbolic, nevertheless, of the recovery of the German people, of its economy, and therefore of its potentialities for living."

"If you ask me, my German workmen, how this became possible, let me tell you that I did not need to spend a long time in looking for a prescription. There were no prescriptions to my hand, and there could not be, for the past had left only one prescription—how not to do it, if one did not want to bring the people to ruin. No, I had to travel by new and unknown paths. And the fact remains that in these three years nearly five million

¹ *F.Z.*, 31 Jan. 1936.

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men were brought back into employment. We have succeeded not only in arresting the downfall of the Reich, the financial ruin of the German States, the death of our municipalities, but we have restored Reich, States, and municipalities alike to vigorous health. We have been able to set countless factories to work again, to bring the smoke back to innumerable dead stacks and chimneys. We have not only sent out our ships once more to sail the seas of the world, but we have been able to build many new ones. Thus the whole German shipbuilding industry is at work to-day, even as you who stand here are at work."¹

THE FOUR YEARS' ACHIEVEMENT: 1933-1936

Hitler, in his Proclamation at the opening of the Parteitag of 1936, gave his answer to the question, "What has National Socialism made out of Germany in the last four years?"

"In all spheres of our national life there has been since four years ago an immense advance. The tempo and the scale of the political advance are unique, and above all the inner consolidation of the German nation is unique in history". . . .

"On the evening of 30 January 1933 I made known to the German people in a short Proclamation the aims which we had set before us in our battle. I then asked that I might be granted four years: at the end of that time I wished to render account to the German people of the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of that promise."

"Our foes were convinced that we should never have an opportunity to ask the nation for such a judgement, for the longest period that they were prepared to allow our Government was barely six to twelve weeks."

"And what has National Socialism in these four years made of Germany? Who from amongst our foes would

¹ *V.B.*, 29 Mar. 1936.

AS HITLER SAW THEM

to-day have the effrontery to step forward as our accuser?"

"What appeared to them then fantastic and incapable of realization in my Proclamation seems to-day the most modest announcement of an achievement which towers above the promises then made. Our opponents thought that we could not carry out the programme of 1933 which now seems to us so small an affair. But what would they have said if I had propounded to them *that* programme which the National Socialist Government has as a matter of fact realized in not quite four years? How they would have jeered if on the 30th of January 1933 I had declared that within four years Germany would have reduced its six million unemployed to one million!"

"That the enforced expropriation of the German peasantry would have been brought to an end."

"That the receipts from German agriculture would be higher than in any previous year in time of peace."

"That the total national income would be raised from 41 milliards annually to over 56 milliards."

"That the German middle-classes and German artisans would enjoy a new prosperity."

"That trade would once more recover."

"That German ports would no more resemble ship grave-yards."

"That in 1936 on German wharves alone over 640,000 tons of shipping would be under construction."

"That countless manufactories would not merely double but treble and quadruple the number of their workmen. And that in less than four years innumerable others would be rebuilt."

"That a Krupp factory would vibrate once again with the roaring and the hammering of the machines of the German resurrection and that over all of these undertakings men would recognize as the supreme law of their

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effort not the unscrupulous profit of the individual but the service of the nation."

"That the silent motor-works would not only spring into life but would be enlarged on an unheard of scale."

"That the production of motor-cars would rise from 45,000 in the year 1932 to some quarter of a million."

"That in four years the deficits of our States and cities would be wiped out."

"That the Reich would gain from taxation an annual increase of nearly five milliards."

"That the German Imperial Railway would at length recover, and that its trains would be the quickest in the world."

"That to the German Reich would be given roads such that since the beginnings of human civilization they have never had their match for size and beauty: and that of the first 7,000 kilometres which were planned already after not quite four years 1,000 kilometres would be in use and over 4,000 kilometres would be in course of construction."

"That enormous new settlements with hundreds of thousands of houses would come into being, while in ancient cities of the Reich mighty new buildings would arise which may be said to be the greatest in the world."

"That hundreds upon hundreds of gigantic bridges would be thrown over gorges and valleys."

"That German 'Kultur' in these and similar new achievements would confirm its eternal value."

"That German theatres and concerts of our German music would celebrate their resurrection."

"That with all this the German people would take an active share in this revolutionary renewal of the spirit, while not a single Jew would make an appearance in this intellectual leadership of the German people."

"If I had prophesied then that in four years the whole

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German Press would be filled with a new 'ethos' and would be in the service of German aims, that for German business life (*Wirtschaft*) the law of a new professional honour would be proclaimed, so that in every sphere the German experiences a renewal of his personality and his action."

"If I had at that time foretold that after these four years there would be only one single German people, that no Social Democracy, no Communism, no Centrum, not even a *bourgeois* party would any longer be able to sin against the life of Germany, that no trade union would any longer be able to incite the workers, and no employers' association to ruin the employers, that after these four years no German State would have its separate government, that in Germany there would no longer be any State-parliaments (*Landtage*), that the sixteen flags and the sixteen different traditions which they represented would have ceased to exist and have been brought together as one, and that the whole nation—from the workman to the soldier—would in the future march only in support of a single confession of faith and a single flag."

"What would they have said if I had prophesied to them that Germany in these four years would have freed itself from the slave-fetters of Versailles, that the Reich would regain general compulsory military service, that every German, as before the War, would serve two years for the freedom of the country, that a new fleet would be under construction to protect our coasts and our trade, that a mighty new air arm would guarantee the security of our towns, our factories and works, that the Rhineland would be brought under the supremacy of the German nation, and that thereby the sovereignty of the Reich would be restored over the whole of its territory?"

"What would they have said to my prophecy that the people, at that time so divided, before four years were

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past would—99 per cent. of it—go to the polls and that 99 per cent. would say 'Yes' in support of the National Socialist policy of reconstruction, of national honour and freedom?"

"If four years ago I had prophesied this and much else I should have been branded as a madman and the whole world would have laughed at me. But all this is now accomplished fact, and this is the achievement of not quite four years. . . . The National Socialist political leadership of Germany in this short time has wrought a miracle."¹

THE SIX YEARS' ACHIEVEMENT, 1938

Speaking at Reichenberg on 2 December 1938, before the first elections held in the newly won Sudeten German territory, Hitler said: "Since the year 1933, the National Socialist Party has been the responsible authority in Germany, and the German people can give its judgement upon it at any time. It has given this judgement, and the result has not been otherwise than I expected. What have we not done in these few years! The most tremendous questions have been solved, problems with which other statesmen, who are continually coming forward as tutors of the old Europe, are still afflicted to-day, and which they are incapable of mastering. We have overcome them, and that, too, with brilliant success!² Questions of an economic and political nature, questions of production, immense problems of national and foreign policy—all have been grappled with and solved. I do not believe that a single one of our former opponents would have considered possible what has actually taken place."

"As early as 1933 the rise of Germany begins; all the

¹ *V.B.*, 10 Sept. 1936.

² There is a curious misprint in the report of the speech in *V.B.*, 4 Dec. 1938: *und zwar Grenzen! Read glänzend.*

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internal manifestations of collapse are eliminated; our classes, social distinctions, and parties are overcome; all mischief-makers are suppressed, and this is followed by our departure from the League of Nations."

"Already in 1934 the consolidation of the Reich is being completed; the struggle against economic collapse progresses; we start on the improvement of our road-system; above all, the trebling of the German military forces is begun!"

"In 1935 perhaps the most important paragraph of the Versailles treaty is annulled: conscription is introduced, and thereby for the first time the new freedom of Germany is proclaimed. The struggle for the creation of our new German economic system is successfully continued."

"By 1936 Germany is already able to set aside yet another oppressive clause in the 'Diktat of Shame', the Rhineland is taken back under the sovereignty of the Reich!"

"In the autumn of that same year the last remnants of international control in Germany are effaced. And in that year, too, Germany steps forward in the eyes of the world as a Power no longer unconcerned in foreign political developments, and a year later still, shows herself determined, even if necessary by an appeal to arms, to safeguard the rights of the German nation!"

"This year 1937, however, sees also the greatest constructive economic work that a nation has ever undertaken. The Four Years Plan begins to be carried into effect: theories and schemes are now becoming realities. Our army is strengthened to an extraordinary degree."

"And then comes the year 1938, that year whose profound convulsions you yourselves have shared with us, a year which has realized the plans and the hopes of many centuries!"

"My fellow-countrymen, all this is the result of the

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struggle for the soul of the German people, for the attainment of a community of the German people. This year this German community has shown itself for the first time to be a reality, which yields to no threat and to no oppression. We have set very moderate limits to the aims of our foreign policy; but somewhere there comes a point where international rights cease, and the national rights of the peoples must have their say. In this present year we have embarked on the defence of this national right to existence, determined to throw into that defence all our force and all our power. Millions of Germans could not join their families this summer and autumn. For many months they were in barracks or on their training-ground. All have thereby made their solemn profession of faith that the community of the German people is for them more than a mere word, more than a phrase, that it is a sacred duty for which every individual is prepared instantly to hazard his life, if necessary, even as millions of others have done before us.”¹

THE YEAR 1938

Replying to the New Year wishes offered by Mgr. Cesare Orsenigo, doyen of the Diplomatic Corps in Berlin, on 12 January 1939 Hitler said: “The German nation recalls with profound thankfulness that the year 1938 brought to our people too the realization of its right to self-determination—a right which none may bargain away. If this result was attained without breaking the peace of Europe for a single day, a large share in that achievement is due to the policy of a wise understanding on the part of the Powers, which found its expression in the Munich agreement. I have already taken the opportunity in another place on the occasion of this New Year to express the gratitude felt by the German people towards those

¹ *F.Z.*, 4 Dec. 1938.

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statesmen who in the year 1938 undertook to co-operate with Germany in seeking to find the means for a peaceful settlement of urgent problems. That we succeeded in reaching the peaceful solution which we all desired, we owe not only to the will to peace and to the sense of responsibility of the Governments concerned, but above all to their recognition of the fact that necessities based on historical development and on the natural needs of the peoples must sooner or later be acknowledged; they cannot be brushed aside so as to damage any individual people or State, and still less can they be obstructed by violent means. The Powers concerned have from the recognition of this fact drawn the necessary conclusions for their political decisions and have thus made a genuine contribution not only towards the preservation of European peace, but also towards the creation of a healthier and a happier Europe.”¹

THE TWO MIRACLES

In his Proclamation at the opening of the Party Congress at Nuremberg on 6 September 1938, Hitler reviewed once again the past history of the National Socialist Movement. “When after so many years we look back to-day to that first period of our mighty struggle, it must come home to us, how vast a change of destiny is here! . . . Yet we must never forget that during this whole time our people has always remained the same. The people of the year 1918 was none other than the people of 1914; the people of 1923 was the same as that of 1918 and that of 1938. They are the same men and women. How is this riddle to be solved? My comrades, one thing has altered since then: the leadership of Germany has changed” . . .

“The miracle which took place between 1805 and 1813 was no different. The men and the women of Prussia at

¹ *F.Z.*, 13 Jan. 1939.

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the time of the battle of Leipzig were the same Prussians as in the days of Jena and Auerstädt. But then, too, a weak leadership of State and army had been replaced during those few years by a heroic leadership, and its very names—the names of Stein and Blücher, of Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, of Yorck and Clausewitz, and thousands upon thousands more—these names alone explain to us the miracle of the great rise of Prussia. In days to come the miracle of the rise of Germany in our own day—that, also, must be seen to rest on nothing else.”¹

JANUARY 1933 AND JANUARY 1939

Hitler, in his speech to the new Reichstag of Greater Germany after the incorporation of the Sudeten territory (30 January 1939), looked back on the Germany of January 1933; he said:

“When on the evening of 30 January 1933—six years ago to-day—beneath the light of their torches the tens of thousands of National Socialist fighters passed through the Brandenburger Tor to express to me, the newly nominated Chancellor of the Reich, their feelings of overflowing joy and their confession of loyalty as my followers, countless anxious eyes both here in Berlin and throughout Germany gazed at the beginning of a development the issue of which it appeared impossible to discern or to foresee.”

“Some 13 million of German voters—men and women—then stood behind me. An imposing number, but yet only a little more than a third of the sum of the votes cast. It was true that the remaining twenty millions were divided and split up between thirty-five other parties and groups. The one thing which united them was a common hatred

¹ *V.B.*, 7 Sept. 1938. Cf. another treatment of the same theme in Hitler's address to the SA., SS., &c., at the Nuremberg Parteitag of 1937, 12 Sept. 1937. *V.B.*, 13 Sept. 1937.

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of our young Movement, a hatred born of a bad conscience or of purposes which were still worse. It united—as it still does elsewhere to-day—priests of the Centre Party and Communist atheists, socialist annihilators of property and capitalist Stock Exchange interests, Conservative champions of the State and Republican destroyers of the Reich. All of them had come together to protect their interests during the long fight of National Socialism for leadership and had made common cause with the Jews. Bishops of the different churches, playing a political game, had spread their hands over them in blessing. And against this splitting up of the nation, united only in negation, stood that third of German men and women, with their faith, those who had undertaken to raise anew the German people and Reich in the face of a world of internal and external opposition. The whole picture of the greatness of the collapse of Germany at that time begins gradually to grow dim, but one thing even to-day is not forgotten. It seemed that only a miracle could save Germany at the twelfth hour. And we National Socialists believed in this miracle. Over the belief in this miracle our foes made merry. The thought that one should wish to redeem the nation from a ruin which had now lasted for a decade and a half simply through the force of a new idea appeared to those who were not National Socialists as the delusion of visionaries (*Phantasterei*); to the Jews and the other enemies of the State it appeared as the last insignificant spasm of force within the national resistance, and when that was exhausted one might hope to be able finally to annihilate not only Germany but Europe."

"A Germany sinking in Bolshevik chaos would at that time have hurled the whole West into a crisis of unimaginable gravity. Only the most limited of islanders could persuade themselves into believing that the Red

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Plague would of its own accord have cried a halt before the sacredness of a democratic idea or at the frontiers of States who had shown no interest in its advance. With Mussolini and Italian Fascism began the salvation of Europe at one end, and at the other National Socialism carried on the work of salvation and to-day we can in another country¹ see the same spectacle of a brave conquest of the Jewish international effort at destruction in the face of the world of European civilization."

"... The six years which now lie behind us are filled with the most stupendous events in the whole of our German history. On 30 January 1933 I entered the Wilhelmstrasse filled with profound anxiety for the future of my people. To-day six years later I can speak to the first Reichstag of Greater Germany (*Großdeutschlands*). Truly we can, perhaps more than any other generation, understand the meaning of the old religious phrase: 'What a change is here through the dispensation of God.'"²

In the same speech Hitler said:

"The year 1938 was first and foremost the triumph of an idea. An idea united a people in contrast with earlier centuries when one believed that this task must be left exclusively to the sword."³

¹ i.e. Spain.

² *V.B.*, 1 Feb. 1939.

³ *Ibid.*

THE REICHSTAG FIRE

Addendum to p. 235

On 9 August 1933 the New York "Staatszeitung" published an interview with Hitler in which he said: "When on that night of the fire in the Reichstag and in the Berlin Castle we received appeals for help from all parts of Germany by telephone, telegraph, and wireless, telling us of the approaching Bolshevist conspiracy and revolution, I determined to set in motion all the forces, all the Storm Troops at my disposal. 'Bend or break' was my watchword. The revelations made two hours later proved how right I was. On the immediate occupation of public buildings, including the university, the libraries, and numerous district council offices, in Berlin alone fuses, petrol-soaked tinder, and explosives were discovered. If in that decisive hour I had not acted in the interests of peace and order against the Bolshevist attempt to set Germany aflame, not only the Reichstag and the castle, but all the public buildings of Germany, and—who knows?—perhaps of all Western countries would to-day be a heap of ashes. The coming legal proceedings will open the eyes of the world to the sensations of that night which are revealed by the material we have found but could not hitherto publish on account of our investigations. The proofs guarantee the unmasking of a Bolshevist world-conspiracy."¹

¹ The German text of this report is inaccessible to me; I quote the translation given in Konrad Heiden's *One Man against Europe*, "Penguin Special", 1939, pp. 215-16. Needless to say, the "proofs" were never produced, neither at the Reichstag Fire trial nor at any time thereafter.

ADDENDUM (See p. 415 *supra*.)

In a speech delivered to political leaders at the Nuremberg Parteitag on 7 September 1934 Hitler spoke of the greatness of the obligation imposed by the duty of maintaining that which had been won at the price of so hard a fight. "It would be a crime", he said, "if we ever allowed that to fall which had to be fought for and achieved with so much work, so many anxieties and sacrifices, and with so much distress. No! The Movement, that lives and stands, founded as firm as a rock. And so long as but a single one of us can draw breath he will devote to this Movement his powers and will champion its cause just as in the years which lie behind us. One cannot become disloyal to that which has given to the whole of life its content, its meaning, and its purpose. It was a great distress and a mighty behest which seized upon us. A thing like this would never have been created out of nothing if a great command had not lain at the foundation of this work. And it was no earthly superior who gave us that command; that was given us by the God Who created our people and Who cannot will that His work should go to ruin only because a single generation had grown feeble. We are all so much bound up with this immense sum of toil and with its glorious result that we could never in the future waver in the fulfilment of our duty. But it is essential that we should ever and again in utter clarity bring into consciousness what it is which has made us great that we may never forget that which alone can keep us great. It was our boundless loyalty to our people and, derived from that, our loyalty to our Movement. It was loyalty one to another, it was a comradeship which nothing could break; it was obedience, the will to follow, modesty, it was self-sacrifice, the readiness to give ourselves for our ideal—for without these this

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miracle would never have come to pass. . . . It was the great distress of our people which one day seized upon us, which brought us together in the fight and the struggle and which caused us to become great. Therefore this can never be understood by those who have not suffered from the same distress in their own people. To them it seems a riddle, a mystery—this force that ever unites these hundreds of thousands, that gives them the strength to endure distress, pain, and privation. They can conceive of this only as the result of an order issued by the State. They are wrong! It is not the State which gives its orders to us, but we who give orders to the State! It is not the State which has created us; we fashioned for ourselves our State.¹ For to one we may appear to be a Party; to another an organization; to a third something else, but in truth we are the German People. The German People can find no better representatives than those of its men who are readiest in sacrifice and most resolute in fighting. We know that in the future, too, this fight will never come to an end. For a people also the command holds good: 'What thou hast inherited from thy fathers, win it ever anew for thyself.' And what we have gained through fighting we will ever preserve through new fighting. For we know that the coming into being of the community of the people is no haphazard affair. If a people is rent asunder, split up in classes, and if these classes no longer understand or comprehend each other, then it is not enough that individuals should realize the harmfulness of such a condition: it is essential that they should, from a recognition of what is possible, draw the right conclusions—that they should come to stand together, men of all ranks, all occupations, all classes, all walks of life, and

¹ German: *Nicht der Staat befiehlt uns, sondern wir befehlen dem Staat! Nicht der Staat hat uns geschaffen, sondern wir schufen uns unseren Staat.*

form one column on the march. Then drum will join drum, flag join flag, then group will come to group, and shire to shire, and then at last the united nation will follow the mighty column. The people which once was torn asunder, it will then in these columns see its leadership, then it will render to this leadership its obedience. And the leadership has the duty never to forget that it is leadership, just because it incorporates in itself all that it desires to see in the people. So in this evening hour, on this wide meadow [the Zeppelinwiese], we would take afresh our vow before each other and before the German people that during the coming twelve months we are determined to set to work upon ourselves in order that we may make ourselves still better, so that in us the people may justly see its leaders". . . .

"This Movement will then stand forth as the true leader of the German people under the glorious idea of 'All for one, and each for all'. . . . We all are but servants in this great task of the German nation, we would, as is but fitting, subordinate our own ego to the demands of Germany: we ourselves would not stand before Germany, we would lead Germany only so long as none better than we are ready to step into our place. But we desire also to be assured that to-day and to-morrow in Germany there is, there will be, nothing better. For nobody can do more than sacrifice himself for his people and to that sacrifice we must ever pledge ourselves."

"Even if we must pass away, Germany must remain. Even if Fate should strike us individuals, Germany must live. Even if we have to take upon us distress and care, Germany must exist in spite of cares and distress. So on this evening let us pledge ourselves at every hour, on every day, only to think of Germany, of people and Reich, of our great nation. Our German people Sieg-Heil!"¹

¹ *V.B.*, 9 Sept. 1934.

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Hitler's criticism of Bolshevism will appear from many of the translated extracts from his speeches: here a few shorter passages are collected from the speeches delivered in 1933 immediately after the National Socialist accession to power.¹

In the Proclamation of the Government to the German People of 1 February 1933 Hitler said:

"Communism with its method of madness is making a powerful and insidious attack upon our discouraged and shattered nation. . . . This negative, destroying spirit has spared nothing of all that is highest and most valuable. Beginning with the family, it has undermined the very foundations of morality and faith and scoffs at culture and business, nation and Fatherland, justice and honour. Fourteen years of Marxism have ruined Germany; one year of Bolshevism would destroy her. The richest and fairest territories of the world would be turned into a smoking heap of ruins. Even the sufferings of the last decade and a half could not be compared to the misery of a Europe in the heart of which the red flag of destruction had been hoisted. The thousands of wounded, the

¹ As the background of Hitler's attack on Bolshevism at this time it may be of interest to quote what he is reported to have said to Kurt C. W. Ludecke in Oct. 1932: "The economic power of the Versailles States is so enormous that I can't risk antagonizing them at the very outset. If I begin my régime with socialism the capitalists will take fright and combine, and I'll be whipped before I know it. A preventive war would ruin everything. No, I've got to play ball with capitalism and keep the Versailles Powers in line by holding aloft the bogey of Bolshevism—make them believe that a Nazi Germany is the last bulwark against the Red flood. That's the only way to come through the danger period, to get rid of Versailles and rearm. I can talk peace, but mean war." Kurt C. W. Ludecke, *I knew Hitler* (London, 1938), p. 422.

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hundreds of dead which this inner strife has already cost Germany should be a warning of the storm which would come."¹

In his speech at the Sportpalast, Berlin, on 10 February 1933 Hitler said:

"Marxism means the tearing in pieces of the nation, and thus the weakening of the whole people. Marxism means the reduction to misery of this people and is thus treachery to the very class which it regards as its support and to which it promises a better future. And just as treachery to the working classes is the result of Bolshevism, similarly Marxism means treachery to the German peasant and to the masses in their millions of the equally poverty-stricken members of the bourgeoisie and the craftsmen."

"Marxism is a fight against culture and the idea of freedom, a war against tradition and honour. It is an attack upon all the foundations of our community-life and thus an attack upon the bases of our life as a whole. Towards the world without pacifist, in the domestic sphere terrorist—such is the world-outlook of the destructive Marxist doctrine."²

In his speech in the Reichstag on 23 March 1933 Hitler said:

"The splitting up of the nation into groups with irreconcilable views, systematically brought about by the false doctrines of Marxism, means the destruction of the basis of a possible communal life. . . . It is only the

¹ Proclamation of the Government to the German People 1 Feb. 1933. German text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 3; authorized English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, p. 6.

² German text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 7 s.f.

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creation of a real national community, rising above the interests and differences of rank and class, that can permanently remove the source of nourishment of these aberrations of the human mind. The establishment of such a solidarity of views in the German body corporate is all the more important, for it is only thereby that the possibility is provided of maintaining friendly relations with foreign Powers without regard to the tendencies or general principles by which they are dominated, for the elimination of communism in Germany is a purely domestic German affair."¹

In his speech at Munich on 22 April 1933 Hitler said:

"Though Marxism to-day is already shamming dead, that will not protect it from final destruction."²

At the Congress of the German Work Front in Berlin on 10 May 1933 Hitler said (see p. 839):

"I regard it as my task before posterity to destroy Marxism, and that is no empty phrase but a solemn oath which I shall perform as long as I live. . . . This is for us no fight which can be finished by a compromise. We see in Marxism the enemy of our people which we shall root out and destroy without mercy."³

In his closing speech at the Nuremberg Parteitag on 3 September 1933 Hitler said:

"If a single people in Western or Central Europe were to succumb to Bolshevism, this poison would spread

¹ German text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 25-7; authorized English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, pp. 16-17.

² *V.B.*, 25 Apr. 1933.

³ German text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), p. 164; authorized English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, p. 48.

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farther and would destroy that which is to-day the oldest and fairest cultural treasure in the world. By taking upon herself this struggle against Bolshevism Germany is but fulfilling, as so often before in her history, a European mission."¹

On 13 September 1933 at the opening of the campaign for the Winter-Help Fund Hitler said:

The international Marxist solidarity "is a Phantom which seduced man from the sole reasonable solidarity which can be—the solidarity which is based for ever on the foundation of common blood-relationship . . . the solidarity of our own people. . . . The people must hold together as a single block of steel. . . . The international solidarity of the proletariat we have broken in pieces and in its place we mean to build up the living national solidarity of the German people."²

*In the New Year message of 1934 Hitler could announce that "Marxism is destroyed and Communism trodden underfoot. . . . Marxism in Germany exists no longer."*³

*In an interview with Mr. Baillie of the United Press in November 1935 Hitler said: "Germany is the bulwark of the West against Bolshevism. . . . Germany will continue to fight Communism with whatever weapons Communism itself selects. We will meet propaganda with propaganda, terror with terror, and violence with violence."*⁴

¹ *V.B.*, 5 Sept. 1933 (the closing sentences of the speech).

² *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 170-1.

³ *V.B.*, 2 Jan. 1934.

⁴ Cited from the *Daily Telegraph*, 28 Nov. 1935, and see the German report of the interview in *V.B.*, 28 Nov. 1935.

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There follow a few representative extracts from later speeches.

In his speech to the Reichstag delivered on 21 May 1935 Hitler said:

. . . "Germany to-day is a National Socialist State. The ideas by which we are governed are diametrically opposed to those of Soviet Russia. National Socialism is a doctrine which applies exclusively to the German people. Bolshevism lays emphasis on its international mission."

"We National Socialists believe that in the long run man can be happy only in his own nation. We live in the belief that the happiness and the achievements of Europe are indissolubly connected with the existence of a system of free, independent national States. Bolshevism preaches the constitution of a world empire and only recognizes sections of a central International."

"We National Socialists recognize that every people has the right to its own inner life according to its own needs and character. Bolshevism, on the other hand, sets up doctrinaire theories, to be accepted by all nations, without regard for their particular character, disposition, and traditions."

"National Socialism strives to solve social problems, together with questions and conflicts in its own nation, by methods which are compatible with our general human, spiritual, cultural, and economic ideas, traditions, and circumstances."

"Bolshevism preaches an international class conflict and the carrying out of a world revolution by means of terror and force."

"National Socialism aims at bridging over and equalizing unfavourable contrasts in social life, and in uniting the whole population in collaborative work."

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"Bolshevism teaches the overthrow of the rule of one class by means of a forcible dictatorship on the part of another class."

"National Socialism places no value upon a purely theoretical rule of the working class, but lays all the more value on the practical improvement of their conditions of life and way of living."

"Bolshevism fights for a theory and to this theory it sacrifices millions of human beings and incalculable cultural and traditional values. In comparison with ourselves it achieves only a very low general standard of living."

"As National Socialists we are filled with admiration and respect for the great achievements of the past, not only in our own nation but far beyond it. We are happy to belong to the European community of culture which has inspired the modern world to so large an extent."

"Bolshevism rejects this cultural achievement of humanity and asserts that real culture and human history began with the year in which Marxism was born."

"We National Socialists may perhaps not have the same views as our church communities in respect to this or that question of organization. But we never want to see a lack of religion and faith and do not want our churches turned into clubrooms and cinemas."

"Bolshevism teaches godlessness and acts accordingly."

"We National Socialists see in private property a higher grade of human economic development which regulates the administration of rewards in proportion to the differences in achievement, but which in general makes possible and guarantees to all the advantages of a higher standard of living."

"Bolshevism destroys not only private property but also private initiative and zest for personal responsibility. In this way it has failed to save millions of men from

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starvation in Russia, the greatest agrarian State in the world."

"The results of such a catastrophe in Germany would be inconceivable. In Russia there are 90 people living on the land to only 10 living in the cities, whereas in Germany there are only 25 peasants to every 75 city dwellers."

"One might go on with all this interminably. Both we National Socialists and the Bolshevists are convinced that there is a gulf between us which can never be bridged."¹

The Parteitag held in Nuremberg in September 1936 was filled with expressions of hostility to Bolshevism. Thus in his address to political leaders on 11 September 1936 Hitler said:

"You have built a new house for our people and you are training those who are to inherit this house in a new spirit and to a new purpose. And that should be noted by all those who perhaps think that they can once again overrun this State or bring it down in ruins. They must not deceive themselves! If our old enemy and antagonist should try once more to attack us, then the storming-banners will fly aloft and our foes will come to learn what manner of men we are and they will have to acknowledge that Germany is no field for them. All through these long years we have never had any other prayer than this: Lord, Give our people internal peace and give and maintain peace abroad. We have experienced in our generation so much fighting that it is natural that we should long for peace. We wish to work, we wish to fashion our Reich, we wish to order

¹ German text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, iii (1937), pp. 88-9; authorized English translation (in pamphlet form): as above, pp. 32-4.

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it in our fashion and not after the fashion of Bolshevik Jews. We wish to care for the future of the children of our people, to work for this future to make life for them not only secure but easier. We have behind us so much of hardship that we can address to the grace and the kindness of Providence only one prayer: Spare our children that which we had to endure"¹. . . .

*In an interview at Nuremberg Hitler explained the violence of this attack upon Bolshevism: It is, he said, because we—and Italy too—have lived through the same sort of thing as is happening in Spain. "A European continent led by one cultural régime could be understood; but that Moscow of all places should seek to dominate Europe is something we Germans could never accept. What Europe needs is the friendly rivalry of well-organized States. A Europe dominated by Bolshevik bureaucracy would go completely under."*²

The closing speech delivered by Hitler at the Parteitag in Nuremberg in September 1936 was devoted in the main to an explanation of the hostility of the Third Reich to Bolshevism. National Socialism, he said, was still attacked by the democracies simply because National Socialist Germany had chosen ways which were not approved of by its opponents in foreign countries. Germany has no further interest in democracy, but the democracies for their part have no need to tolerate National Socialism in their own lands. National Socialists are not concerned whether they are hated or loved by the democracies; while they have great sympathy with other authoritarian States, they have no interest in democracy—it represents

¹ *F.Z.*, 13 Sept. 1936.

² Cited from the *Daily Telegraph*, 14 Sept. 1936, and cf. *The Times* of the same date.

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an alien idea of the State—but they are yet bound to be concerned for the democracies since democracy has never been a lasting constitutional form: it has always been and, it is to be feared, will always remain a transitional form: “and we do not deny that we are profoundly oppressed at the mere thought that in one or another of these countries it may be no longer possible to find a form of national life adapted to these peoples and corresponding to their own characteristics and thus they may fall a victim to that *Weltanschauung* to which we do certainly without any qualification stand in deadly enmity—Bolshevism!”

Hitler proceeded to state his grounds for this hostility: It was not merely that this political outlook stood in direct contradiction to their own views: it was rather the natural instinct of self-defence against a doctrine, as mad as it was bestial, which threatened the whole world, including Germany, with its aggression. Bolshevism, defeated within Germany, was now endeavouring “through its military forces to draw gradually ever nearer to the German frontiers. It is only because we know by daily experience that this attempt to intervene in our internal German relations conducted by the Jewish Soviet authorities still continues that we are forced to regard Bolshevism even beyond our frontiers as our mortal enemy and to see in its advance a not less threatening danger.”

“I can come to no terms with a *Weltanschauung* whose first act everywhere after gaining power is—not the liberation of the working people—but the liberation of the scum of humanity, the asocial creatures concentrated in the prisons—and then the letting loose of these wild beasts upon the terrified and helpless world about them.”

Hitler then attacked Russia on the familiar ground that

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98 per cent. of all its officials were Jews and that this was the rule in Bolshevik Governments, e.g. in the Communist Republic in Munich.

National Socialism does not attack Bolshevism because it plans a revolution, but because its leaders intend to execute a butchery. "Bolshevism turns flourishing country-sides into sinister wastes of ruins; National Socialism transforms a Reich of destruction and misery into a healthy State and a flourishing economic life." That is the contrast between the two revolutions.

Bolshevism was further rejected on general economic grounds: witness the catastrophic famine in Russia which it is idle for Bolshevik hypocrites to attribute to the weather, i.e. God, when it is simply their own sins which must bear the responsibility. *The usual comparison between the area of German and Russian territory followed.*

And lastly Russia planned a world revolution and German workmen would be used but as cannon-fodder for Bolshevik imperialism. "But we National Socialists do not wish that our military resources should be employed to impose by force on other peoples what those peoples themselves do not want. Our army does not swear an oath that it will with bloodshed extend the National Socialist idea over other peoples, but that it will with its own blood defend the National Socialist idea and thereby the German Reich, its security and freedom from the aggression of other peoples. . . . The German people as soldiers is one of the best peoples in the world: It would have become a veritable 'Fight to the Death Brigade' (*Todesbrigade*) for the bloody purposes of these international disseminators of strife. We have removed this danger, through the National Socialist Revolution, from our own people and from other peoples."

. . . "These are only some of the grounds for the antagonisms which separate us from Communism. I

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confess: these antagonisms cannot be bridged. Here are really two worlds which do but grow farther apart from each other and can never unite. When in an English newspaper a Parliamentary complains that we wish to divide Europe into two parts, then unfortunately we are bound to inform this Robinson Crusoe living on his happy British island that—however unwelcome it may be—this division is already an accomplished fact. . . . That one should refuse to see a thing does not mean that it is not there. For many a year in Germany I have been laughed to scorn as a prophet; for many a year my warnings and my prophecies were regarded as the illusions of a mind diseased." In Germany the *bourgeois* parties ostrich-like hid their heads in the sand or at best, fearing to provoke Communism to violence, turned against the National Socialists, the one force which was prepared to fight the battle with energy.

Sooner or later there must be a clear and a final decision, for "Bolshevism has attacked the foundations of our whole human order, alike in State and society, the foundations of our conception of civilization, of our faith and of our morals: all alike are at stake. If this Bolshevism would be content to promote this doctrine in a single land, then other countries might remain unconcerned, but its supreme principle is its internationalism and that means the confession of faith that these views must be carried to triumph throughout the whole world, i.e. that the world as we know it must be turned upside down.¹ That a British leader-writer refuses to recognize this signifies about as much as if in the fifteenth century a humanist in Vienna should have refused to admit the intention of Mohammedanism to extend its influence in Europe and should have objected that this would be to tear the world asunder—to divide

¹ German: *die bisherige Welt aus den Angeln zu heben.*

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it into East and West. Unfortunately I cannot escape the impression that most of those who doubt the danger to the world of Bolshevism come themselves from the East. As yet politicians in England have not come to know Bolshevism in their own country; we know it already. Since I have fought against these Jewish-Soviet ideas in Germany, since I have conquered and stamped out this peril, I fancy that I possess a better comprehension of its character than do men who have only at best had to deal with it in the field of literature. . . . I have won my successes simply because in the first place I endeavoured to see things as they are and not as one would like them to be; secondly, when once I had formed my own opinion I never allowed weaklings to talk me out of it or to cause me to abandon it; and thirdly because I was always determined in all circumstances to yield to a necessity when once it had been recognized. To-day when Fate has granted me such great successes I will not be disloyal to these fundamental principles of mine."

Hitler then spoke of Germany's need for peace: "It is not necessary for me to strengthen the fame of the National Socialist Movement, far less that of the German army, through military triumphs. He who is undertaking such great economic and cultural tasks as we are and is so determined to carry them through can find his fairest memorial only in peace. . . . But this Bolshevism which as we learned only a few months since intends to equip its army so that it may with violence, if necessary, open the gate to revolution amongst other peoples—this Bolshevism should know that before the gate of Germany stands the new German army. . . . I believe that as a National Socialist I appear in the eyes of many *bourgeois* democrats as only a wild man. But as a wild man I still believe myself to be a better European, in

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any event a more sensible one, than they. It is with grave anxiety that I see the possibility in Europe of some such development as this: democracy may continuously disintegrate the European States, may make them internally ever more uncertain in their judgement of the dangers which confront them, may above all cripple all power for resolute resistance. Democracy is the canal through which Bolshevism lets its poisons flow into the separate countries and lets them work there long enough for these infections to lead to a crippling of intelligence and of the force of resistance. I regard it as possible that then—in order to avoid something still worse—coalition Governments, masked as Popular Fronts or the like, will be formed and that these will endeavour to destroy—and perhaps will successfully destroy—in these peoples the last forces which remain, either in organization or in mental outlook, which could offer opposition to Bolshevism.”

“The brutal mass-slaughters of National Socialist fighters, the burning of the wives of National Socialist officers after petrol had been poured over them, the massacre of children and of babies of National Socialist parents, e.g. in Spain, are intended to serve as a warning to forces in other lands which represent views akin to those of National Socialism: such forces are to be intimidated so that in a similar position they offer no resistance. If these methods are successful: if the modern Girondins are succeeded by Jacobins, if Kerensky’s Popular Front gives place to the Bolsheviks, then Europe will sink into a sea of blood and mourning.”

Before this peril Germany needs to recover afresh the fighting spirit which has animated the National Socialist Movement in its fourteen years’ struggle: it must return to the old Programme of the Party—“this Programme of honour, of the social conscience, of a national ethic, of

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fanatical loyalty to duty, of the courage for sacrifice, of an unalterable and determined policy of action.”¹

In his speech at the Harvest Thanksgiving held on the Bückeberg on 4 October 1936 Hitler said:

“All of us, as we look around, see before us a threatening and a menacing world; we see there unrest and insecurity, hatred and countless outbursts of human passions, yes, and of human madness, too. And in the midst of this world of disturbance and unrest our Germany lies embedded. Who could say that these signs in the world about him leave him cold or unmoved? Each of us cannot but feel that the world may be moving towards tragic destinies. And we are set in the midst of this world: Germany cannot remove itself from this world. And when we look upon this world then for the first time we learn to estimate at its true value our own domestic order. For to all of us it is clear that if Europe to-day were to sink into the madness of Bolshevism then no one could help us, we should be left to our own resources. And then we should either master our distress or distress would overwhelm us.”²

Later in the same speech:

“Whatever may happen, whatever will happen elsewhere, in Germany this domestic order which is the condition of our life must never suffer any disturbance—neither in the political nor in the economic sphere. We are not in a position to allow the individual to do as he pleases. Above us all stands the great command: ‘Thou shalt fulfil thy duty in the service of thy people.’ You cannot free yourself from the tasks and the burdens which the community lays upon you. . . . Just as little as we can make ourselves politically independent of each

¹ *F.Z.*, 16 Sept. 1936.

² *V.B.*, 5 Oct. 1936.

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other, just so little can we make ourselves economically independent. . . . The more closely we draw together, the stronger we shall be. We are one people, and no one can break us: one people we remain and no one can ever subdue us by force (*bezwingen*). . . . I would have you see in me, my fellow countrymen, the man who will defend with ruthless resolution against the madness and the egoism of individuals those higher common interests of the nation which are founded on reason and realities."

"I will not allow anyone to come and say: 'I myself will determine the price for my goods or the wage for my work.' My dear friend, if this madness threatens yourself, will you be able to protect yourself? In that hour you too will recognize the necessity for a strong authority to stand over you and take you under its protection."

"Look at Spain, look at other lands—don't you think that with such examples before us it is better that we should so build up our economic life that a stable relation between wages and prices is established rather than that we should allow wages and prices to go their own ways and then at last have to try to restore the former state of affairs through devaluation? That we have no wish to do. I believe that in our State Reason must be ruler and that the German people has sufficient insight and discipline to understand the necessities which this Reason imposes."

"Then we shall recognize:

- (i) that we can survive only if we possess social peace, i.e. that each man cannot do as he pleases. The individual must place first the community—a higher common interest: . . . all must have regard one for the other, and
- (ii) that we must maintain a stable and steady wage policy and consequently also a stable price policy.

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And if anyone thinks that he is free to offend against this policy believe me, so long as I live and stand at the head of the Reich I will defend with success the reason of our general national self-preservation against such madness on the part of individuals". . . .

"The world of to-day forces us to be on our guard; we must secure our position on our own soil. We know not all that is going on about us, but over Germany we hold the strong shield of our army and our arms, supported by our reason and our courage."

. . . "We have established reason, order and stability in our economic life. . . . I believe that in a year's time in a world which will perhaps have become yet more disturbed we shall, as a granite rock of order, of security and stability, rise above this red flood. That is my conviction: if all around us everything begins to burn, if madness should everywhere hold sway as it is now trying to do in Spain—in Germany that will never more be possible. Here stands the Front of the German people—workers, farmers, and those who are creators in the sphere of the intellect one great indestructible community."¹

The same threat of Bolshevism recurs in the speech delivered at the Commemoration of the "Putsch" of 8-9 November 1923.

"I have never fought shy of any adversary yet and I do not do so to-day. For many a year I uttered warnings against Bolshevism, and the *bourgeoisie* only laughed at me. I assess the Communists at what they in fact are—a power which within Germany I could conquer because I restored order in the internal life of our people. I do not fight shy of Communism abroad because I know it

¹ *V.B.*, 5 Oct. 1936.

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for what it is worth and because I prepare the German people beforehand against all eventualities. For if Communism should ever desire to link itself up with us from abroad, then it will share the same fate as it suffered within Germany. If ever this power should seek to fall upon Germany, then the same thing would happen to it as happened to the Communists who once thought that within Germany they, too, could fall upon us. Here in Germany we cleared the street, and we would do the same in the other case. We are all convinced of this: we cannot doubt it. And because we have made this conviction our own, we can with untroubled courage go on our ways.”¹

Speaking at Berlin on 6 October 1936, at the opening of the Winter-Help Appeal, Hitler contrasted the idealism, with its joyful readiness for sacrifice, which formed the basis of this social work, with the limitless materialism of Bolshevism which promised the blinded masses a paradise, but gave them a hell. On one side were clarity, faith, heroism, and the devotion of a united people; on the other the unreason, unbelief, mendacity, cowardice, and egoism of a parasitic clique, who ruled as despots over the masses which were torn by class hatred. The root cause of this disintegration, he continued, lay in the makeshift Treaty of Versailles, with which “a most senseless war came to a most senseless end”, an end which was nothing else than the continuation of war by other means, and the beginning of that complete confusion which was the inevitable consequence of the economic madness, the unreason, the illogicality, and the political inadequacy of this “peace treaty”. That democracy which lives on lies lent a hand; that democracy which to-day still thinks that it must refuse any moral credit

¹ *V.B.*, 10 Nov. 1936.

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to the industrious, peace-loving German people must criticize each of its measures and deny each of its successes—but which is blind to the sinister events in Spain: that so-called democracy, with its babble about the duty of freeing the German people from its “dictators”, while at the same time it proclaims itself the protector of murderers, incendiaries, anarchists, and torturers. That lying democracy, which is everywhere the first step towards Bolshevism, whose “blessings” we were forced to realize in our own persons. . . . “Do not forget: we all shared first in the war against our foreign enemies, and then we had to go to war again—only this time at home. Twice we have gone to war, but in the second war the fight was often much harder! That is true of thousands upon thousands of our fighters. They had indeed their fears when they went, evening after evening, through these menacing hordes of Bolsheviks; but these fears they overcame, and, in spite of all, remained faithful to their duty and took their place as National Socialist fighters for the Movement. And it was with these men that we won in our struggle for power. Not by bayonets did we compel the people, but by the force of limitless idealism we won the German people and led them under our banners. To-day Moscow can send into Germany her ridiculous phrases; the whole pack of Bolshevik Jews can send their stale old lies. They will befool our people no more!”

Referring to another land¹ in which arson, murder, and looting were producing a reign of terror, Hitler said: “Believe me, it would have been less costly for this land too to establish at the right time a real community of the people, and to accept sacrifices, rather than to bring upon itself those terrible sacrifices which it is forced to make to-day. God grant that our people may always

¹ Spain.

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realize that its sacrifices for the community of the people are being made in peace—sacrifices which it would otherwise have been one day compelled to make a thousand times over in civil war.”¹

In his Proclamation read at the Nuremberg Parteitag on 7 September 1937 Hitler said:

“We live in a period of history of unexampled greatness. It is true that in all centuries through wars or revolutions peoples have risen or fallen, States have been created or destroyed. But it is only rarely that the life of peoples suffers from such convulsions that the deepest foundations of the edifice of social order are shaken and that this social order itself is threatened or destroyed. But to-day who will refuse to see or even deny that we find ourselves in the midst of a struggle which is not concerned merely with problems of frontiers between peoples or States but rather with the question of the maintenance or the annihilation of the whole inherited human order of society and its civilizations? The organization of human society is threatened. It is not any Tower² built up by a State which is threatened with collapse, but there has come over the peoples a new confusion of tongues, a new division of the human race.”

“That which has taken a millennium to build, that which seemed secure for all eternity has proved to be rotten and weak. . . . When National Socialism began its historic struggle for the winning of the German people, it was in this question that it saw the decisive factor; for in the life of peoples wars and disasters have not so fearful a significance as have the internal crises in

¹ *F.Z.*, 8 Oct. 1936. This report gives only a summary of the speech. I am not certain how far the first part of this extract precisely reproduces Hitler's words.

² A reference, of course, to the Tower of Babel.

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the order of society. Lost wars can in a short time be made good; but if the internal order of a national community is destroyed, it is often only after centuries that it can be restored. In not a few cases peoples have finally perished after such a disaster." . . .

"To-day there is no longer any stable organization of human society if the elements which maintain it base their claims only upon birth, class, or descent, or even on their property. Neither can any supposed 'culture' nor membership of any particular religious body (*Konfession*) be any longer regarded as factors which can either build up or maintain society. If the Russian Empire fell a victim to Bolshevist chaos, that was only because the forces which formerly had fashioned or maintained it proved incapable of fulfilling their mission any longer. In face of the assault of new views or of certain new doctrines old ideas and the supporters of these old institutions showed themselves to be unable to offer any effective resistance, and only last year we witnessed the attempt to spread still further the Communistic chaos alike in East and West."

"If Germany in the midst of this unrest can, like the Italy of to-day, be regarded as a sure and strong place of refuge,¹ then that is only because National Socialism has itself trodden the path of social revolution without first destroying by violence the existing order and thereby transforming the basis of our political, economic, and cultural life into a chaos. Since we recognized long ago the weaknesses of our *bourgeois* order of society we endeavoured through a disciplined regeneration to build up society afresh. The fundamental conception of this work was to break with all traditional privileges, and in all spheres of life and in especial in the political sphere to place the leadership of the nation in the hands of new

¹ Cf. *V.B.*, 12 Sept. 1937; see p. 1359.

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picked men, who should be sought and found without regard to descent, to birth, or to social or religious associations (*konfessionelle Zugehörigkeit*)—men chosen solely on the basis of their personal gifts and of their character."

"This building up of a new class of picked leaders of our nation without the devastating chaotic destruction of existing conditions is one of the greatest achievements in the history of our people. It is also a revolution, but without the accompaniment of the blind excesses of a mass of slaves maddened by the impossibility of exercising their freedom. For the National Socialist revolution was not the work of the mob: it was carried through by a community of the best Germans drawn from all classes of our people—men who were pledged to unwavering obedience, fired with a true devotion and fighting in a spirit of the highest idealism. The aim of these men was a real revolution—they were determined to destroy a social order which had become impossible because internally the elements which composed it were long since diseased, and to substitute for it a new social order. . . . This transformation of the community of our German people is the greatest of the tasks originally undertaken by us and has had the most important consequences. . . . There is one comforting certainty which the German nation can now claim as its own: the whole world may begin to burn about us but the National Socialist State will emerge from the Bolshevik conflagration like platinum. Among the great problems which continue to occupy men to-day there stands in the forefront the social problem. And the social problem must be distinguished from the problem of society; everywhere Bolshevism is concerned only with the problem of society, the social problem has simply no place in Bolshevik thought. The revolution of society which has been the work of Bolshevism means nothing else

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than the destruction of those intelligences which are native to a people and their substitution by the parasitic race of the Jews. This problem Bolshevism wherever it came into power has completely solved or has sought to solve. But, on the contrary, the social problem was everywhere regarded only as a means to the end. The way in which social questions were treated, the manner in which they were attacked, best shows the lack of any real intention or purpose to come to a truly satisfactory solution. When the Jewish-Bolshevist agitators, calculating on the small intelligence and inadequate education of the masses in this sphere, had declared the social question to be exclusively a question of wages, they were in a very short time able to create that tension between wages and prices which favoured the execution of their plan for a Bolshevik revolution in society. While through strikes and terrorism on the one side wages appeared continuously to rise, on the other side prices necessarily rose as a consequence of the maintenance of production on the same level or even of its shrinkage in volume." The rise in prices produces discontent, for "it is then easy for the Jewish-Marxist agitators to represent any rise in wages as the work of a Bolshevism or a Marxism inspired by social sympathies, while the consequential rise in prices is presented as the accursed plan of a capitalism rotten to the core, i.e. a plan of the enemies of Marxism. The results of this development we see in the countries round us: rising wages, falling production, therefore a rapid decline in the purchasing power of money, accompanied by rising prices and as a final result a rapid devaluation of the currency. If in this drama of madness Germany to-day can be regarded as an untroubled spectator, it owes this fact to the National Socialist Movement which from the first with iron consistency has maintained the principle

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that what is decisive for the individual's life is not the printed bank-note which he receives but that which he is able to buy therewith. But more cannot be bought than that which has previously been produced. Consequently what is decisive for the whole standard of living of a people is the total amount of the national production. All that a nation produces in goods is represented automatically by an equivalent in wages, and thus the goods find a buyer." . . .

"Germany has now solved its hardest social problem and that completely. There are now in our country no more real unemployed. On the contrary: in countless branches there is to-day a scarcity of labour, especially of skilled labour. . . . We can be the more content with this result of our action since we have further succeeded in keeping not only wages but also prices almost completely stable . . . while we have also been able to better social conditions and to add to the amenities of life. . . . The way in which we in National Socialist Germany direct all our efforts towards the solution of social problems is a contribution towards that education of our individual fellow countrymen into a consciousness of social duty which as its final result will produce also the community of the people in the noblest sense of that word. And this is certain: we in National Socialist Germany are a thousand times nearer to that community than are those in the Marxist States, torn asunder as those States are by economic and class conflicts."¹

In his speech to political leaders delivered on 10 September 1937 at the Nuremberg Parteitag Hitler said:

"You know that our old enemy is once more trying to throw the world into confusion. You know that he is seeking to fight with the familiar weapons. You know

¹ *V.B.*, 8 Sept. 1937.

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also that this attempt must from the first suffer shipwreck on the unity of our Movement. It is a ridiculous venture to seek once more to introduce into Germany the disease which we have banished. But if this attempt should be made this time from without instead of from within, we all know well that the German nation under the leadership of the Party will protect Germany and never more allow her to decline. And with this knowledge there is bound up our faith. The Almighty has allowed us to tread this wonderful road and He will bless us still. For we are fighting here for a higher right, a higher truth, and a higher human decency. . . . May the world come to realize its good fortune that in the midst of a source of unrest which is ever spreading more widely in Europe besides the great State in the South here also in the North is to be found a State which is consolidated and firmly set and which will so remain. Germany will not be overrun either from within or from without! And this fact is, I believe, a very great contribution towards peace, for it will serve as a warning to all those who starting from Moscow are seeking to set the world ablaze.”¹

Hitler in his closing speech delivered at the Nuremberg Parteitag of 1937 dwelt on the amazing experience of those who had been present at this vast assemblage.

He said: “This has in truth nothing to do with that superficial arid patriotism which in past decades posed so often as national strength and yet was only a hollow mockery. What has in this week so often almost broken us down was the confession of faith of a new generation—the confession of faith of a people, based upon a common outlook upon the world.”² More than once hundreds of

¹ *V.B.*, 12 Sept. 1937.

² German: *ein weltanschaulich-völkisches Glaubensbekenntnis.*

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thousands have stood here no longer under the impression produced by a political demonstration, but rather under the spell of a heartfelt prayer. Who would maintain that such an effect is due merely to the form of our gathering? No! the form is but the external shape assumed by the organic activity of an idea." . . . The addition of sports-contests to the programme of the *Parteitag* will help to form the new type of German: "here men steeled to hardship, here women with the charm of beauty, in the centuries to come, year by year will meet and by their presence will be the living proof that National Socialism has successfully solved its task." Thus will be refuted the idea held by so many, both within and without Germany, that this is but the old Germany reborn. "That which has passed before our eyes this week has never been in Germany before. This is no rebirth of the old, this is something new, something which has never yet been in German history, something unique. For never yet has the aim set before the spirit, never yet has the formation of our nation's will been so closely identified with the natural duty of political self-preservation as they are to-day. . . . Never in the sluggish days of German *bourgeois* world-liberalism would it have been possible to create in our people so gigantic an increase in strength and in the consciousness of a national mission. Just as the human body develops its strongest hold on life at the moment when it resists a threatening illness, so peoples are driven to bring into fullest play the energies slumbering within them only when their existence is threatened or even endangered."

"When you see this great demonstration of the strength and force of our Movement and thus of our people, do not all of you, my fellow countrymen, feel that such a mobilization alike of spirit and of body could be only the result and consequence of a compelling

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motive? How often do not many of us ask ourselves what would have become of Germany if Fate in the year 1914 had granted us an easy, rapid victory? That for which we so earnestly, so passionately strove would possibly, if regarded from a higher point of view, have been only a misfortune for our people. This victory would probably have had very sorry consequences. For in the domestic life of Germany we should, precisely through that victory, have been prevented from recognition of these facts which to-day cause us to shrink back in horror from the road on which the Germany of that day was travelling. Those few men of insight who warned us of the peril would have met with nothing but ridicule. The State, its power based, as it was, only on external military strength and supported only by that military strength, completely ignorant of the significance of those sources of a people's force which lie in its blood, sooner or later, would have become the destroyer of its own existence, of the very foundations of its life. We should have been in the grasp of those developments which we can observe in other lands—the results of their supposed victory. Instead of being torn back from the abyss which yawned before us, our eyes opened by a catastrophic disaster, we should gradually but all the more surely have fallen a victim to the creeping poison of internal dissolution. For us the truth of a wise old saying has indeed been proved afresh: 'Often it is through a chastisement that the deepest love of Providence towards its creatures is displayed.' "

"From the distress of the collapse of that day arose the National Socialist idea and at the same time that political confession of faith in the inner regeneration of the people, not merely in the external reconstruction of a State in the form of a restoration of previous conditions. It was to this same distress that the National

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Socialist Movement owed its unique organization. Only because it was surrounded by a world of foes could the Party develop into that fighting machine which could ultimately wage the decisive battle which led to power. And only thanks to continuous persecution and oppression did there take place within the Party that first and best process of selection which gave to the nation in place of its former politicians the fanatics of a popular Movement."

"Thanks to this distress, again, the Movement not only won supreme power in the State, but could later discover and employ all those forces which were needed for the successful execution of its ideas and projects. In place of the National Socialist Party there now stands the German people led by the National Socialist Party. And the German people is now exposed to the same influences as was formerly the National Socialist Party. The same foe which first called us into life and in the course of the struggle reinforced us time after time—it still threatens us to-day. Any lie and any violence are good enough if they help it to gain its end. This is no longer a fight for paltry dynastic interests, a fight to round off the frontiers of States, a struggle for small economic aims: no! this is the battle against a veritable world sickness which threatens to infect the peoples, a plague which devastates whole peoples, whose special characteristic is that it is an international pestilence. For that we know the reason: here there is no question of a Russian or a Spanish malady, just as little as in 1918 it was a question of a German malady or in 1919 of a Hungarian or Bavarian malady. Neither Russians nor Germans, neither Hungarians nor Spaniards were or are the source of this malady, the source is to be found in that international parasite upon the life of peoples that has spread itself over the world for centuries in order in

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our day to attain once more to the full effectiveness of its destructive existence."

There followed a long tirade against those who refused to recognize the international danger of Bolshevism: Bolshevism as the most consistent exponent of Marxism has itself proclaimed its international character. It is only wilful blindness which refuses to see that all these Bolshevik revolutions march under the same banner, the same star: that the centre of them all is Moscow. But it cannot be denied that the Dimitroff who helps to direct the Third International in Moscow is identical with the Dimitroff who sought to raise a Bolshevik revolution in Berlin, who plotted Bolshevik assassinations in Sofia.

"Comrades, as National Socialists we have no doubt what are the causes of the battle which to-day is driving the whole world into unrest, we know the conditions under which it is fought. But above all we recognize the extent, the range of this struggle. It is a gigantic event, it is a chapter of world-history—it is the greatest danger for the culture and civilization of humanity with which humanity has ever been threatened since the collapse of the States of the ancient world. This crisis cannot be compared with any of the usual wars or with any of the revolutions which happen with such frequency. No! we have to deal with an all-embracing general assault against the present order of society, against our world of spiritual and cultural values. This attack is levelled against the very substance of peoples as peoples, against their internal organization: it is levelled, too, against the leaders of these peoples, against those who represent each people's own race, against their intellectual life (*Geistesleben*), against their traditions, against their economic life, in a word against all those other institutions which determine the picture of the individuality, the character, and the life of these peoples and States. This attack is

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so embracing that it draws into the field of its action almost all the functions of life, while no one can tell how long this fight may last."

"Certain it is that since the rise of Christianity, since the victorious march of Mohammedanism, since the Reformation there has been no such event in world-history. And just as in past times the great battles between *Weltanschauungen* then influenced the whole of life and brought the whole of life under the spell of their conflicts—beginning then, it is true, in the religious sphere—so to-day the Bolshevist Revolution produces the same result." . . .

The peril cannot be banished by a simple denial of its existence. "I can readily believe that the statesmen of the democratic world find no pleasure in concerning themselves with the problems raised by Communism. But that question is not under discussion. They need not wish to concern themselves with Communism, but concern themselves with Communism they must one of these days or their democracy in one way or another will fall in ruins. This world pestilence will ask no man's permission to put an end to the democracies through the Marxist dictatorship: it will do so without any man's leave, unless it meets with opposition. And this opposition must be something else than a merely Platonic rejection of the doctrine, or any more or less solemn proclamation of hostility: there must be an immunization of the peoples against this poison, while the international carrier of the bacillus must itself be fought. This immunization will be all the more necessary since in our Europe, which is so closely linked together, the fate of the single States is bound up with that of the other States. Yes, that is not all: since this Europe forms a community of peoples and States which has been gradually built up through the centuries amongst close neighbours and has

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been supplemented and enriched through this give-and-take of neighbourhood, therefore if within this community one State is infected, that infection is not only a strain¹ upon that particular State while for the other States it is perhaps merely interesting: on the contrary it is decisive for all alike. Just as in a school healthy children cannot be left together with those suffering from an infectious disease, so in Europe no useful and happy (*segensreiches*) common life of the nations is in the long run possible when amongst their numbers there are some who are suffering from a poisonous infection and who openly profess their desire to infect others with the same disease."

"So far as we are concerned, Germany like present-day Italy has already become immune from this danger; i.e. National Socialism, like Fascism, has sought to remove from the organism of our people those weaknesses which might have favoured the inflow of Bolshevik poisons. It saw its task to lie not in an external restoration of a former state of affairs, uninspired by any fresh spirit—things as they had been were even in the past incapable of saving Germany from the Bolshevik poison—but on the contrary, with full consciousness of what it was doing, it set about creating a reconstruction of the body of the people from within: it did not set the State and its organization as the central point in its programme but rather the people and the people's life."² . . .

"Yet however secure may be the position of Germany to-day—in spite of the persistent efforts of the criminal organization in Moscow to smuggle into Germany its agents and its disintegrating propaganda—we are convinced that a great part of the world about us is utterly

¹ *Berliner Tageblatt*: "belastend"; *F.Z.*, "bedauerlich", "regrettable".

² German: *das Volk und das Volkliche*.

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insecure. And nothing is more fitted to persuade us to pledge ourselves with all our powers to the service of the National Socialist idea than the clear knowledge that we are living in the midst of a world which is gradually breaking away from that political and economic structure within which its life has hitherto been lived. What others maintain that they cannot see simply because they do not wish to see it, that we unfortunately must recognize as a bitter fact: the world of to-day is in a state of growing revolt, and the intellectual and material preparation and leadership of this revolt issue without doubt from the authorities of Jewish Bolshevism in Moscow."

"If I thus consciously represent this problem as a Jewish problem, then, comrades, you are well aware that this is no unproven supposition, but a fact proved by irrefutable evidence. It lies in the very nature of the inertia of men to regard a state of affairs existing in their own day as having always existed and in consequence as one which will remain in the future. The more limited is man's capacity to see things with any true historical sense, the less able is he to look back into the past and to draw from it the necessary consequences for the future." In face of this inertia stands the consciousness of responsibility shared by all those who know that the life of peoples corresponds with laws set by Nature, and who from a knowledge of the history of their own people and of that of other peoples can form a true picture of the causes and conditions of the rise and fall of nations. They will come to realize that the flow of human development is unbroken and that its final causes lie in that principle which has been specially developed in man by Providence—the principle of increasing and maintaining his kind. It is those elementary instincts and forces of self-preservation which belong to all other creatures upon this earth which cannot suddenly cease to operate.

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It is only if it were possible to bring the operation of this universal principle to a standstill that one might try to put in the place of a law, ordained by omnipotent Nature, which has held good since the beginning of life on this earth the articles of a League of Nations or of a statute issuing from Geneva. But since these iron laws of self-preservation which Nature has laid down apply also to man's struggle for existence, they will continue to govern his future; and since this struggle for existence remains constantly the same, similarly the formation of peoples, the foundation of States, and in general the development of all great communities run their course according to laws which never change.

We know to-day that what appears before us as the fully developed construction, the "State", has only been artificially constructed through the millennia: it is not the outcome of any general and voluntarily accepted social contract, but rather it has arisen through the natural rights given by capacity, by force, by strength of will, and the heroic cast of mind. All European States have arisen through racial cores (*Rassenkerne*), originally quite small, which were the formative factors, and this can be seen most clearly where there was never any equalization between the masses which were formed and led and the forces which formed and led them. One of these States was Russia. Here a very thin upper class of a different race from that of the mass of the people—a non-Slav upper class—created out of a confusion of small communities a veritable colossus of a State which was apparently impregnable while in fact its weakness lay in the discrepancy between the number and the value of the upper class which was not Russian in blood and the number and value of the national Russian elements. Here it was especially easy for a new racial core to intrude itself and to disguise itself as the leadership

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of the people in place of the former official leadership. Thus the Jewish minority appropriated to itself the leadership of the national Russian proletariat and thus ousted from their position those who had previously led both society and the State. Thus the Russia of to-day is fundamentally the same as the Russia of 200 or 300 years ago. A brutal dictatorship of a foreign race has seized and exercises undisputed rule over the real Russian people. In itself this would not intimately affect us: we should simply have to recognize it as a fact of history.

But this Jewish minority seeks to establish the same result in other countries and sees in the Russia which it has conquered only a base of operations and a bridge-head from which it can attempt further conquests. Thus the problem is no longer confined to Russia: it becomes a world question which must be determined in one way or another.

"You know, comrades, the way that this most remarkable phenomenon of our day has taken in the past. The Jewish race, without any invitation, makes its way into the midst of peoples and at first it endeavours to secure a certain economic influence as a foreign merchant class concerned essentially with trade and the exchange of goods."

"After some centuries the result of this process is that the economic power of those intruders gradually arouses violent reaction on the part of those amongst whom they have settled. This natural self-defence does but accelerate the attempt of the Jews, through the pretence of a gradual assimilation, not only to do away with the main ground on which they might be attacked, namely the fact that they are an alien people, but even beyond that to obtain a direct and especially a political influence over the country in question. Partly on account of economic

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interests, partly through inborn *bourgeois* inertia, the dangers of this development are not recognized by many. The warning voices of influential or intelligent men are consciously disregarded, as indeed in human history always tends to be the case when unpleasant consequences are prophesied. So this Jewish racial community, using the language of the people amongst which it has settled, and starting from the influence which it has gained through trade, succeeds in winning ever greater influence on the political development. In this effort it is as much at home in the camp of the princes as it is in the camp of the opposition. In the measure in which through its activity it is successful in breaking down the position of a kingship which was bound up with dynastic claims and which on other grounds was gradually growing weaker it now prefers to concentrate its interests on promoting democratic popular movements, and it is the democracy which first creates the conditions favourable to the organization of those terroristic bodies which we know as Social Democracy, the Communist Party, or the Bolshevik International."

"But while through democracy the will to a vigorous self-defence is gradually stifled partly by means of a thousand formalities, partly thanks to the conscious training of representatives of the State with the view of making them as weak as possible—there develops in the radical revolutionary movements the advance-guard of the Jewish World Revolution. Weaknesses in the social and economic life of the people contribute to facilitate the disintegrating attack of this Bolshevik International which is exclusively organized by Jewish elements. So in this stage the same process is repeated as that which happened previously. While a part of the 'Jewish fellow citizens' demobilizes democracy through the influence of the Press or even infects it with its poison

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through linking it up with revolutionary associations in the form of 'Popular Fronts', the other part of Jewry is already carrying the torch of Bolshevik revolution into the midst of the *bourgeois*-democratic world without any need to fear an effective opposition. The ultimate goal is then the final Bolshevik revolution, that is, not the setting up of the leadership of the proletariat by the proletariat, but the subjection of the proletariat under the leadership of its new alien master."

The people which has thus through Jewish agitators been driven into madness, reinforced by non-social elements liberated from the prisons, now destroys its own national intelligentsia on the scaffold and the Jew without scruple and without conscience is supreme. The Jew is himself completely uncreative: he may in many countries hold 90 per cent. of the positions in the intellectual world, but he never discovered, formed, or conceived the elements of knowledge, culture, or art, and the same is true in trade. Therefore of necessity, if he wishes to hold power for any length of time in a country, he must proceed to a bloody annihilation of the former intellectual upper class; otherwise he would soon be conquered once more by this superior intelligence.

In Germany "the Jews as democrats have not even controlled the possibilities which democracy offered them; as Social Democrats they have failed to lead the masses. In business they have neither prevented the ruin of our economic life nor have they as Communists been able to draw from that collapse the consequences for which they hoped. And this was only because they were opposed by National Socialism, which knew them for what they were. And that is the reason why we National Socialists are so sure of ourselves and are so convinced of the indestructibility of our State. It is true that we regard the rest of the world as being in a very

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this last year. As you know, in Spain this Jewish Bolshevism has similarly advanced by a roundabout way through democracy to open revolution. It is a gross perversion of the facts to maintain that the Bolshevik oppressors of the people are in that country the representatives of legal authority, while the fighters of Nationalist Spain are illegal revolutionaries. No! we see in General Franco's men the genuine and above all the permanent Spain and in the usurpers of Valencia the hireling international revolutionary troop of Moscow which to-day ravages Spain and to-morrow perhaps again some other State. Can we now remain neutral in the face of such happenings as these?"

"And first I wish to make a short statement of fact: in the Press of our Western democracies and from the speeches of many politicians we hear over and over again how great are the natural spheres of interest of these Powers. It appears to the representatives of these States to go without saying that their interests embrace every sea and every State in Europe, and that even beyond the limits of Europe these interests are quite simple and are in general determined by Nature. On the other hand, directly a people which does not belong to this exclusive circle of the international possessors ventures in its turn to speak of certain interests which lie beyond its own frontiers at once we are treated to outbursts of indignation. In answer to this presumption I would like to explain the situation:"

"From England and France we are always hearing that they have sacred interests in Spain. Of what kind are these interests? Are they political or economic? If it is a question of political interests then we fail to understand this, just as we should fail to understand it if someone were to say that he had political interests in Germany. Besides ourselves, for instance, whether anyone

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or who rules in Germany concerns no one, at least not until this State plans or carries out hostilities against other States. But if England or France is referring to certain economic interests in Spain, then we are quite prepared to admit the claim, only it must be clearly stated that we claim for ourselves also precisely the same economic interests, in other words: National Socialist Germany, for example, follows the attempt of the Jewish revolutionaries in Spain with tense interest and that from two points of view:

"1. Just as England and France do not wish that there should be any alteration in the balance of power in Europe, either say in favour of the German or the Italian side, so in the same way we do not wish that the balance should be disturbed in the direction of an increase in the power of the Bolsheviks, for if in Italy Fascism rules that is a purely national Italian concern; it would be merely stupid to suggest that directions or possibly commands could be given to this Fascist Italy by any external authority. It would be even more stupid to maintain that this Fascist Italy could ever form part of a greater and superior Fascist international organization. On the contrary, it lies in the fundamental and essential character of Fascism as of National Socialism, that here it is a matter of political doctrines whose ideology and activity are confined within the limits of their own peoples. In the same way it is certain that a Nationalist Spain will be national, i.e. Spanish, just as on the other hand it cannot be disputed that Bolshevism is confessedly international: that it possesses only one central authority and beyond this central authority knows only sections—branches."

"Just as people in England and France profess to be disturbed by the thought that Spain might perhaps be occupied either by Italy or Germany, so we are horrified

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when we contemplate the possibility that Spain should be conquered by Soviet Russia. This conquest need not take the form of an occupation by Russian troops—by no means, for this conquest is already an accomplished fact the moment a Bolshevized Spain becomes a section, that is a component part of the Moscow Bolshevik central authority—a branch which receives alike its political instructions and its material subventions from Moscow. And generally, in every attempt to spread Bolshevism more widely in Europe we see on principle a disturbance of the European balance. And so, just as England is interested in preventing any such disturbance in accordance with her views on the situation, so in accordance with our views of the situation are we similarly interested in preventing such a disturbance.”

“We must categorically decline to receive instructions concerning the essential character of such a Bolshevik disturbance of the balance of power from statesmen who do not possess in this field the knowledge which we possess, and who were not in the position to collect those practical experiences which we unfortunately were bound so to collect.”

“2. But in the second place not less important is the fact that such a Bolshevik political disturbance of the balance of power is above all identical with an economic development which in that complex of States which constitutes Europe, and which is now necessarily so closely bound together, could have only catastrophic consequences. For the first obvious result of every Bolshevik revolution is immediately no increase in production but a total destruction of the present economic values and further of all economic functions in the countries affected thereby. But the world does not live by Economic Conferences held in one place or another from time to time—as indeed experience has proved—

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but the world lives from the exchange of goods and therefore primarily from the production of goods." . . .

"At the moment when in Spain Bolshevism burst forth, the whole national production was so damaged that immediately there was a cessation of any really valuable exchange of goods. If against that statement it is objected that other countries could still carry on a profitable business with Red Spain, I would answer that in this case the goods were paid for in gold which had not gained its value through any effort of Spanish Bolshevism, but only represented the value of the previous work and achievement of Nationalist Spain and had been stolen, appropriated, and sent abroad by Spanish Bolshevism. On such a basis it is impossible to found an enduring and solid economic intercourse: that can only rest upon the exchange of real values and not on the business transactions of receivers and thieves."

"But the production of real values is forthwith utterly destroyed by Bolshevism, and even when its workers are given only a dog's existence—as Soviet Russia proves—such production cannot be brought into working order again even after twenty years. This may, for example, not concern wealthy Great Britain. Perhaps for Great Britain it matters not a whit whether Spain becomes a desert—whether economically it is turned into the familiar Bolshevik chaos and ruin—or not. Perhaps in this Spanish question Britain really views the matter only from a political standpoint. But for us Germans, who have not the possibility of spreading our trade communications over a world empire of our own, Europe—and Europe precisely as it is to-day—is one of the conditions of our own existence. A Bolshevik Europe would render any trade policy impossible for our State, and that not because we do not wish to trade, but because we should not then have anyone to trade with."

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"This is therefore for us no matter of purely theoretical considerations or moral anxieties, it is not a problem giving rise to international complaints¹—for we have not so much respect for international institutions as to believe for a second that we should ever receive any practical help from them, we can look for nothing but empty platitudes—for us this is one of the most vital questions. We know with absolute certainty that if Spain were to become finally Bolshevik and if this wave had spread wider, perhaps over the rest of Europe, or if in the future it should so spread—and Bolshevism itself asserts that this will certainly happen and that at least is its wish—then that for Germany would mean a severe economic catastrophe."

"It is essential for us that there should be a neutral exchange of goods with these lands: the bare maintenance of the life of the German people itself demands this. But this exchange of goods is, however, possible only if these lands themselves manufacture goods under normal and orderly conditions. If through a Bolshevik catastrophe this manufacture of goods should cease, then Germany, too, in her economic life would have to face a period of extreme difficulty."

"We are all of us sure that in the event of such a development the League of Nations at Geneva would presumably develop the same strength as did our own German Federal Parliament of Frankfurt in the last century. How little can be expected from such international help we can judge already by what is happening to-day. Hardly had the Bolshevik revolt begun in Spain when not only did trade with Germany immediately decline, but 15,000 subjects of the Reich were forced to leave a country which was torn by internal

¹ German, *Klagen*: so *F.Z. Fragen*: "questions", *Berliner Tageblatt*.

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disturbances. Their businesses were plundered, German schools were destroyed, buildings belonging to the German community were in part burnt down, and the property of all these industrious folk was annihilated at one blow. The results of many years of honest work were ruined. I hardly think that the League of Nations will indemnify them for their losses. We know this and we do not address any request to the League: we know that it has its own problems and tasks. For years past, for instance, it has been forced to spend its energies on trying to support the various Marxist and Jewish emigrants to keep them alive!"

"I am only stating facts. We have a very real interest in seeing to it that this Bolshevik plague shall not spread over Europe. With a Nationalist France, for instance, we have in the course of its history naturally had many disagreements. But somehow or other we both belong together in the great European family of peoples, and especially is that true when all of us look most deeply into our own selves. Then I believe that we should not be willing to do without any of the really civilized nations of Europe, we would not even wish them away. Each of us has to thank the other for much exasperation and suffering; but also for a vast mutual inspiration. We have given each other models, examples, many a lesson; much joy, much beauty we owe to each other. If we are just, then we have every reason for mutual admiration, much less for mutual hatred! In this community of the civilized nations of Europe Jewish World Bolshevism is an absolutely alien body which makes not the smallest contribution to our economic life or to our civilization but only creates confusion. If there were an international review of the life of Europe and of the world, Bolshevism would not be able to produce a single positive achievement: it could but show its propagandist

tables with their lying figures and its mischief-making placards."

"But I am unwilling to miss this opportunity of answering those who talk persistently of the necessity for international economic relations and their continuous improvement and in this connexion speak of the duty of international solidarity, and now believe that they have ground for complaint since National Socialist Germany in their view is seeking to withdraw into a conscious isolation. I have before now pointed out how completely mistaken the statesmen or leader-writers are who really seriously believe any such thing. Their mistake is strikingly contradicted by the facts of practical life. We have neither the desire nor the intention to be political or economic hermits! Germany has not isolated herself, neither in political nor in economic life. Not politically: on the contrary, she is anxious to co-operate with all those who keep in view the goal of a true European community. Only we categorically refuse to allow ourselves to be united with those whose programme is the destruction of Europe and who make no secret of that fact."

"Even if we ourselves feel secure from this destruction it still seems to us to be an obvious contradiction to conclude agreements in order to secure the solidarity of Europe with folk who are planning to destroy this same solidarity. To refuse any co-operation with these people does not mean isolation but simply self-preservation, and thus we are only the more determined to seek and to find an understanding with all those who do not merely talk of solidarity but who also earnestly desire it before all else; and that must not be a solidarity in the merely negative sense of sharing in a common destruction, but in the positive sense of sharing in a common construction."

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"It is even madder to charge us with seeking economic isolation. I believe that our trade figures are the best refutation of this unfounded and foolish view. But even if our trade would not grow by maintaining intercourse with other countries, yet even so we do not desire any economic isolation: if it came, we should at most only suffer its coming and that against our own wishes."

"This economic isolation must, however, follow of necessity the moment that Europe became Bolshevik. We can see to-day indeed the amusing spectacle that it is precisely the Press of those lands in which men think that they must constantly be urging us to take a greater part in world economics which begins immediately to cry aloud if, for instance, it becomes known that we are doing business with Nationalist Spain, that we are delivering machinery and other such things to Spain, and that this Nationalist Spain is sending us raw materials and foodstuffs in exchange. This is but to do what these apostles of world economics are for ever wanting! Why then suddenly this horror at our action? No! we know the inner reasons for this only too well. It is their exasperation that now we are determined once for all that in no circumstances will we ever again import into Germany by way of trade those Marxist infection-materials which once before brought us to the edge of the abyss. A trade transaction of this kind we do certainly reject. It is their exasperation at the fact that we not only refuse to isolate ourselves, but that on the contrary we have found a firm support in States inspired with the same ideals and led by those who think and act as we do. But I can only repeat what I have said before—that for Germany any other orientation is out of the question.

"We are more interested in Europe than perhaps many other countries have any need to be. Our country, our people, our civilization, our economic life have

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grown up out of the general limitations which our position in Europe set for us. We must therefore be the enemy of any attempt to introduce into this European family of peoples an element of disintegration and destruction, whether it be in one state or in all."

"Besides for us Germans the thought that this Europe could be directed or ruled from Moscow of all places is simply intolerable. If in other States such presumption, presented as a political demand, can be endured, then we can only note this fact with astonishment and regret. For us at least the very idea of receiving orders (*Direktiven*) from a world that stands so far below us is as ridiculous as it is revolting. Besides, the claim of an uncivilized Jewish Bolshevik international gang of criminals to rule from Moscow over Germany, an ancient land of European civilization, is simply insolence. Moscow remains Moscow and Soviet Russia, so far as we are concerned, Soviet Russia. At least the name of our German capital is Berlin and, when all is said, Germany still, thank God, remains Germany."

"There should be no illusions on the point: National Socialism has banished the Bolshevik world peril from the domestic life of Germany: it has taken care that the scum of Jewish writers who are alien to the German people shall no longer play the dictator over the German proletariat, i.e. over the German workman, but that the German people shall at length understand its own mission and find in its own body its leaders. National Socialism has, further, made our people and therefore the Reich immune from a Bolshevik infection. And apart from this it will not hesitate to oppose with the most decisive measures every repetition of those attacks which were formerly made within Germany itself against the sovereignty of our people. It was through our attacks upon this enemy that we National Socialists

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gained our power. In a struggle lasting more than fifteen years we have in fact annihilated him intellectually and in his outlook on the world—and neither his countless murders and other acts of violence nor the support which he received from the then Marxist rulers of the Reich could stay our victorious march. To-day we will keep strict watch and ward that never again shall such a danger come upon Germany. But should anyone venture to bring this danger from without to the frontiers of Germany or to introduce this danger into Germany he should know that the National Socialist State has forged for itself those weapons which with lightning speed would crush any such attempt.”

“That we have been in the past good soldiers—that assuredly the world will not have forgotten. That to-day we are still better soldiers—for that the world can take our word. But that the National Socialist State will defend and fight for its existence with a very different fanaticism from that of the *bourgeois* Reich of yesterday—that no one should doubt. The period of parliamentary weakness from which the German people suffered is past and it will never return. . . . We have no intention of forcing upon anyone else our conceptions or ideals; we would ask that none should seek to impose their views upon us. . . . Never in German history has the whole German people in one Reich been more united than at the present time.”

“Formerly there were always differences or reservations founded upon tribe, religious confession, dynasty or, later, on party. The age of these reservations is ended. The millions of our people are to-day devoted unconditionally to National Socialism and the National Socialist State. *Weltanschauung* and national discipline meet on one and the same level. The intellectual¹

¹ German: *geistige*.

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guidance and the political leadership of the nation find their confirmation in the political will. And that political will has found its necessary complement in the internal and the external attitude of the German. No better proof of this can be found than the *Parteitag* in Nuremberg. For eight days you have had here a living demonstration of the success of a work and an achievement which is truly a part of world-history." . . .

Hitler, after thanking the women and mothers of Germany, and asking for the blessing of the Almighty, closed his speech with the words:

"May you be conscious that thus a hope of millennia, the prayer of many generations, the confidence and the faith of countless great men of our nation have become a reality of history. At length it has arisen—the Germanic Empire of German nationality."¹

In his closing speech to the Party Congress at Nuremberg, delivered on 12 September 1938 Hitler said: "For the National Socialist Party the name 'worker' was from the first the honourable mark of distinction for all who in honest creative work, whether in the intellectual or the purely manual sphere, played an active part in the community. But since the Party was a People's Party, there were necessarily, as in the people itself, more hand-workers than intellectual workers in its ranks. This led subsequently to a series of misunderstandings. People imagined that such a Movement which, as the Party itself admitted, was composed for the most part of men who worked with their hands, could be regarded as altogether unfitted to achieve any higher tasks. For this purpose, as our bourgeois class saw it, the good God had

¹ German: *das germanische Reich deutscher Nation*. I have translated the extracts from this speech from the reports of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, 15 Sept. 1937, and the *F.Z.*, 14, 15 Sept. 1937.

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chosen only that intellectual *élite* which had strayed into our *bourgeois* parties. Marxism, on the other hand, from the very first day saw in the new Movement a hated rival, and thought it could dispose of it most quickly if the broad masses were to shout down the definition adopted by National Socialism of the term 'worker' as embracing all creative workers, on the ground that it contradicted their idea of the Proletariat. As a matter of fact, this was true. For the Proletariat, or better, the proletarian parties, had, as far as possible, excluded from their ranks the brain-workers and intellectual workers of Germany. Naturally, without any intellectual leadership at all one could not exist; but this intellectual leadership had been claimed for decades past by the Jews."

"The purpose of the Marxist-Communist-Social-Democratic Parties, too, was by no means to give to the German people a better sense of community, or to educate them for such an idea; its aim was rather to smash the community of the German people and to tear open an unbridgeable cleavage between the people's own intellectual leadership and the people itself."

"The worker was to be launched as a battering-ram against his own intelligentsia, so that by its destruction the leaderless masses of the people might be delivered into the hands of an intellectual writer and lawyer caste which was already far too numerous. The goal which hovered before the eyes of these schemers was the sort of State which we see to-day fully developed in Soviet Russia—98 per cent. Aryan handworkers and 2 per cent. Jewish Commissars. In return for this, such a construction received the right to call itself a 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat'."

"It was understandable that on these grounds the Party which stood for a new community of the people

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was greeted with no affection by the Jewish wirepullers of the proletarian world revolution. Besides this, the fact that the Party recognized Jewry for what it was and saw through it, and accordingly made its elimination an essential point of the Party programme, was an additional motive for the hatred of Jewry and its rejection of National Socialism."

"The *bourgeois* parties, as I remarked before, failed to grasp the meaning and the necessity of the new Movement. In the national organization of the working classes they saw at first nothing in any way inspiring; on the contrary, they regarded it rather with suspicion. The two worlds had already drawn so far apart that they could neither understand nor trust one another. Since the *bourgeois* world of parties was recruited and reinforced almost exclusively from intellectual circles, or from what was considered to be intellectual, the atmosphere which surrounded its growth was worlds apart from that in which the proletarian parties arose. The crudeness of the proletarian code of social behaviour, combined with clothes not exactly fitted for the drawing-room, aroused from the first repugnance, or at least distrust, especially after the November Revolution of 1918. All our fellow-fighters will recall with real pleasure that the National Socialist German Workers' Party at that time did not give the impression, so far as the outward appearance of its followers was concerned, that it could be presented at Court. So it was not surprising that in *bourgeois* circles the suspicion was aroused, and grew ever stronger, that in the new National Socialist Party they might have to deal with a specially ingenious kind of Socialism, bent on appropriating other people's property."

"This seemed all the more dangerous because the Socialist ideas which the Party was seeking to introduce,

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decked out as they were with Nationalist declarations, might end by being more easily smuggled into the Trojan walls of our *bourgeois* class-State."

"The names given to the Movement awoke suspicion, the clothes of its followers no less so, its manners seemed equally questionable, and the picture was but rounded off in the same colours by the further details which one read in the Press."

"Later, when the Party had fought its way to a place in public life, and so could not any longer be got rid of, this complete rejection of its claims gave place to a persistent but silent hope. Certainly, a great Party had come into existence; certainly it had won for itself a respected place in public life, but as a Workers' Party—both from its name and from the appearance of its members—it was clearly disqualified from intervening in political life with any really decisive force. For this it had to be led. And since it was a Workers' Party, intellectual leadership was bound to be lacking; and one cannot carry on a government without brains. So the childish view came into existence that one day it would be possible to seize the intellectual control of this popular movement which they could not destroy, and with its help they might then continue the astute policy which the *bourgeoisie* had been forced to renounce for a long time, owing to a deficiency in their own strength. So they longed for the hour when 'the drummer' (that was myself!) would be replaced by 'real statesmen' (that meant the other folk!). Who can wonder, then, that the stubbornness with which the National Socialist Workers' Party fought its way to its goal, rejecting all compromise, gradually gave birth to a deep hatred, so deep, indeed, that our *bourgeois* party world was prepared to ally itself with Marxism rather than express the very least recognition of National Socialism, much less give away any

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opportunities to our Party. More than once in the German Reichstag we could witness the shameful spectacle of a united front arrayed against us, ranging from the extreme Right to the extreme Left. There was talk at that time of the necessity to safeguard the interests of the German people, of the necessity to fight for its freedom; but action was directed against the sole movement which was in fact in a position to fight for such ideals and, if necessary, to realize them—the movement which, above all, for years past, alone and deserted, had carried on this fight in a practical manner, with untiring energy, and under an immense strain."

. . . "We are experiencing now on a large scale very much what we had to experience at home in our ten-years struggle. Since the day when we took over power, we have been faced with a solid front on the part of the outer world. And just as at home the gilded capitalistic democracy of our parliamentary parties went hand in hand with Marxism whenever it was a question of fighting National Socialism, so we see to-day on a large scale the same conspiracy between Democracy and Bolshevism to make war on the State of the National Socialist community of the people."

"At the time of the National Socialist struggle for power, perhaps the most striking proof of the dishonesty of our opponents' campaign was their demonstration of the fact that whether they were *bourgeois* Nationalists, capitalist Democrats, or Marxist Internationalists, in every decisive struggle they formed an unbroken, united front against us. Many of our fellow-countrymen at that time were thus brought to understand how utterly false must be the morality of a political campaign which claimed to be fighting us on national grounds, yet which did not shrink from allying itself for this purpose with international Marxists; they understood, on the other

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hand, how untruthful and deceitful those parties were which persecuted us—as they asserted—because we were false to Socialism, yet in this campaign did not scruple to act in common with the representatives of the worst type of Capitalism, and to form a united front with it. The Centre Party attacked National Socialism as being hostile to the Church, and to further its ends concluded a holy alliance with atheist Social Democracy, and even with Communism itself. And Communism again, in its turn, which saw in us—so it asserted at that time—a party of reaction, hastened to join the real representatives of reaction against the National Socialist fraction in the Reichstag.”

“It was a spectacle whose infinite dishonesty could cause nothing but disgust. And the same feeling comes over us to-day when we see how the so-called international world-democrats, the champions of freedom, brotherhood, justice, the people’s right to self-determination, and all the rest of it, go hand in glove with the Bolshevism of Moscow. The question may frequently be raised why we discuss the democracies so often, and why we are so hostile to them. The reasons are: (1) because we are forced to do so, as the objects of their attacks; (2) because it is precisely the attitude of these bodies which is so infuriating.”

“Insincerity starts from the moment when the democracies represent themselves as a government of the people, and the authoritarian States as dictatorships. I believe that I can say quite dispassionately that at the present time there are in the world only two countries which, as Great Powers, possess a government which has behind it 99 per cent. of its people.”

“What declares itself to be democracy in the other countries is in most cases nothing but the fooling of public opinion by clever manipulation of Press and

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finance, and by artful exploitation of the results so reached. But the complete dishonesty of these democracies, in their essential character, comes out most sharply in the attitude which they adopt, as occasion demands, towards their neighbours. We have learnt by experience that when it suited their book, these democracies could actually glorify a really tyrannical régime in a small country, and could even declare themselves ready to fight for that régime if required, whereas on the other hand the greatest demonstrations of confidence in such States as were not pleasing to the democracies were simply passed over in silence, misinterpreted, or given an exactly contrary meaning. And that is not all: if it is politically expedient, these democracies go so far as to glorify the Bolshevik form of State, even though it declares itself to be a dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words: the true-born democracies are actually prepared to give the name of 'dictatorships' to countries which can point to a Government based on the consent of 99 per cent. of its people, while other countries again, which the Governments themselves declare to be dictatorships, and which can exist only with the help of mass-shootings, executions, torturings, and the rest, are admired as highly respectable democratic institutions. Is it not really a grim irony of world-history that in the midst of upright, thoroughbred democrats at Geneva moves, as an honourable member of the Conference, the bloodstained representative of the most ferocious tyranny of all time?"

"Just as in Germany we have seen this close alliance between Jewish Capitalism and theoretical Communist anti-Capitalism, just as in this country 'The Red Flag', the 'Vorwärts', and the 'Frankfurter Zeitung' used always to go hand in hand, so it is in the whole of the rest of the world. The Bolshevism of Moscow is the

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honoured ally of Capitalist Democracy! Is it surprising that if Governments deny their own principles to this extent, they should be forced in countless other spheres as well to resort to empty phrases?"

Hitler went on to illustrate the inconsistency of the democracies, which defended the rights of small nations, but which for fifteen years denied to 'a people of 75 millions' the most primitive rights of man. "For fifteen years with the utmost barbarity they have set at nought the natural interests of the people, they have violated all human dignity; they have framed 'Diktats' and forced their acceptance upon us with the pistol at our heads, so that later, with hypocritical indignation, they might complain of the 'unilateral' violation of sacred laws and the breach of still more sacred treaties. Without ever troubling themselves over what the natives might think, they have subdued continents with bloody violence. But when Germany demands the return of her colonies, alarmed for the lot of the poor natives, they declare that they can under no circumstances deliver them over to such a fate. Yet at the same moment they do not hesitate to bring the natives to reason in their own colonies by aeroplanes and bombs—to force, in other words, their dear coloured fellow-citizens to continue to endure the rule of the foreigner which they hate. These were, of course, civilizing bombs, in contrast with the brutal bombs used by the Italians in the Abyssinian War."

"They complain in these democracies of the boundless cruelty with which Germany—and now Italy also—seek to rid themselves of their Jewish elements. All these great democratic empires taken together have only a handful of people to the square kilometre. Both in Italy and Germany there are over 140. Yet formerly Germany, without blinking an eyelid, for whole decades admitted these Jews by the hundred thousand. But now, when at last

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the complaints became too great, when the nation is no longer willing to be sucked dry by these parasites, on every side one hears nothing but laments. But lamentations have not led these democratic countries to substitute helpful activity at last for their hypocritical questions; on the contrary, these countries with icy coldness assured us that obviously there was no place for the Jews in their territory! Thus they expected that Germany, with 140 people to the square kilometre, would easily be able to continue to support her Jews; but the democratic world-empires, with only a handful of people to the square kilometre, could under no circumstances take on such a burden! So no help is given, but morality is saved!"

"We see ourselves then to-day in the National Socialist Reich face to face with the same forces, the same phenomena, which for fifteen years we, as a Party, had the opportunity of getting to know. So far as this gives us general evidence for the hostile attitude of the democratic countries towards Germany, it leaves us cold. Why should we fare better than the Reich did before us? For the rest, I openly acknowledge that I find it always more tolerable to be insulted by someone who no longer has the power to rob me, than to be robbed by someone who praises me in return. We are insulted to-day. But we are—thank God—now in a position to ensure that Germany shall no longer suffer robbery and violence. Before us, the State was oppressed for nearly fifteen years. And the praise which it received for having become a well-behaved and democratic State was, in my view, a somewhat inadequate indemnity or recompense for this!"¹ [*Hitler then proceeded to discuss the question of Czechoslovakia. See p. 487.*]

¹ V.B., 14 Sept. 1938.

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Note and Bibliography

Though the speeches of Hitler are filled with attacks upon the Jewish-Bolshevist opposition and upon the Jews as the international force which everywhere supported the world-revolution, who as emigrants were always inciting other Powers to oppose the National Socialists and the Germany of the Third Reich, it is surprising to observe how little the Führer has said on the treatment of the Jews by the National Socialist State. It would seem that the following brief collection of extracts practically exhausts the material on the subject so far as the printed reports of Hitler's speeches are concerned. On the attitude of the National Socialist Party towards the Jews cf. the Party Programme, especially Point 4 (see Part I, p. 103), and see G. Feder, *Hitler's Official Programme and its Fundamental Ideas* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1938), pp. 78-81. For Jews and Bolshevism see in particular pp. 685 *supra*, and cf. G. Feder, *Die Juden* (Munich, Eher, 1933).

I do not know of any official National Socialist collection of documents covering the whole field of the policy of the Third Reich in its dealings with the Jews, but the laws, orders, and regulations dealing with racial questions have been usefully collected in W. Coermann, *Die Rassengesetzgebung des national-sozialistischen Staates*, Eisenach, Röth, 1939, pp. 210 (with a systematized bibliography). For collections of documentary evidence see:

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For the application of the "Aryan clause" see the Annexe to the *Lettre de Démission de James G. McDonald, Haut Commissaire pour les Réfugiés (Israélites et autres) provenant d'Allemagne adressée au Secrétaire Général de la Société des Nations* (No officiel, C 13 M 12, 1936 XII Annexe): dated 27 December 1935; and for the question of the Refugees from Germany see Sir John Hope Simpson, *The Refugee Problem*. London, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 127-37; id., *Refugees. A Review of the Situation since September 1938* (see above); id., *The Refugee*

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Question (— Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. 13). 2nd edn., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940.

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² On the Nuremberg laws cf. the speech of Goering in Nuremberg of 15 Sept. 1935, *ibid.* iii (1937), pp. 24-9, and reference may further be made to the speech of Dr. Frank on "Das Judentum in der Rechtswissenschaft", *ibid.* iv (1937), pp. 225-30, and for Austria after the Anschluss see the speech of Bürckel at the Auslandsdeutschtum-Tagung in Stuttgart, *F.Z.*, 2 Sept. 1938.

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In an interview with the correspondent of "The Times" in Berlin in October 1930 Hitler repudiated the charges of

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violence in street riots brought by the police against the National Socialist Party. He said: The National Socialist Movement was a strictly disciplined movement and every member knew that such excesses were against its interests and against orders. The Movement discountenanced violent anti-Semitism. He would have nothing to do with pogroms and that was the first word which had always gone forth from him in turbulent times. Their doctrine was "Germany for the Germans" and their attitude towards Jews was governed by the attitude of Jews towards this doctrine. They had nothing against decent Jews, but if Jews associated themselves with Bolshevism, as many unfortunately did, they must be regarded as enemies. The Party was against all violence, but, if attacked, it was ready to defend itself.¹

*Discussing National Socialist propaganda in America in the autumn of 1932 Hitler is reported to have suggested that "the idea be disseminated that capitalism and Jewry need not look too fearfully toward a National Socialist régime."*²

In an interview published in the "Staatszeitung" (New York) Hitler said:

"Why does the world shed crocodile's tears over the richly merited fate of a small Jewish minority? But what happened to the conscience of the world when millions in Germany were suffering from hunger and misery? I ask Roosevelt, I ask the American people: Are you prepared to receive in your midst these well-poisoners³ of the German people and the universal spirit of Christianity? We would willingly give everyone of

¹ Quoted from *The Times*, 15 Oct. 1930.

² Kurt G. W. Ludecke, *I knew Hitler*, London, 1938, p. 432.

³ *Brunnenvergifter*.

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them a free steamer-ticket and a thousand-mark note for travelling expenses, if we could get rid of them. Am I to allow thousands of pure-blooded Germans to perish so that all Jews may work, live, and be merry in security while a nation of millions is a prey to starvation, despair, and Bolshevism?"¹

*In a speech to the Doctors' Union in April 1933 on the racial purification of the German people Hitler said that through the speedy elimination of the excessive number of Jewish intellectuals from the cultural and spiritual life of Germany justice must be done to the natural claim of Germany to a leadership which should reflect the true German spirit.*²

The greatest achievements in intellectual life can never be produced by those of alien race but only by those who are inspired by the Aryan or German spirit.³

In view of the narrowness of the space within which German intellectual work and German intellectual workers have to live they had a natural moral claim to precedence and preference. If the number of foreigners admitted to take part in German intellectual life was out of proportion to the number of native Germans sharing in that life foreigners might interpret this as a recognition of the intellectual superiority of other races.

He said that America of all countries had the least ground to object to these measures. America's own Immigration Laws had excluded from admission those belonging to races of which America disapproved, while America was by no means prepared to open the gates to

¹ Cited from Fritz Seidler, *The Bloodless Pogrom*. London, 1934. I have not been able to see the text of this interview: it apparently dates from 1933.

² German: *arteigene geistige Führung*.

³ German: *Träger arischer und deutscher Geisteskräfte*. It is not easy to render these words into natural English.

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Jewish "fugitives" from Germany. "As a matter of fact the Jews in Germany had not had a hair of their heads rumpled."¹

He recognized the present distress of the medical profession, especially of the young doctors. "It is precisely for these young Germans that a living-space (*Lebensraum*) and possibilities for the exercise of their profession must be created by a vigorous repression of elements of alien race. . . . This work of cleansing through racial hygiene which was now being undertaken would perhaps take centuries. The important point was that they should to-day lay a firm foundation for the future political development."²

In an interview with Miss Anne O'Hare McCormick in July 1933 Hitler said:

"I would be only too glad if the nations which take such an enormous interest in Jews would open their gates to them. It is true we have made discriminatory laws, but they are directed not so much against the Jews as for the German people, to give economic opportunity to the majority." . . .

"Why should not the Jews share the privations which burden the entire nation? . . . I cannot spare a Communist because he is a Jew."³

In a speech delivered in the Sportpalast in Berlin on 24 October 1933 Hitler said:

"In England people assert that their arms are open to welcome all the oppressed, especially the Jews who have left Germany. England can do this! England is big, England possesses vast territories. England is rich. We

¹ German: *gekämmmt*.

² *V.B.*, 7 Apr. 1933.

³ *New York Times*, 10 July 1933.

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are small and overpopulated, we are poor and without any possibility for living.¹ But it would be still finer if England did not make her great gesture dependent on the possession of £1,000—if England should say: Anyone can enter—as we unfortunately have done for thirty or forty years. If we too had declared that no one could enter Germany save under the condition of bringing with him £1,000 or paying more, then to-day we should have no Jewish question at all. So we wild folk have once more proved ourselves to be better humans—less perhaps in external protestations, but at least in our actions! And now we are still as generous and give to the Jewish people a far higher percentage as their share in possibility for living than we ourselves possess.”

“It is true that together with the rights of the chosen people we defend the rights of the oppressed people, the German people, for in the last resort that is the reason for our being here at all! But that does not mean atrocities.” *Hitler proceeded to speak of the moderation displayed by the “Model Revolution”:*² “it must be admitted”, *he said*, that the “emigrants” do not share this view. It is naturally very agreeable for knaves and usurers to travel around in world-history with a political banner to serve as a robe. It is a fine thing to be able to go abroad with the nimbus and the halo of one threatened with death, while in reality in Germany it is only the Public Prosecutor who is after you. And as for the small part of the emigrants which is really out of the country for political reasons I must confess that we are glad to be rid of them. We do not say: Give them back to us! On the contrary we say only: Keep them and the longer the better.”³

¹ German: *Lebensmöglichkeit*.

² Cf. Part I, p. 209.

³ *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 127-8.

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In his address to women at the Nuremberg Parteitag on 8 September 1934 Hitler said:

"The phrase 'Emancipation of Woman' is only an invention of the Jewish intellect and its content is stamped with the same spirit. In the really good periods of German life the German woman never needed to emancipate herself."¹

The anti-Jewish laws were passed at a special session of the Reichstag held in Nuremberg 15 September 1935. Hitler's justification for the introduction of these laws was in the circumstances surprisingly brief. He referred to the insult to the German flag in the United States: he said that this act furnished effective confirmation of the rightness of the proposed legislation which was designed to anticipate any such action in Germany. He further referred to the revival of agitation in favour of a boycott of German goods, and continued:

"This international unrest in the world would unfortunately seem to have given rise to the view amongst the Jews within Germany that the time has come openly to oppose Jewish interests to those of the German nation. From numerous places vigorous complaints have been received of the provocative action of individuals belonging to this people, and the remarkable frequency of these reports and the similarity of their contents point to a certain system of operations. This attitude actually resulted in demonstrations which in a Berlin cinema were directed against a foreign film by which, though harmless in itself, certain Jewish circles felt themselves to be offended."

"If this proceeding is not to lead to very determined action in its own defence by the outraged population—the consequences of which in any single case cannot be

¹ *F.Z.*, 9 Sept. 1934.

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foreseen—the only way to deal with the problem which remains open is that of legislative action. The German Government is in this controlled by the thought that through a single saecular solution it may be possible still to create a level ground (*eine Ebene*) on which the German people may find a tolerable relation towards the Jewish people. Should this hope not be fulfilled and the Jewish agitation both within Germany and in the international sphere should continue, then the position must be examined afresh.”

Hitler then proposed that the laws be adopted: “The first two laws repay the debt of gratitude to the Movement under whose symbol Germany has recovered her freedom, since it implements the programme of the National Socialist Party in an important point. The second is an attempt to regulate by law a problem which, should this attempt fail, must then be handed over by law to the National Socialist Party for a final solution.”

“Behind all three laws there stands the National Socialist Party and with it and supporting it stands the German nation.”¹

In an interview with Mr. Baillie of the United Press Hitler was asked what were the reasons for the Nuremberg legislation. He replied: “One of the principal reasons for the legislation in Germany is the necessity to combat Bolshevism. This legislation is not anti-Jewish, but pro-

¹ *V.B.*, 16 Sept. 1935. The Three Nuremberg laws are: (i) the Law on the Flags of the Reich, (ii) the Law respecting Reich Citizenship, and (iii) the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour. An English translation of (ii) and (iii) will be found in *The Yellow Spot*, London, Gollancz, 1936, pp. 30-1 (where the German text of these laws is also reproduced), and in W. E. Rappard, W. R. Sharp, H. W. Schneider, J. K. Pollock, S. N. Harper, *Source Book on European Governments*, New York, Van Nostrand, 1937, Part IV, pp. 77-83.

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German. The rights of Germans are thereby to be protected against destructive Jewish influences."

Nearly all Bolshevist agitators in Germany had been Jews: only a few miles separated Soviet Russia from Germany, and continuous, effective measures were needed to protect Germany from the intrigues of the agents of Bolshevism who were for the most part Jews.

He went on to say that from the tens of thousands of officers who were demobilized after the War a kind of intellectual proletariat had arisen; many of these, although they had received a University education, were forced in order to get a living to accept employment as street-cleaners, motor-drivers, and like occupations. On the other hand, the Jews who formed less than one per cent. of the population tried to monopolize the cultural leadership of the people and flooded the intellectual professions, such as, for example, jurisprudence and medicine. The influence of this intellectual Jewish class in Germany had everywhere a disintegrating effect. For this reason in order to bar the spread of this process of disintegration it became essential to take steps to establish a clear and clean separation between the two races.

The fundamental principle which governed the treatment of this question in Germany was that to the German should be given that to which the German had a just claim and to the Jew that which the Jew could justly claim. He stressed the fact that this served to protect the Jew, and this was proved by the fact that since the passing of the restrictive measures anti-Jewish sentiment in the country had decreased. The Government of the Reich was anxious to prevent self-help on the part of the people which might vent itself in dangerous explosions; its legislative measures were aimed at maintaining in Germany that calm and peace which

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had been enjoyed up to the present time. On the Kurfürstendamm in Berlin there were as many Jewish businesses as in New York and the other capitals, and one could see for oneself that these businesses were suffering absolutely no disturbance. He believed that perhaps through the Nuremberg laws fresh tension could be avoided. If such tension did, however, arise, further legislative measures would be necessary.¹

*In his speech delivered in the Reichstag on 30 January 1937 Hitler said that it was astonishing how much National Socialism had achieved in the cultural sphere—in books, newspapers, and lectures, in art, the theatre, and the film. "Consider this fact alone: our entire German educational system, including the Press, the theatre, films, literature, &c., is to-day conducted and controlled exclusively by our German fellow-countrymen. How often were we not told in the past that the removal of Jews from these institutions must lead to their collapse or to sterilization! And what has actually happened? In all these spheres we are experiencing a vast flowering of cultural and artistic life. Our films are better than ever before. The productions in our leading theatres stand in lonely pre-eminence over those of the whole world. Our Press has become a mighty instrument in the service of our people's self-preservation and contributes to strengthen the nation. German Science pursues its successful activity, while in architecture mighty evidences of our creative purpose will in the future bear witness to the achievements of this new age. There has been effected an unexampled immunization of the German people against all the disintegrating tendencies from which another world is forced to suffer."*²

¹ *V.B.*, 28 Nov. 1935.

² *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, v (1938), pp. 39-40.

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In his closing speech at the Nuremberg Parteitag of 1938 (12 September) Hitler said: "It was natural that the Party which stood for a new community of the people should precisely because of this aim meet with no sympathy from the Jewish wire-pullers of the Proletarian World-Revolution. And the fact that the Party had recognized Jewry for what it was and seen through it and had made its removal an essential point in its own programme did but add further reason for the hatred and opposition of the Jews." . . .

"When the question is still put to us why National Socialism fights with such fanaticism against the Jewish element in Germany, why it pressed and still presses for its removal then the answer can only be: Because National Socialism desires to establish a true community of the people. . . . Because we are National Socialists we can never suffer an alien race which has nothing to do with us to claim the leadership of our working people."¹

With this may be compared what Hitler said in his speech in the Reichstag on 30 January 1937: "The sole aim of the National Socialist Revolution was to secure for the whole German people the possibility not merely of an economic, but also of a political activity. The scope of that effort is, we admit, limited to the elements which belong to our own people: we refuse to permit to an alien race any influence upon our political, spiritual, or cultural life or to allow to an alien any privileged position in the economic sphere."²

In his speech delivered in the Reichstag on 30 January 1939 Hitler said that in 1933 the only thing which united the opponents of National Socialism was "their common hatred of the young Movement, a hatred born of their

¹ V.B., 14 Sept. 1938.

² *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, v (1938), p. 31.

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guilty consciences and even worse intentions. As it still does to-day in other parts of the world, this united the priests of the Centre Party and Communist atheists, the Socialists out to abolish private property and capitalists whose interests were bound up with the Stock Exchange, Conservatives who wished to destroy the State, and Republicans whose aim was to destroy the Reich. During the long battle of National Socialism for the leadership of the country they had all come together in defence of their interests and had made common cause with Jewry. The bishop-politicians of the various Churches extended their hands in benediction over this union. . . . The rescue of Europe began at one end of the continent with Mussolini and Fascism. National Socialism continued this rescue in another part of Europe, and at the present moment we are witnessing in still a third country the same drama of a brave triumph over the Jewish international attempt to destroy European civilization." . . . To-day after six years "I am able to speak before the first Reichstag of Greater Germany. We are indeed perhaps better able than other generations to realize the full meaning of those pious words 'What a change by the grace of God!'"¹

Later in the same speech Hitler said: "The German nation has no feeling of hatred towards England, America, or France; all it wants is peace and quiet. But these other nations are continually being stirred up to hatred of Germany and the German people by Jewish and non-Jewish agitators. And so, should the war-mongers achieve what they are aiming at, our own people would be landed in a situation for which they would be psychologically quite unprepared and which they would thus fail to grasp. I therefore consider

¹ Authorized English translation published in pamphlet form by Müller & Sohn, Berlin, pp. 3-5. German Text: *V.B.*, 1 Feb. 1939.

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it necessary that from now on our propaganda and our Press should always make a point of answering these attacks, and above all bring them to the notice of the German people. The German nation must know who the men are who want to bring about a war by hook or by crook. It is my conviction that these people are mistaken in their calculations, for when once National Socialist propaganda is devoted to the answering of the attacks, we shall succeed just as we succeeded inside Germany herself in overcoming, through the convincing power of our propaganda, the Jewish world-enemy. The nations will in a short time realize that National Socialist Germany wants no enmity with other nations; that all the assertions as to our intended attacks on other nations are lies—lies born of morbid hysteria, or of a mania for self-preservation on the part of certain politicians; but that in certain States these lies are being used by unscrupulous profiteers to salvage their own finances. That, above all, international Jewry may hope in this way to satisfy its thirst for revenge and gain, but that on the other hand this is the grossest defamation which can be brought to bear on a great and peace-loving nation. Never, for instance, have German soldiers fought on American soil, unless it was in the cause of American independence and freedom; but American soldiers were brought to Europe to help strangle a great nation which was fighting for its freedom. Germany did not attack America, but America attacked Germany, and, as the Committee of Investigation of the American House of Representatives concluded: from purely capitalist motives, without any other cause. But there is one thing that everyone should realize: these attempts cannot influence Germany in the slightest as to the way in which she settles her Jewish problem. On the contrary, in connexion with the Jewish question I have this to say:

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it is a shameful spectacle to see how the whole democratic world is oozing sympathy for the poor tormented Jewish people, but remains hard-hearted and obdurate when it comes to helping them—which is surely, in view of its attitude, an obvious duty. The arguments that are brought up as an excuse for not helping them actually speak for us Germans and Italians.”

“For this is what they say:

“(1) ‘We’, that is the democracies, ‘are not in a position to take in the Jews.’ Yet in these empires there are not even 10 people to the square kilometre. While Germany, with her 135 inhabitants to the square kilometre, is supposed to have room for them!”

“(2) ‘They assure us: We cannot take them unless Germany is prepared to allow them a certain amount of capital to bring with them as immigrants.’”

“For hundreds of years Germany was good enough to receive these elements, although they possessed nothing except infectious political and physical diseases. What they possess to-day, they have to by far the largest extent gained at the cost of the less astute German nation by the most reprehensible manipulations.”

“To-day we are merely paying this people what it deserves. When the German nation was, thanks to the inflation instigated and carried through by Jews, deprived of the entire savings which it had accumulated in years of honest work, when the rest of the world took away the German nation’s foreign investments, when we were divested of the whole of our colonial possessions, these philanthropic considerations evidently carried little noticeable weight with democratic statesmen.”

“To-day I can only assure these gentlemen that, thanks to the brutal education with which the democracies favoured us for fifteen years, we are completely hardened to all attacks of sentiment. After more than

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eight hundred thousand children of the nation had died of hunger and undernourishment at the close of the War, we witnessed almost one million head of milking cows being driven away from us in accordance with the cruel paragraphs of a dictate which the humane democratic apostles of the world forced upon us as a peace treaty. We witnessed over one million German prisoners of war being retained in confinement for no reason at all for a whole year after the War was ended. We witnessed over one and a half million Germans being torn away from all that they possessed in the territories lying on our frontiers, and being whipped out with practically only what they wore on their backs. We had to endure having millions of our fellow countrymen torn from us without their consent, and without their being afforded the slightest possibility of existence. I could supplement these examples with dozens of the most cruel kind. For this reason we ask to be spared all sentimental talk. The German nation does not wish its interests to be determined and controlled by any foreign nation. France to the French, England to the English, America to the Americans, and Germany to the Germans. We are resolved to prevent the settlement in our country of a strange people which was capable of snatching for itself all the leading positions in the land, and to oust it. For it is our will to educate our own nation for these leading positions. We have hundreds of thousands of very intelligent children of peasants and of the working classes. We shall have them educated—in fact we have already begun—and we wish that one day they, and not the representatives of an alien race, may hold the leading positions in the State together with our educated classes. Above all, German culture, as its name alone shows, is German and not Jewish, and therefore its management and care will be entrusted to members of our own nation.

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If the rest of the world cries out with a hypocritical mien against this barbaric expulsion from Germany of such an irreplaceable and culturally eminently valuable element, we can only be astonished at the conclusions they draw from this situation. For how thankful they must be that we are releasing these precious apostles of culture, and placing them at the disposal of the rest of the world. In accordance with their own declarations they cannot find a single reason to excuse themselves for refusing to receive this most valuable race in their own countries. Nor can I see a reason why the members of this race should be imposed upon the German nation, while in the States, which are so enthusiastic about these 'splendid people', their settlement should suddenly be refused with every imaginable excuse. I think that the sooner this problem is solved the better; for Europe cannot settle down until the Jewish question is cleared up. It may very well be possible that sooner or later an agreement on this problem may be reached in Europe, even between those nations which otherwise do not so easily come together."

"The world has sufficient space for settlements, but we must once and for all get rid of the opinion that the Jewish race was only created by God for the purpose of being in a certain percentage a parasite living on the body and the productive work of other nations. The Jewish race will have to adapt itself to sound constructive activity as other nations do, or sooner or later it will succumb to a crisis of an inconceivable magnitude."

"One thing I should like to say on this day which may be memorable for others as well as for us Germans: In the course of my life I have very often been a prophet, and have usually been ridiculed for it. During the time of my struggle for power it was in the first instance the Jewish race which only received my prophecies with laughter when I said that I would one day take over the

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leadership of the State, and with it that of the whole nation, and that I would then among many other things settle the Jewish problem. Their laughter was uproarious, but I think that for some time now they have been laughing on the other side of their face. To-day I will once more be a prophet: If the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the bolshevization of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe!"

"For the time when the non-Jewish nations had no propaganda is at an end. National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy have institutions which enable them when necessary to enlighten the world about the nature of a question of which many nations are instinctively conscious, but which they have not yet clearly thought out. At the moment the Jews in certain countries may be fomenting hatred under the protection of a press, of the film, of wireless propaganda, of the theatre, of literature, &c., all of which they control. If this nation should once more succeed in inciting the millions which compose the nations into a conflict which is utterly senseless and only serves Jewish interests, then there will be revealed the effectiveness of an enlightenment which has completely routed the Jews in Germany in the space of a few years. The nations are no longer willing to die on the battle-field so that this unstable international race may profiteer from a war or satisfy its Old Testament vengeance. The Jewish watchword 'Workers of the world unite' will be conquered by a higher realization, namely 'Workers of all classes and of all nations, recognize your common enemy!'"¹

In speaking of Germany's relations with Japan Hitler said

¹ Authorized English translation, pp. 38 sqq.

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that these were determined by the recognition of the need to stem with all possible resolution the tide of the threatened bolshevization of a world gone blind. "The Anti-Comintern Pact will perhaps one day become the crystallization point of a group of Powers whose ultimate aim is none other than to eliminate the menace to the peace and culture of the world instigated by a satanic apparition. The Japanese nation which in the last two years has set us so many examples of glorious heroism is undoubtedly fighting in the service of civilization at the other side of the world. Her collapse would not benefit the civilized nations of Europe or of other parts of the world, but would only lead to the certain triumph of Bolshevism in the Far East. Apart from international Jewry which is desirous of this development, no people in the world can wish to see this take place. . . .¹ The addition of Hungary and Manchukuo to the Anti-Comintern Pact is a welcome symptom of the consolidation of world-wide resistance to the Jewish-international-Bolshevist threat to the people of the world."²

In the same speech Hitler said: "Recently endeavours have been made to place broadcasting, also, in the service of this international campaign of hate. With regard to this, I wish to make the following warning public: If the broadcasts sent from certain countries to Germany do not cease we will soon answer them. It is to be hoped that the statesmen of these countries will not then come to us within a short period of time with the urgent request for a return to normal conditions. For I believe, as I always have done, that our work of enlightenment will be more effective than the campaign of lies of those Jews who stir up hatred between the peoples. Announcements by American film companies that they intend to produce anti-Nazi—that is, anti-German—films, can but induce

¹ Authorized English translation, pp. 49-50. ² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

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us to produce anti-Semitic films in Germany. Here too our opponents should not permit themselves any delusions as to the effectiveness of what we can do. There will be very many States and peoples who will show great understanding for supplementary instruction of this kind on such an important subject!"

"We believe that if the Jewish international campaign of hatred by press and propaganda could be checked, good understanding could very quickly be established between the peoples. It is only such elements that hope steadfastly for a war."¹

*In his speech to the "Old Guard" at Munich on 24 February 1939 Hitler said that "the Jewish question was to-day no longer a German problem: it had become a world problem."*²

*In his speech at Wilhelmshaven on 1 April 1939 Hitler said: "Only when this Jewish bacillus infecting the life of peoples has been removed can one hope to establish a co-operation amongst the nations which shall be built up on a lasting understanding."*³

In his speech in the Reichstag on 28 April 1939, speaking of the results of the Treaty of Versailles for the German nation, Hitler said:

"Jewish parasites on the one side plundered the nation without pity and on the other side incited the impoverished masses. Since for this race the misfortune of our people became an end in itself, it was possible through the army of the unemployed which was thus created to breed those elements which were fitted to serve the cause of the Bolshevik Revolution."⁴

¹ Ibid., pp. 50-1.

² V.B., and F.Z., 26 Feb. 1939. In the brief printed summary of the speech there is no amplification of this statement.

³ V.B., 3 Apr. 1939.

⁴ Ibid., 29 Apr. 1939.

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Abbreviations: *Dokumente* = *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*; *Jahrbuch* (1935) = *Jahrbuch für Nationalsozialistische Wirtschaft*, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1935; *Jahrbuch* (1937) = *Jahrbuch der nationalsozialistischen Wirtschaft*, Munich, Eher, 1937; *Probleme* = *Probleme des deutschen Wirtschaftslebens* (Festschrift für Schacht), Berlin and Leipzig, De Gruyter, 1937.

In his speeches Hitler does not discuss in detail any of the measures through which the economic policy of the Third Reich has found expression, nor has he dealt with the economic organization of the National Socialist régime. Any attempt to outline the effect of those measures or to sketch the economic reorganization of Germany would therefore be irrelevant in this place. The student will naturally turn to such journals as *Der deutsche Volkswirt* (weekly, Berlin), *Wirtschaft und Statistik* (herausgegeben vom Statistischen Reichsamt, fortnightly, Berlin), and the *Vierteljahrshäfte zur Konjunkturforschung*, Hamburg. Here it must suffice to refer to some more general articles and books consulted by the present translator.

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- W. Rauber, "Aufbau und Aufgaben des Reichsnährstandes", *ibid.*, pp. 75-91.
- H. Merkel, "Bäuerliche Marktordnung", *ibid.*, pp. 92-105.
- Hans-Jürgen Seraphim, "Neuschaffung deutschen Bauerntums", *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, xciv (1935), pp. 145-54.
- Id., "Die Neuschaffung von Bauerntum und die Erzeugungsschlacht der deutschen Landwirtschaft", *ibid.* xcvi (1938), pp. 625-51.
- Claire Russell, "Die Marktordnung im Reichsnährstandsgewerbe", *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, xcvi (1936), pp. 695-730. (A study of the separate *Wirtschaftszweige*.)
- H. Reischle, "Die Entwicklung der Marktordnung des Reichsnährstandes in den Jahren 1935-36", *Jahrbuch* (1937), pp. 216-26.
- Raymond Bertrand, *Le Corporatisme agricole et l'Organisation des Marchés en Allemagne* (= Bibliothèque de Science économique, ed. Bertrand Nogaro, vol. 1). Paris, Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1937 (pp. 349).
- Marie P. Jasny, "Some Aspects of German Agricultural Settlement", *Political Science Quarterly*, lii (1937), pp. 208-40.
- Speech of Darré at Nuremberg on 10 September 1937 on "Die Ergebnisse von vier Jahren nationalsozialistischer Agrarpolitik", *Dokumente*, v (1938), pp. 329-38.
- Darré, "The National Food Estate" in *Germany Speaks*, London, Thornton Butterworth, 1938, pp. 148-57.
- Speech of Darré at Goslar on 27 November 1938, *Dokumente*, vi (1939), pp. 552-74.
- For a recent encyclopaedic work on German agriculture: ed. K. Meyer, *Gefüge und Ordnung der deutschen Landwirtschaft*. Berlin, Reichsnährstand Verlag, 1939, pp. 752, and for a comparative study of agricultural conditions: Max Sering, "Die agrarischen Grundlagen der Sozialverfassung: Großbritannien — Deutschland — Südslawische Länder", in *Probleme*, pp. 823-60; with this compare P. Lamartine Yates, *Food Production in Western Europe. An Economic Survey of*

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Agriculture in Six Countries, being the Report of an Inquiry organized by Viscount Astor and B. Seeborn Rowntree. Foreword by Sir William Beveridge. London, Longmans Green & Co., 1940 (with illustrations and maps). Germany: pp. 411-509; section I, "Crops and Stock", pp. 411 sqq.; II, "Farms and Farmers", pp. 438 sqq.; III, "Agriculture in the Service of the Nation", pp. 472 sqq.; and in Part VIII on "Conclusions" see in particular "The Planning of Agriculture", pp. 551 sqq.

For women in German agriculture cf.:

M. Sering and C. von Dietze, *Deutsche Agrarpolitik auf geschichtlicher und landeskundlicher Grundlage*: vol. iii, M. B. von Brand, I. Kisker, L. Roeske, and T. Walter, *Die Frau in der deutschen Landwirtschaft* (in the series of *Schriften der internationalen Konferenz für Agrarwissenschaft*). Berlin, Vahlen, 1939 (many tables of statistics and full bibliographies).

Labour and Manufacturers

For the campaign against unemployment there is much material in the general books on economic life in Germany already mentioned. For the *Gesetz zur Verminderung der Arbeitslosigkeit* (1 June 1933), text in *Dokumente*, i (1935), pp. 196-201; for the *Gesetz zur Regelung des Arbeitseinsatzes* (15 May 1934): text *ibid.*, ii (1936), pp. 180-3.

For a list giving in chronological order "Die wichtigsten arbeitsrechtlichen Maßnahmen der Jahre 1933 bis 1938" see F. Seldte, *Sozialpolitik im Dritten Reich*, Munich and Berlin, Beck, 1939, pp. 47-50. For a complete summary of labour legislation in Germany from 30 January 1933 to 30 January 1937 see *Jahrbuch* (1937), pp. 451-624. For a useful codification of German labour legislation: W. Herschel, *Neues Arbeitsrecht nebst den noch geltenden älteren Vorschriften*. 5th edition, Leipzig, Kohlhammer, 1937 (*Neugestaltung von Recht und Wirtschaft*, ed. C. Schaeffer, Heft 19).

For the background reference may be made to:

Frieda Wunderlich, *Labor under German Democracy. Arbitration 1918-1933*. New York, The Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, New School for Social Research 1940 (= Supplement II of *Social Research*, an International Quarterly of Political and Social Science).

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Rationalization of German Industry. New York, National Industrial Conference Board, 1931 (pp. xv, 182).

Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der Arbeiterbewegung. Ein Blick in die Gemeinwirtschaft. Herausgegeben vom Bezirksausschuß des Allgemeinen Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes Berlin-Brandenburg-Grenzmark. Berlin, Verlagsgesellschaft des Allgemeinen Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes, 1928. Fully illustrated.

Theodor Böhme, *Die christlich-nationale Gewerkschaft* (=Tübinger wirtschaftswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, ed. Carl Johannes Fuchs, Heft 4). Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1930 (pp. xi, 392). With full bibliography.

Th. Leipart, *Die Kulturaufgaben der Gewerkschaften.* Berlin, Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, 1932. Speech delivered on 14 Oct. 1932.

C. Rothe, *Die Front der Gewerkschaften.* Jena, Diederich, 1932.

Kenneth Ingram Wiggs, *Unemployment in Germany since the War* (= London School of Economics and Political Science Studies in Economics and Commerce, No. 1, edd. A. Plant, L. Robins, and A. J. Sargent). London, P. S. King & Son, 1933 (pp. ix, 216).

For the battle against unemployment cf. the speech by Reinhardt transmitted by wireless on 11 July 1933: *Dokumente*, i (1935), pp. 201-4, and see Reinhardt, *Die Arbeitsschlacht der Reichsregierung.* Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1933.

K. Schiller, *Arbeitsbeschaffung und Finanzordnung in Deutschland* in the series *Zum Wirtschaftlichen Schicksal Europas*, II. Teil, Arbeiten zur deutschen Problematik, ed. C. Brinkmann: Heft 4. Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1936.

Bruno Kieseewetter, *Die wirtschaftlichen Erfolge des ersten Vierjahresplans* (Schriften der Hochschule für Politik, ed. P. Meier-Benneckenstein, Series I, Idee und Gestalt des Nationalsozialismus, Heft 33). Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1938.

Gebt mir vier Jahre Zeit! Dokumente zum ersten Vierjahresplan des Führers von Alfred-Ingemar Berndt, unter Mitarbeit von Dr. Erich Schrötter. Mit einem Geleitwort von Reichsminister Dr. Joseph Goebbels. 3rd edn., Munich, Eher, 1937 (pp. 253). Propaganda for the achievement of the Third Reich.

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For a survey of the development of unemployment relief since before 1914 cf. Karl Goerdeler, "Die deutsche Arbeitslosen-fürsorge", *Jahrbuch der Kommunalwissenschaft*, iii (1936), Part i, pp. 51-81, and cf. L. Hilberath, "Zur Ideengeschichte der öffentlichen Arbeitsbeschaffung", *ibid.*, ii (1935), Part ii, pp. 161-89 (with bibliographical references).

The fundamental law for the organization of labour in German factories was the *Gesetz zur Ordnung der nationalen Arbeit* of 20 January 1934. Text in *Dokumente*, ii (1936), pp. 131-51, or in *Reichsgesetzblatt*, i. 45 with its complement, the *Gesetz zur Ordnung der Arbeit in öffentlichen Verwaltungen und Betrieben* of 23 March 1934, text in W. Hoche, *Die Gesetzgebung des Kabinetts Hitler*, Heft 7, Berlin, Vahlen, 1934, pp. 359-66. A bibliographical note on commentaries upon these laws will be found in *Dokumente*, ii (1936), p. 131. There is a valuable introduction to the former law (especially on the juristic side) in A. Nikisch, *Das Gesetz zur Ordnung der nationalen Arbeit*, Leipzig, Quelle & Meyer (no date).

On 24 October 1934 there was published a "Verordnung des Führers über die deutsche Arbeitsfront", *Dokumente*, ii (1936), pp. 153-4, but Hitler consistently refused to issue a general law fixing the organization and scope of the activities of the Labour Front; it was to grow naturally.

For the Arbeitsfront see the speeches of Robert Ley collected in *Wir alle helfen dem Führer*. Munich, Eher, 1937. For Ley's scheme of technical education see in particular *ibid.*, pp. 65-84. (The adulation of Hitler in these speeches is remarkable; he is the "Führer alles Guten in der gesamten Welt" p. 57; "Adolf Hitler ist unser Glaubensbekenntnis" p. 102; "Der Führer hat immer Recht" p. 107).

For Ley see

Dr. Robert Ley und sein Weg mit dem deutschen Arbeiter zum Führer: herausgegeben von Prof. Heinrich Hoffmann, Reichsbildberichterstatte der NSDAP. (with a preface by Walther Funk: "Einleitende Betrachtung" by Walter Kiehl). Munich, Verlag Heinrich Hoffmann, 1940. Pp. 96. (5 pp. of letterpress, the rest photographs), and see further

Günter Kaufmann, *Der Reichsberufswettkampf. Die berufliche Aufrüstung der deutschen Jugend* (= Schriften der Deutschen Hochschule für Politik, Series II, Der organisatorische

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Aufbau des Dritten Reiches, Heft 3-4). Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1935.

Bernhard Köhler, *Das Recht auf Arbeit als Wirtschaftsprinzip* (= Schriften der Deutschen Hochschule für Politik, ed. P. Meier-Benneckenstein, Heft 11). Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1934.

Taylor Cole, "The Evolution of the German Labour Front", *Political Science Quarterly*, lii (1937), pp. 532-58.

There is a brief summary of the organization of the Labour Front in C. Selzner, *Die deutsche Arbeitsfront, Idee und Gestalt* (Schriften der Deutschen Hochschule für Politik, ed. P. Meier-Benneckenstein, II, Der organisatorische Aufbau des Dritten Reiches, Heft 5). Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1935: a full and more recent treatment of the whole subject, tracing the successive stages of the development of the *Arbeitsfront*, will be found in W. Müller, *Das soziale Leben im neuen Deutschland mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Arbeitsfront*. Berlin, Mittler, 1938 (with instructive diagrams). Müller's study does not deal with the finance of the *Arbeitsfront*: there is a useful section on this subject in J. Doublet, *Le Front du Travail Allemand* (Centre d'Études de politique étrangère. Section d'information. Publication N° 10). Paris, Hartmann, 1937 (with a bibliography).

For the functions of the *Arbeitsfront* cf. the speech of Schacht (14 September 1935), *Dokumente*, iii (1937), pp. 177-9, and the report rendered by Ley on 13 September 1935, *ibid.*, pp. 168-77. Of the early days of the *Arbeitsfront* there is a surprisingly frank and vivid account in the speech of Ley of 11 September 1937, *ibid.* v (1938), pp. 366-76. See further F. Mende, "Arbeitsfront und Sozialpolitik", *Jahrbuch* (1937), pp. 87-94.

The Labour Service (*Arbeitsdienst*) was at first constituted on a voluntary basis: see the proclamation of Hierl on 4 May 1933: *Dokumente*, i (1935), pp. 244-7, and the speech of Rust on Labour Service for University Students (16 May 1933), *ibid.*, pp. 247-51. For the National Socialist conception of the social significance of the *Arbeitsdienst* see the speech of Hierl to the students of Berlin University (20 January 1934) *ibid.* ii (1936), pp. 248-50, and his *Aufruf* for 1 May 1934, issued on 27 April 1934, *ibid.*, pp. 250-1. The law regulating the voluntary Labour Service for Women was issued on 13 December 1934; text: *ibid.*, p. 251. The final law making the Labour Service compulsory was issued on 26 June

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1935: for the text of this *Reichsarbeitsdienstgesetz* see *ibid.* iii (1937), pp. 249-54. By an *Erlaß* dated 26 September 1936 the period of service was fixed at six months and the strength at 230,000; text, *ibid.* iv (1937), pp. 234-5. By a regulation of 15 August 1936 the voluntary Labour Service for Women was placed under the control of the Reichsarbeitsführer (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, i, p. 633). As a result of the Nuremberg Laws a law of 19 March 1937 enacted (Article i) "Juden werden zum Reichsarbeitsdienst nicht zugelassen. Jüdische Mischlinge können nicht Vorgesetzte im Reichsarbeitsdienst werden": *ibid.* v (1938), pp. 383-4 and cf. note 1 on p. 384. By an *Erlaß* of 24 November 1937 the strength of the Labour Service after 1 October 1938 was fixed for the winter semester at two-fifths of the number of the conscripts for the army summoned to the colours in any year and at three-fifths of such conscripts for the summer semester, while from 1 April 1939 the strength of the Women's Labour Service was to be raised to 30,000; text of *Erlaß* *ibid.* v (1938), pp. 384-5. On 4 September 1939 that strength was raised to 100,000, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, i, p. 1693.

On the Labour Service mention may be made of Konstantin Hierl, "Sinn und Zweck des Arbeitsdienstes", *Zeitschrift für Politik*, xxiv (1934), pp. 707-12, a speech at Nuremberg Parteitag 1934; Will Decker, "Die Volkserziehung im Arbeitsdienst", *ibid.*, pp. 713-16; Hermann Tholens, "Arbeitsdienst und Wirtschaftsgestaltung", *ibid.*, pp. 717-20; Fritz Edel, "Die Leistungen des deutschen Arbeitsdienstes", *ibid.*, pp. 721-8; and cf. Müller-Brandenburg, "Der Arbeitsdienst bei den Anderen", *ibid.*, xxiii (1934), pp. 498-507.

For the literature on the subject see further Erich F. Berendt, "Aus dem Schrifttum über Arbeitsdienst und Arbeitsdienstpflicht", *ibid.*, xxiv (1934), pp. 756-60, and cf. Will Decker, *Die politische Aufgabe des Arbeitsdienstes* (= Schriften der Deutschen Hochschule für Politik, Series I, Idee und Gestalt des Nationalsozialismus, Heft 15). Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1935; Id., *Der deutsche Arbeitsdienst. Ziele, Leistungen und Organisation des Reichsarbeitsdienstes* (= Schriften der Deutschen Hochschule für Politik, Series II, Der organisatorische Aufbau des Dritten Reiches, Heft 14). Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1937; Müller-Brandenburg (Senior Labour Leader), "The State Labour Service" in *Germany Speaks*, London, Thornton, Butterworth,

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1938, pp. 189-96; A. Krüger, *Der deutsche Arbeitsdienst als Baustein zum Dritten Reich*, Leipzig, Quelle & Meyer, 1935 (with bibliography); P. Seipp, *Formung und Auslese im Reichsarbeitsdienst*, Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1935 (with references to literature); G. Scholtz-Klink, *Aufbau des deutschen Frauenarbeitsdienstes* (in the series: Amtliche Schriften der Reichsleitung des nationalsozialistischen Arbeitsdienstes, Heft 14), Leipzig, Der Nationale Aufbau, no date; Fr. Hiller, *Der Frauenarbeitsdienst im Kampf um die Erneuerung Deutschlands* (= Volk und Welt, Heft 10), Langensalza, Berlin, Leipzig, Beltz, 1934, a description, with photographs, of the Women's Labour Service in Anhalt. Gertrud Zypries, *Der Arbeitsdienst für die weibliche Jugend* (= Schriften der Hochschule für Politik, Series II, Der organisatorische Aufbau des Dritten Reiches, Heft 17), Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1938. The *Arbeitsdienst* publishes an illustrated Annual: the *Jahrbuch des Reichsarbeitsdienstes*: the fourth yearly issue is that for 1940: ed. Müller-Brandenburg. Berlin, Volk und Reich Verlag, 1939.

For the action of the organization for workers' leisure and holidays "Kraft durch Freude" see e.g. Ley's report in his speech on 27 November 1937: *Dokumente*, v (1938), pp. 377-81, and see further Anatol von Hübbenet, *Die NS.-Gemeinschaft "Kraft durch Freude". Aufbau und Arbeit*. (=Schriften der Hochschule für Politik, ed. P. Meier-Benneckenstein, Series II, Der organisatorische Aufbau des Dritten Reiches, Heft 27-28), Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1939. Cf. also three speeches made by Ley in connexion with the "Weltkongreß für Freizeit und Erholung" (July 1936): R. Ley, *Wir alle helfen dem Führer* (see *supra*), pp. 177-93.

A reference may be added to:

H. Egloff, "Die Arbeit im Neuen Reich", *Jahrbuch* (1935), pp. 145-60.

Id., "Gestaltung des Arbeitsverhältnisses", *Jahrbuch* (1937), pp. 50-86.

F. Syrup, "Die Regelung des Arbeitseinsatzes", *ibid.*, pp. 35-49.

V. Wrede, "Staat und Wirtschaft", *Jahrbuch* (1935), pp. 36-50.

H. Brauweiler, "Vom Arbeitsrecht zur Ordnung der nationalen Arbeit", *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, xcvi (1936), pp. 149-75.

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And for the background of the National Socialist compulsory Labour Service cf. K. Jeserich, "Die allgemeine Arbeitsdienstpflicht; Idee, Entwicklung, gegenwärtiger Stand und Zukunft", *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, lxxiii (1932-3), pp. 82-101.

It was essential for National Socialist ideology that not only the workers but also the employers should be united in the *Arbeitsfront*: this led to the "Eingliederung der gewerblichen Wirtschaft in die Arbeitsfront" by the so-called Leipzig Agreement. For the text of this "Vereinbarung zwischen der deutschen Arbeitsfront und der gewerblichen Wirtschaft" of 26 March 1935 see *Dokumente*, iii (1937), pp. 162-4. By this agreement there was formed from the *Reichsarbeitskammer* and the *Reichswirtschaftskammer* the *Reichsarbeits- und Reichswirtschaftsrat* which was to form *Arbeitsausschüsse* composed of representatives of employers and of workmen. See the *Aufruf* of Ley (26 March 1935) *ibid.*, pp. 164-6; and see the new agreement of 5 November 1936 between Schacht and Ley in view of the second Four Years Plan whereby both undertook "die Arbeiten für die Ausführung des Leipziger Abkommens beschleunigt vorwärtszutreiben und in allen ihren Gliederungen gemeinschaftlich alle Arbeiten zu fördern, die zur Verwirklichung dieses Planes führen können". Text in R. Ley, *Wir alle helfen dem Führer*, Munich, Eher, 1937, p. 89. It does not appear that this Joint Council has been of much practical effect.

For National Socialist policy towards the employers' organizations, cartels, &c., and the changes of view of the Government towards such organizations see:

H. Levy, *Industrial Germany, a Study of its Monopoly Organisations and their control by the State*. Cambridge University Press, 1935.

H. Laufenburger and P. Pflimlin, *La Nouvelle Structure économique du Reich. Groupes, Cartels et Politique des Prix* (Centre d'Études de politique étrangère. Section d'Information. Publication N° 12). Paris, Hartmann, 1938.

Claire Russell, "Die Praxis des Zwangskartellgesetzes", *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, xcvi (1937), pp. 499-548.

And for the background see R. K. Michels, *Cartels, Combines and Trusts in Post-War Germany*. New York, Columbia

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University Press, 1928, which gives a survey of the action of cartels in special fields of industry, e.g. coal-mining, iron and steel, dyestuffs, &c. (with bibliography).

And on the subject of price fixing:

W. Rentrop, *Preisbildung und Preisüberwachung in der gewerblichen Wirtschaft* (Gesetz und Wirtschaft, ed. H. R. Fritzsche and H. Richter, Band III). Hamburg, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1937, pp. 128.

T. Becker, "Markt und Preis in der gewerblichen Wirtschaft", *Jahrbuch* (1935), pp. 129-44.

A. Reithinger, "Durch Wirtschaftsbeobachtung zur Wirtschaftsordnung", *ibid.*, pp. 106-18.

P. Wiel, "Preis und Preispolitik im Kriege", *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, xcix (1939), pp. 614-50.

T. Becker, "Gewerbliche Markt- und Preisordnung im Zeichen des Leistungswettbewerbs", *Jahrbuch* (1937), pp. 310-28.

A reference may be added to:

L. Heyde, *Deutsche Gewerbepolitik*. Breslau, Hirt, 1934 (with bibliography). Gives an account of National Socialist economic measures down to the end of October 1933.

A. Pietzsch, *Die Organisation der gewerblichen Wirtschaft* (=Schriften der Hochschule für Politik, ed. P. Meier-Benneckenstein, Series II, Der organisatorische Aufbau des Dritten Reiches, Heft 20.) Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1938.

P. Hilland, "Die Neuordnung der gewerblichen Wirtschaft", *Jahrbuch* (1935), pp. 119-28.

Bruno Kiesewetter, *Die neuen Aufgaben der deutschen Volkswirtschaft* (=Schriften der Deutschen Hochschule für Politik, Series I, Idee und Gestalt des Nationalsozialismus, Heft 26). Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1937.

E. Barth, "Der fachliche und regionale Aufbau der gewerblichen Wirtschaft", *Jahrbuch* (1937), pp. 262-88.

There is a useful (critical) survey of National Socialist economics in H. E. Priester, *Das deutsche Wirtschaftswunder*. Amsterdam, Querido Verlag, 1936 (pp. 360).

Finance

For the policy of Schacht as President of the Reichsbank:

Maurice de Saint-Jean, *La Politique économique et financière du Docteur Schacht*. Thèse: Université de Poitiers, Faculté de

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Droit, Poitiers, Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1936 (pp. 474) or under the title *La Politique économique et financière du Troisième Reich, L'Œuvre du Docteur Schacht*. Paris, Alcan, 1936.

Franz Reuter, *Schacht*. Stuttgart and Berlin, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1937. (A revision of an earlier work by the same author published in 1933.)

N. Mühlen, *Der Zauberer: Leben und Anleihen des Dr. Hjalmar Horace Greeley Schacht*. Zürich, Europa-Verlag, 1938. (English translation by E. W. Dickes, *Hitler's Magician. The Life and Loans of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht*. London, Routledge, 1938.)

H. Bertrand, *Le Docteur Schacht*. Paris, Gallimard, 1939. Carries the story down to 20 January 1939, the date at which for the second time Schacht resigned the Presidency of the Reichsbank. (In Schacht's own view this is the only satisfactory account of his policy.)

On the problem of Germany's indebtedness to foreign countries cf. Otto Meesmann, *Die deutschen Auslandsschulden und ihre Regelung*. Oldenburg, Stalling, 1933 (Preface dated August 1933); C. R. S. Harris, *Germany's Foreign Indebtedness*. London, Oxford University Press, 1935. And for the policy of the Reichsbank in the early days of National Socialist control see Max Roosen and Werner Kertscher, *Die Grundlagen der neuen Reichsbankpolitik*. 2nd edition, Hamburg, Lichte, 1935.

For Dr. Schacht's own explanation of his financial policy cf. the collection of his speeches (1931-3) published under the title *Nationale Kreditwirtschaft*, Berlin, Steegemann, 1934, especially the very interesting speech addressed "An die Beamtenschaft der Reichsbank nach der Wiederernennung zum Reichsbankpräsidenten" delivered on 21 April 1933, pp. 12-21; his speech of 29 November 1938 before the *Wirtschaftsrat* of the German Academy in Berlin, *Dokumente*, vi (1939), pp. 574-86, with which compare his speech at Essen on 29 September 1937, *ibid.* v (1938), pp. 346-54, at p. 349. For his view of the necessity for governmental control of economic life see his speech delivered on 14 September 1935, *ibid.* iii (1937), pp. 178-9, and see his essay "Germany's position in World Economy", in *Germany Speaks*, London, Thornton Butterworth, 1938, pp. 279-92. For Schacht's view compare his characteristic brief preface to Franz Döring, *Gold oder Papier?* (in the series *Das Neue Reich*, heraus-

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gegeben von der Deutschen Akademie). Munich, Callwey, 1933. "Fest im Grundsatz, beweglich in den Mitteln, das ist die Richtschnur unserer Reichsbankpolitik".

For the National Socialist financial policy reference may be made to a few speeches:

Reichswirtschaftsminister Schmitt (succeeded Hugenberg on 30 June 1933), before a circle of leading economists on 13 July 1933, *Dokumente*, i (1935), pp. 205-8; before the *Generalrat der Wirtschaft* on 20 September 1933 on the "Wirtschaftsplan der Reichsregierung", *ibid.*, pp. 209-15.

Schacht on National Socialist Bank Reform at Kiel on 26 January 1934, *ibid.* ii (1936), pp. 155-68; with which compare his speech to the *Zentralverband des deutschen Bank- und Bankier-Gewerbes* on 22 February 1934, *ibid.*, pp. 175-8.

Schacht on the "Schulden und Kreditproblem", speech at Bad Eilsen on 30 August 1934, *ibid.*, pp. 216-22.

Graf Schwerin von Krosigk at Kiel in the Institut für Weltwirtschaft on 27 November 1935 on National Socialist finance policy, *ibid.* iii (1937), pp. 183-95; and his speech at the Industrie-Klub at Düsseldorf (6 February 1936) on the same subject, *ibid.* iv (1937), pp. 239-54.

Staatssekretär Reinhardt at the Nuremberg *Parteitag* 11 September 1937 on "Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft unter nationalsozialistischer Führung", *ibid.* v (1938), pp. 338-46.

For the background of National Socialist controlled economy see M. B. Northrop, *Control Policies of the Reichsbank 1924-33*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1938 (pp. 405), and for a general description of German banks: K. Mellorowicz, *Die öffentlichen Banken in der deutschen Bankwirtschaft*. Berlin, Heymann, 1934.

There may further be mentioned:

Banksystem im Umbau. Frankfurt, Societäts-Verlag, 1933. Reprint of a series of articles from the *F.Z.*

Otto Christian Fischer, *Das Bankwesen im nationalsozialistischen Staat* (= Die neue Wirtschaft. I. Abteilung: Ziele und Gestaltung, ed. O. C. Fischer, Heft 1). Berlin, Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1934.

Léon Proscour, *La Crise des Banques de Crédit en Allemagne depuis 1931*. Paris, Pedone, 1935.

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- M. F. Guichard, "Die Neuordnung des deutschen Geld-, Kredit- und Börsenwesens", *Jahrbuch* (1935), pp. 161-82.
- Claire Russell, "Reich und Kreditwesen: die öffentlichen Rechtsformen der deutschen Kreditwirtschaft", *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, xcvi (1936), pp. 175-226.
- O. C. Fischer, "Das deutsche Bankwesen, Strukturwandlungen und Neubau", in *Probleme*, pp. 83-162.
- K. Wiedenfeld, "Die Kreditbanken im Welthandel", *ibid.*, pp. 697-745.
- Schwerin von Krosigk, "Reichshaushalt und Reichsfinanzen", *ibid.*, pp. 445-80.
- J. Gebhardt, "Die Finanzkraft des Reiches", *Jahrbuch* (1937), pp. 128-43.
- M. F. Guichard, "Das Geld- und Kreditwesen im ersten Vierjahresplan", *ibid.*, pp. 167-86.
- F. Reinhardt, "Financial Policy" in *Germany Speaks*, London, Thornton Butterworth, 1938, pp. 131-47.

On currency problems:

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- H. Troeger, "Das Devisenproblem", *Jahrbuch* (1935), pp. 203-19.
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OFFICIAL PARTY MANIFESTO

On the position of the NSDAP. with regard to the Farming Population and Agriculture, Munich, 6 March 1930

1. Importance of the Farming Class and of Agriculture to the German People.

The German nation obtains a considerable portion of its food by the importation of foreign foodstuffs. Before the World War we were able to pay for these imports with our industrial exports, our trade, and our deposits of capital abroad. The outcome of the War put an end to this possibility.

To-day we are paying for our imported food mostly with the help of foreign loans, which drive the German nation deeper and deeper into debt-slavery to the international financiers who provide credits. If things go on as they are the German people will become more and more impoverished. The financiers, by cutting off their credits, and therefore the imports of foodstuffs—that is, by hanging the bread-bin out of reach—can, above all, compel the German proletarians to work in their service for starvation wages, or to allow themselves to be shipped as wage-slaves to foreign colonies.

The only possibility of escaping from this thralldom lies in the ability of Germany to produce essential food-

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stuffs at home. *The increased production of German agriculture is therefore a question of life and death for the German nation.*

Moreover, a rural population, economically sound, with abundant purchasing power, is essential to our industry, which will in future have to look for more and more openings in the home market.

We not only recognize the predominant importance of the working classes for our nation, but we also see in the rural population, as the principal bearers of the nation's inheritance of health, the source of the nation's youth, and the backbone of its defensive forces.

The maintenance of an efficient agricultural class, increasing in numbers as the general population increases, is a cornerstone of the National Socialist policy, since this is directed towards the welfare of all our people in the generations to come.

2. Neglect of the Farming Class and of Agriculture in the present German State.

By disregard of the biological and economic importance of the farming population, and by opposition to the vitally necessary demand for increased agricultural production, the maintenance of an economically sound farming population in the German State is to-day seriously threatened.

The considerable increase in agricultural production which is in itself quite possible is being hindered by the fact that owing to their increasing indebtedness the farmers are unable to acquire the necessary stock, and because the stimulus to increased production is lacking, since farming no longer pays.

The reasons why farming is no longer profitable are to be sought:

1. In the existing *fiscal policy*, which lays excessive

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burdens on agriculture. This is due to Party considerations, and because the Jewish world money-market—which actually controls parliamentary democracy in Germany—wishes to destroy German agriculture, since this would place the German nation, and especially the working class, completely at its mercy;

2. In the competition of foreign agriculture, which enjoys more favourable conditions, and is insufficiently checked by the fiscal policy, which is hostile to German agriculture;

3. In the extravagant profits of wholesale trade, which thrusts itself in between the producer and consumer of agricultural produce, and of which the greater part is to-day in the hands of the Jews;

4. In the oppressive rates which the farmer has to pay for electric power and artificial manures to concerns mainly run by Jews.

The high taxation cannot be met out of the poor returns for labour on the land. The farmer is forced to run into debt and to pay usurious interest for loans. He sinks deeper and deeper under this tyranny, and in the end forfeits house and farm to the money-lender, who is usually a Jew.

The German farming population is being expropriated.

3. In the Reich of the Future for which we are working the Rights of the German Soil will be respected and there will be a German Agricultural Policy.

There can be no hope of any sweeping improvement in the desperate position of the rural population, or of a revival of agriculture, as long as the German Government is in fact controlled by the international money-magnates, with the help of the parliamentary-democratic system of government, since they wish to destroy the national strength of Germany.

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In the new and very different German State to which we aspire the farming population and agriculture will receive the consideration due to their importance as the main support of a truly national German State.

From this emerge the following requirements:

1. The soil of Germany, acquired and defended by the German people, serves the German nation as a home and as a means of livelihood. It must be administered in this sense by the individual owner of the soil.

2. Only members of the German nation may possess land.

3. Land legally acquired by them shall be regarded as inheritable property. To the right to hold property, however, is attached the obligation to use it in the national interest. Special courts shall be appointed to supervise this obligation; these shall consist of representatives from all departments of the land-holding class, and one representative of the State.

4. German soil may not become an object of financial speculation, nor may it provide an unearned income for its owner. It may be acquired only by him who is prepared to cultivate it himself. Therefore the State has a right of pre-emption on every sale of land.

It is forbidden to pledge land to private lenders. The necessary loans for cultivation will be granted to farmers for cultivation either by associations recognized by the State, or by the State itself.

5. Dues will be paid to the State for the use of land according to the extent and quality of the property. By this tax on the produce of the soil any further taxation of agricultural land or agriculture will be obviated.

6. No hard-and-fast rule can be laid down as to the size of agricultural holdings. From the point of view of our population policy large numbers of prosperous small- and middle-sized farms are all-important. Farming on a

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large scale, however, has its special and *necessary* part to play, and if it preserves a sound relation towards the smaller farms it is justifiable.

7. The inheritance of landed property will be so regulated by a law of inheritance as to prevent subdivision of property and the accumulation of debt upon it.

8. The State has the right to confiscate, on payment of adequate indemnity:

- (a) Land which is not in the possession of German nationals;
- (b) Land which—according to the judgement of the competent land court—is no longer serving towards the maintenance of the people, owing to bad and irresponsible exploitation;
- (c) Parts of large estates not exploited by the owner himself, for the purpose of settling a free peasantry;
- (d) Land required for special State purposes in the interests of the community as a whole (e.g. for communications and for national defence).

Land acquired illegally (according to German law) may be confiscated without compensation.

9. It is the duty of the State to settle such land as becomes available, on methodical lines, in accordance with a general population policy.

The land shall be allotted to settlers as a hereditary possession under conditions which shall make a livelihood possible.

Settlers shall be selected by examination as to their civic and professional suitability. Special favour shall be shown to sons of farmers who have not the right to inherit (see § 7).

The colonization of the Eastern frontiers is of predominant importance. In this case the mere establishment of farms will not be sufficient, but it will be

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necessary to develop country towns in connexion with the new branch of industry. This is the only way to provide marketing possibilities which will make the smaller farms a paying proposition.

It will be the duty of Germany's foreign policy to provide large spaces for the nourishment and settlement of the growing population of Germany.

4. The Farming Class must be uplifted Economically and Educationally.

It is the duty of the State to promote the economic and cultural uplifting of the farming population, conformably with its importance to the nation as a whole, and thereby to remove one of the chief causes of the flight from the land.

1. The present poverty of the land population must be at once relieved by remissions of taxation and other special measures. Further indebtedness must be checked by statutory reduction of the rate of interest on loans to that of the pre-War period, and by summary action against extortionate creditors.

2. It must be the State's agricultural policy to see to it that farming be made to pay once more.

German agriculture must be protected by tariffs, State regulation of imports, and a scheme of national training.

The fixing of prices for agricultural produce must be withdrawn from the influence of Stock Exchange speculation, and a stop must be put to the exploitation of the agricultural interest by the large middlemen, the transfer of whose business to agricultural co-operative associations must be encouraged by the State.

It shall be the task of such professional organizations to reduce the running expenses of farmers and increase production. (Provision of implements, manures, seed

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and breeding stock, on favourable conditions, improvements, war against vermin, free advice, chemical research, &c.) The State shall provide generous assistance to the professional organizations in carrying out their task. In particular the State must insist on a considerable reduction in the cost to farmers of artificial manures and electric power.

3. It will also be the duty of the professional organizations to establish the class of farm labourers as members of the farming community by contracts which are socially just. Supervision and arbitration in these matters will be the function of the State.

It must be made possible for good labourers to rise to the status of farm-owners.

The necessary improvements in living conditions and wages of farm labourers will ensue as soon as the general farming situation improves. When these conditions take a turn for the better it will be no longer necessary to employ foreign labour on the land, and this custom will in future be forbidden.

4. The national importance of the farming class requires that the State shall promote technical education in agriculture. (Homes for children of farmers, agricultural high-schools, with very favourable terms for talented boys without means.)

5. Professional Agricultural Organizations cannot provide all the Assistance required by the Farming Class. Only the Political Liberation Movement of the NSDAP. can do this.

The rural population are poor because the whole German nation is poor. It is an error to imagine that one single class of workers can escape sharing the fortunes of the German community as a whole—and a

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crime to incite jealousy between the rural population and the cities, as these are bound together for good or ill.

Economic assistance under the present political system cannot produce any sweeping improvement, for the poverty of the German people is rooted in its political enslavement, from which only political means can liberate it. The old political Parties, which were, and are, responsible for the national enslavement, cannot be our leaders on the road to freedom.

There are important economic tasks awaiting professional organizations in our future State; even now they can do much preparatory work in that direction; but they are not adapted to the political struggle of liberation which is to lay the foundation of a new economic order; since that battle will have to be fought not from the point of view of a single profession, but from that of the whole nation.

The battle for freedom against our oppressors and their task-masters can be fought successfully only by a political movement of liberation, comprising the German-conscious of all ranks and classes, and fully acknowledging the importance of the rural population and agriculture for the nation as a whole.

This political liberation movement of the German people is the NSDAP.

(Signed) ADOLF HITLER.¹

Otto Strasser in his final talk with Hitler (22 May 1930) was arguing in favour of economic autarky for Germany and complete control over foreign trade: Hitler replied:

"That is the worst kind of theorizing and abominable dilettantism. Do you really believe that we can ever cut ourselves off from world-economics? We are bound to import all important raw materials, and we are not

¹ Cited from *Hitler's Official Programme and its Fundamental Ideas*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1938, pp. 29-37.

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less bound to export the goods manufactured by us. I have received reports, particularly during recent months, from East Asia and elsewhere depicting the necessity for this mutual intercourse in world-economics and we cannot stop this development nor do we wish to do so. On the contrary our task is to organize on a large scale the whole world so that each country produces what it can best produce while the white race, the Nordic race, undertakes the organization of this gigantic plan. Believe me, National Socialism as a whole would be worth nothing if it were restricted merely to Germany and did not seal the supremacy of the superior (*hochwertigen*) Race over the entire world for at least a thousand to two thousand years. That must not, it is true, be bound up with any exploitation of the other race, for the lower race is destined for tasks different from those of the higher race: the latter must have in its hands the control, and this control must remain with us in common with the Anglo-Saxons."

*Otto Strasser, supported by his brother, urged the necessity for as great an autarky as possible for Germany: Hitler answered that he, too, regarded such an autarky as the distant goal to be aimed at, but that would not be possible at the earliest for another hundred years, since Germany could not do without the exchange of goods through world-economics.*¹

On 4-December 1931 Hitler spoke to a meeting of Press representatives, mainly English and American. He said that Germany cannot pay both political debts and private commercial debts without exporting on a scale which could only be described as mad and which could only lead to world-wide economic chaos. The National Socialists acknowledged commercial debts as between one merchant

¹ Otto Strasser, *Ministersessel oder Revolution?* pp. 24-5.

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and another and were prepared to pay these if Germany were enabled to do so. But they refused to submit to political extortion. Everything depended upon whether the world was going to allow France to insist on priority for political exactions. It was a question of what one could, not what one would.

At this meeting Hitler laid down three main economic aims: a ruthless reduction of the huge German administrative apparatus, an equally ruthless throttling of imports, and the elimination of political obligations. *He advanced the theory that if by not buying unnecessary foreign products, especially foodstuffs, a milliard marks were kept in the country, it would stimulate the home market and, with a turnover six or seven times a year, be in effect equivalent to six or seven milliards.*¹

In an interview with a representative of the Associated Press in August 1932, in answer to the question whether the National Socialist Movement's opposition to the big industrial concerns meant that he wanted all large factories and businesses to be abolished, Hitler said:

"I would not be so silly as to try to eliminate all large concerns. You cannot build railway engines in a blacksmith's shop nor ocean liners in a rowing-boat shed. You must remember, however, that we live close to a country where Communism is exclusively preached and where an attempt is made to put it into effect. We also have millions of unemployed in our country."

"It would not do to have wealth and property concentrated in the hands of a few people or a few concerns. When this property is wisely distributed amongst millions of our people—that is when everybody has their share of the goods of the world—then we hope to supply the proper offset to the Communists' ideas."

¹ *The Times*, 5 Dec. 1931.

"We want our middle class, which is becoming poorer and poorer and whose means of livelihood are cut off more and more by large business concerns, to be placed in a position where they can have their share in these goods."¹

The speech which Hitler delivered at the Industry Club (Industrie-Klub) in Düsseldorf on 27 January 1932 is one of his greatest triumphs as an orator: through it he won the support of the captains of industry in Western Germany. "The 27th of January will ever remain a memorable day in the history of the NSDAP."² I have therefore translated the whole speech. It is highly characteristic of Hitler's oratorical technique and deserves careful study.³

"If to-day the National Socialist Movement is regarded amongst widespread circles in Germany as being hostile to our business life,⁴ I believe the reason for this view is to be found in the fact that we adopted towards the events which determined the development leading to our present position an attitude which differed from that of all the other organizations which are of any importance in our public life. Even now our outlook differs in many points from that of our opponents."

"Our conviction is that our present distress has not its final and deepest cause in general world-happenings which would therefore from the outset more or less exclude any possibility for a single people to better its

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 20 Aug. 1932.

² See the chapter *Industriekapitäne am Scheidewege* in Otto Dietrich's book *Mit Hitler in die Macht*, 27th edition, Munich, Eher, 1938, pp. 46 sqq.

³ The German text of the speech was published in pamphlet form: *Vortrag Adolf Hitlers vor westdeutschen Wirtschaftlern im Industrie-Klub zu Düsseldorf am 27. Januar 1932*. Munich, Eher, [1932], pp. 31.

⁴ I take this to be the sense of the German: *antiwirtschaftlich*.

position. If it were true that the cause of distress in Germany is to be found solely in a so-called world-crisis from which none can escape—a world-crisis on the course of which we as a people could naturally exercise no influence or at best only an infinitesimal influence—then we should be forced to characterize Germany's future as hopeless. How should a state of affairs be altered for which no one is directly responsible? In my judgement the view that the world-crisis is solely responsible must as its result lead to a dangerous pessimism. It is but natural that the more the causes of a particular state of affairs are withdrawn from any possibility of improvement through the efforts of individuals, the more the individual will despair of ever being able to alter such a state of affairs. And the consequence must gradually be a certain lethargy, an indifference, and in the end perhaps despair."

"I regard it as of the first importance to break once and for all with the view that our destiny is conditioned by world-events. It is not true that our distress has its final cause in a world-crisis, in a world-catastrophe: the true view is that we have reached a state of general crisis, because from the first certain mistakes were made. I must not say 'According to the general view the Peace Treaty of Versailles is the cause of our misfortune'. What is the Peace Treaty of Versailles but the work of men? It is not a burden which has been imposed or laid upon us by Providence. It is the work of men for which, it goes without saying, once again men with their merits or their failings must be held responsible. If this were not so, how should men ever be able to set aside this work at all? I am of the opinion that there is nothing which has been produced by the will of man which cannot in its turn be altered by another human will."

"Both the Peace Treaty of Versailles together with all the consequences of that Treaty have been the result of a policy which perhaps fifteen, fourteen, or thirteen years ago was regarded as the right policy, at least in the enemy-States, but which from our point of view was bound to be regarded as fatal when ten or less years ago its true character was disclosed to millions of Germans and now to-day stands revealed in its utter impossibility. I am bound therefore to assert that there must of necessity have been in Germany, too, some responsibility for these happenings if I am to have any belief that the German people can exercise some influence towards changing these conditions."

"It is also in my view false to say that life in Germany to-day is solely determined by considerations of foreign policy, that the primacy of foreign policy governs to-day the whole of our domestic life. Certainly a people can reach the point when foreign relations influence and determine completely its domestic life. But let no one say that such a condition is from the first either natural or desirable. Rather the important thing is that a people should create the conditions for a change in this state of affairs."

"If anyone says to me that its foreign politics is primarily decisive for the life of a people, then I must first ask: what then is the meaning of the term 'Politics'? There is a whole series of definitions. Frederick the Great said 'Politics is the art of serving one's State with every means'. Bismarck's explanation was that 'Politics is the Art of the Possible', starting from the conception that advantage should be taken of every possibility to serve the State—and, in the later transformation of the idea of the State into the idea of nationalities, the Nation. Another considers that this service rendered to the people can be effected by military as well as peaceful

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action: for Clausewitz says that war is the continuation of politics though with different means. Conversely, Clemenceau considers that to-day peace is nothing but the continuation of war and the pursuing of the war-aim, though again with other means. To put it briefly: politics is nothing else and can be nothing else than the safeguarding of a people's vital interests and the practical waging of its life-battle with every means. Thus it is quite clear that this life-battle from the first has its starting-point in the people itself and that at the same time the people is the object—the real thing of value—which has to be preserved. All functions of this body formed by the people must in the last resort fulfil only one purpose—to secure in the future the maintenance of this body which is the people. I can therefore say neither that foreign policy nor economic policy is of primary significance. Of course a people needs the business world in order to live. But business is but one of the functions of this body-politic whereby its existence is assured. But primarily the essential thing is the starting-point and that is the people itself."

"One must not say that foreign politics is the factor which decisively determines a people's path, but one must rather say that it is primarily the people which itself, through its inner value, through its organization, and through its education into this inner value, marks out its own path within the world by which it is surrounded. I must not say that foreign politics could ever alter in essentials the value of a people: rather I must say: every people has to wage the battle for the safeguarding of its interests and can wage that battle only which corresponds to its most essential character, its value, its capacities, the effectiveness of its organization, &c. Naturally foreign relations will also once more react upon a people. But we know from experience what a

difference there is in the way individual peoples react to foreign relations! The reaction is determined through the inner disposition, the inner value, through the inborn talents and capacities of each people. I am therefore able to state that even when the fundamental value of a nation remains unchanged, alterations in the inner organization of the life of this nation can of themselves lead to a change in its attitude to foreign relations."

"It is therefore false to say that foreign politics shapes a people: rather, peoples order their relations to the world about them in correspondence with their inborn forces and according to the measure in which their education enables them to bring those forces into play. We may be quite convinced that if in the place of the Germany of to-day there had stood a different Germany, the attitude towards the rest of the world would also have been different, and then presumably the influences exercised by the rest of the world would have taken a different form. To deny this would mean that Germany's destiny can no longer be changed no matter what Government rules in Germany. If such a view is held, one can immediately find its root and its explanation: assertions that a people's fate is solely determined by foreign Powers have always formed the shifts of bad Governments. Weak and bad Governments have at all times made play with this argument in order thus to excuse and explain their own failure and that of their predecessors, the failure of their whole stereotyped and traditional mode of thought: their plea has always been, 'Anyone else in our position could not have done otherwise': for what could he begin to do with his people in the face of conditions which are fixed once for all and have their roots in the world beyond Germany's frontiers—so long as, quite naturally, he regards his people, too, as a factor whose value cannot change?"

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"And as against this conception I am the champion of another standpoint: three factors, I hold, essentially determine a people's political life:"

"First, the inner value of a people which as an inherited sum and possession is transmitted again and again through the generations, a value which suffers any change when the people, the custodian of this inherited possession, changes itself in its inner blood-conditioned composition. It is beyond question that certain traits of character, certain virtues, and certain vices always recur in peoples so long as their inner nature—their blood-conditioned composition—has not essentially altered. I can already trace the virtues and the vices of our German people in the writers of Rome just as clearly as I see them to-day. This inner value which determines the life of a people can be destroyed by nothing save only through a change in the blood causing a change in substance. Temporarily an illogical form of organization of life or unintelligent education may prejudice it. But in that case, though its effective action may be hindered, the fundamental value in itself is still present as it was before. And it is this value which is the great source of all hopes for a people's revival, it is this which justifies the belief that a people which in the course of thousands of years has furnished countless examples of the highest inner value cannot suddenly have lost overnight this inborn inherited value, but that one day this people will once again bring this value into action. If this were not the case, then the faith of millions of men in a better future—the mystic hope for a new Germany—would be incomprehensible. It would be incomprehensible how it was that this German people, at the end of the Thirty Years War, when its population had shrunk from 18 to 13½ millions, could ever have once more formed the hope through work, through industry, and capacity to

rise again, how in this completely crushed people hundreds of thousands and finally millions should have been seized with the longing for a re-formation of their State. It would be inconceivable had it not been that in all these individuals, unconsciously, there was some trace of the conviction that there was present an essential value which ever and again had been evidenced through the millennia, which many a time had been repressed and hindered in its effective action through bad leadership, through bad education, through a bad State-form, but which ever in the end had triumphed, had ever presented to the world the wonderful spectacle of a new revival of our people."

"I said that this value can be destroyed. There are indeed in especial two other closely related factors which we can time and again trace in periods of national decline: the one is that for the conception of the value of personality there is substituted a levelling idea of the supremacy of mere numbers—democracy—and the other is the negation of the value of a people, the denial of any difference in the inborn capacity, the achievement, &c., of individual peoples. Thus both factors condition one another or at least influence each other in the course of their development. Internationalism and democracy are inseparable conceptions. It is but logical that democracy, which within a people denies the special value of the individual and puts in its place a value which represents the sum of all individualities—a purely numerical value—should proceed in precisely the same way in the life of peoples and should in that sphere result in internationalism. Broadly it is maintained: peoples have no inborn values, but, at the most, there can be admitted perhaps temporary differences in education. Between negroes, Aryans, Mongolians, and Redskins there is no essential difference in value. This

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view which forms the basis of the whole of the international thought-world of to-day and in its effects is carried to such lengths that in the end a negro can sit as president in the sessions of the League of Nations leads necessarily as a further consequence to the point that in a similar way within a people differences in value between the individual members of this people are denied. And thus naturally every special capacity, every fundamental value of a people, can practically be made of no effect. For the greatness of a people is the result not of the sum of all its achievements but in the last resort of the sum of its outstanding achievements. Let no one say that the picture produced as a first impression of human civilization is the impression of its achievement as a whole. This whole edifice of civilization is in its foundations and in all its stones nothing else than the result of the creative capacity, the achievement, the intelligence, the industry of individuals: in its greatest triumphs it represents the great crowning achievement of individual God-favoured geniuses, in its average accomplishment the achievement of men of average capacity, and in its sum doubtless the result of the use of human labour-force in order to turn to account the creations of genius and of talent. So it is only natural that when the capable intelligences of a nation, which are always in a minority, are regarded only as of the same value as all the rest, then genius, capacity, the value of personality are slowly subjected to the majority and this process is then falsely named the rule of the people. For this is not rule of the people, but in reality the rule of stupidity, of mediocrity, of half-heartedness, of cowardice, of weakness, and of inadequacy. Rule of the people means rather that a people should allow itself to be governed and led by its most capable individuals, those who are born to the task, and not that a

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chance majority which of necessity is alien to these tasks should be permitted to administer all spheres of life."

"Thus democracy will in practice lead to the destruction of a people's true values. And this also serves to explain how it is that peoples with a great past from the time when they surrender themselves to the unlimited, democratic rule of the masses slowly lose their former position; for the outstanding achievements of individuals which they still possess or which could be produced in all spheres of life are now rendered practically ineffective through the oppression of mere numbers. And thus in these conditions a people will gradually lose its importance not merely in the cultural and economic spheres but altogether; in a comparatively short time it will no longer, within the setting of the other peoples of the world, maintain its former value. And that will also of necessity mean a change in its power to safeguard its own interests as against the rest of the world. It is not, for example, a matter of indifference whether a people enters on such a period as the years from 1807 to 1813 under the leadership of its most capable intelligences, men to whom an extraordinary authority is granted, or whether it marches into a similar period, such as the years 1918 to 1921, under the leadership of parliamentary mass-madness. In the one case one can see as the result of the internal building-up of the nation's life the highest achievements—which, though founded doubtless on the pre-existent value of the people, could only in this way reach their full effect—while in the other case the value which was already there could no longer find any opportunity for manifesting its presence. Indeed, things can then reach such a pass that an unquestionably industrious people in whose whole life there had hardly been any apparent change—especially so far as concerns the efforts of individuals—

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can lose so much in the sum of its achievement that it no longer counts for anything in the eyes of the world."

"And to this there must be added a third factor: namely, the view that life in this world, after the denial of the value of personality and of the special value of a people, is not to be maintained through conflict. That is a conception which could perhaps be disregarded if it fixed itself only in the heads of individuals, but yet has appalling consequences because it slowly poisons an entire people. And it is not as if such general changes in men's outlook on the world remained only on the surface or were confined to their effects on men's minds. No, in course of time they exercise a profound influence and affect all expressions of a people's life."

"I may cite an example: you maintain, gentlemen, that German business life must be constructed on a basis of private property. Now such a conception as that of private property you can defend only if in some way or another it appears to have a logical foundation. This conception must deduce its ethical justification from an insight into the necessity which Nature dictates. It cannot simply be upheld by saying: 'It has always been so and therefore it must continue to be so.' For in periods of great upheavals within States, of movements of peoples and changes in thought, institutions and systems cannot remain untouched because they have previously been preserved without change. It is the characteristic feature of all really great revolutionary epochs in the history of mankind that they pay astonishingly little regard for forms which are hallowed only by age or which are apparently only so consecrated. It is thus necessary to give such foundations to traditional forms which are to be preserved that they can be regarded as absolutely essential, as logical and right. And then I am bound to say that private property can be

morally and ethically justified only if I admit that men's achievements are different. Only on that basis can I assert: since men's achievements are different, the results of those achievements are also different. But if the results of those achievements are different, then it is reasonable to leave to men the administration of those results to a corresponding degree. It would not be logical to entrust the administration of the result of an achievement which was bound up with a personality either to the next best but less capable person or to a community which, through the mere fact that it had not performed the achievement, has proved that it is not capable of administering the result of that achievement. Thus it must be admitted that in the economic sphere, from the start, in all branches men are not of equal value or of equal importance. And once this is admitted it is madness to say: in the economic sphere there are undoubtedly differences in value, but that is not true in the political sphere. It is absurd to build up economic life on the conceptions of achievement, of the value of personality, and therefore in practice on the authority of personality, but in the political sphere to deny the authority of personality and to thrust into its place the law of the greater number—democracy. In that case there must slowly arise a cleavage between the economic and the political point of view, and to bridge that cleavage an attempt will be made to assimilate the former to the latter—indeed the attempt has been made, for this cleavage has not remained bare pale theory. The conception of the equality of values has already, not only in politics but in economics also, been raised to a system, and that not merely in abstract theory: no! this economic system is alive in gigantic organizations and it has already to-day inspired a State which rules over immense areas."

"But I cannot regard it as possible that the life of a people should in the long run be based upon two fundamental conceptions. If the view is right that there are differences in human achievement, then it must also be true that the value of men in respect of the production of certain achievements is different. It is then absurd to allow this principle to hold good only in one sphere—the sphere of economic life and its leadership—and to refuse to acknowledge its validity in the sphere of the whole life-struggle of a people—the sphere of politics. Rather the logical course is that if I recognize without qualification in the economic sphere the fact of special achievements as forming the condition of all higher culture, then in the same way I should recognize special achievement in the sphere of politics and that means that I am bound to put in the forefront the authority of personality. If, on the contrary, it is asserted—and that too by those engaged in business—that in the political sphere special capacities are not necessary but that here an absolute equality in achievement reigns, then one day this same theory will be transferred from politics and applied to economic life. But in the economic sphere Communism is analogous to democracy in the political sphere. We find ourselves to-day in a period in which these two fundamental principles are at grips in all spheres which come into contact with each other; already they are invading economics."

"To take an example: Life in practical activity is founded on the importance of personality: but now gradually it is threatened by the supremacy of mere numbers. But in the State there is an organization—the army—which cannot in any way be democratized without surrendering its very existence. But if a *Weltanschauung* cannot be applied to every sphere of a people's

life, that fact in itself is sufficient proof of its weakness. In other words: the army can exist only if it maintains the absolutely undemocratic principle of unconditional authority proceeding downwards and absolute responsibility proceeding upwards, while, in contradistinction to this, democracy means in practice complete dependence proceeding downwards and authority proceeding upwards. But the result is that in a State in which the whole political life—beginning with the parish and ending with the Reichstag—is built up on the conception of democracy the army is bound gradually to become an alien body and an alien body which must necessarily be felt to be such. It is for democracy an alien world of ideas, an alien *Weltanschauung* which inspires the life of this body. An internal conflict between the representatives of the democratic principle and the representatives of the principle of authority must be the inevitable consequence, and this conflict we are actually experiencing in Germany."

"It cannot be supposed that this struggle should suddenly cease; no! on the contrary: this struggle will continue until a nation is finally engulfed in internationalism and democracy and thereby falls into complete disintegration, or else it creates for itself once more a new logical form for its internal life."

"So in the same way the education to pacifism must of necessity have its effect right through life until it reaches the humblest individual lives. The conception of pacifism is logical if I once admit a general equality amongst peoples and human beings. For in that case what sense is there in conflict? The conception of pacifism translated into practice and applied to all spheres must gradually lead to the destruction of the competitive instinct, to the destruction of the ambition for outstanding achievement. I cannot say: in politics we will be

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pacifists, we reject the idea of the necessity for life to safeguard itself through conflict—but in economics we want to remain keenly competitive. If I reject the idea of conflict as such, it is of no importance that for the time being that idea is still applied in some single spheres. In the last resort political decisions are decisive and determine achievement in the single sphere. For fifty years you can build up the best economic system on the basis of the principle of achievement, for fifty years you may go on building factories, for fifty years you may amass wealth, and then in three years of mistaken political decisions you can destroy all the results of the work of these fifty years. (*Very true!*)¹ And that is only natural, since political decisions spring from another root than that of constructive economic decisions."

"To sum up the argument: I see two diametrically opposed principles: the principle of democracy which, wherever it is allowed practical effect, is the principle of destruction: and the principle of the authority of personality which I would call the principle of achievement, because whatever man in the past has achieved—all human civilizations—is conceivable only if the supremacy of this principle is admitted."

"The worth of a people, the character of its internal organization through which this worth of a people may produce its effect, and the character of a people's education—these are the starting-points for political action: these are the foundations for the success of that action."

"Do not think that a people which, like the German people, robbed itself of its values fared any better in

¹ The reactions of the audience of German business-men to this speech have been indicated as being interesting evidence of the effect of Hitler's oratory. It must be remembered that he was on this occasion dealing with an audience not predisposed to be sympathetic.

former centuries whether there were any world-crisis or not. When a people takes the path which we have taken—actually for the last thirty or thirty-five years, officially for the last thirteen years—then it can arrive nowhere else than where Germany finds herself to-day. That the evidences of a crisis should to-day spread over almost the entire world is comprehensible when one considers that the world has been opened up and mutual relations have been strengthened to an extent which fifty, eighty, or a hundred years ago appeared scarcely possible. And yet, despite this fact, one must not believe that such a state of affairs is conceivable only now, in the year 1932. No, similar conditions have been experienced more than once in the history of the world. Always when relations between peoples produced conditions such as these, the malady affecting these peoples was bound to spread and to influence the position of all."

"It is, of course, easy to say: we prefer to wait until there is a change in the general position, but that is impossible. For the position which faces you to-day is not the consequence of a revelation of God's will, but the result of human weaknesses, of human mistakes, of men's false judgements. It is but natural that there must first be a change in these causes, that men must first be inwardly transformed, before one can count on any alteration in the position."

"That conclusion is forced upon us if we look at the world to-day: we have a number of nations which through their inborn outstanding worth have fashioned for themselves a mode of life which stands in no relation to the life-space—the *Lebensraum*—which in their thickly populated settlements they inhabit. We have the so-called white race which, since the collapse of ancient civilization, in the course of some thousand years has created for itself a privileged position in the world.

But I am quite unable to understand this privileged position, this economic supremacy, of the white race over the rest of the world if I do not bring it into close connexion with a political conception of supremacy which has been peculiar to the white race for many centuries and has been regarded as in the nature of things: this conception it has maintained in its dealings with other peoples. Take any single area you like, take for example India. England did not conquer India by the way of justice and of law: she conquered India without regard to the wishes, to the views of the natives, or to their formulations of justice, and, when necessary, she has upheld this supremacy with the most brutal ruthlessness. Just in the same way Cortez or Pizarro annexed Central America and the northern States of South America, not on the basis of any claim of right, but from the absolute inborn feeling of the superiority of the white race. The settlement of the North American continent is just as little the consequence of any claim of superior right in any democratic or international sense; it was the consequence of a consciousness of right which was rooted solely in the conviction of the superiority and therefore of the right of the white race. If I think away this attitude of mind which in the course of the last three or four centuries has won the world for the white race, then the destiny of this race would in fact have been no different from that, say, of the Chinese: an immensely congested mass of human beings crowded upon an extraordinarily narrow territory, an over-population with all its unavoidable consequences. If Fate allowed the white race to take a different path, that is only because this white race was convinced that it had the right to organize the rest of the world. It matters not what superficial disguises in individual cases this right may have assumed, in practice it was the exercise

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of an extraordinarily brutal right to dominate others (*Herrenrechtes*), and from this political conception was developed the basis for the economic annexation of that world which was not inhabited by the white race."

"A famous Englishman once wrote that the characteristic feature of English policy was this wonderful marriage of economic conquest with political domination, and conversely of political expansion of power with immediate economic appropriation—a conjunction which becomes unthinkable directly one of the two factors is lacking. I know, it is true, that the view is held that one can conquer the world by purely economic means, but that is one of the greatest and most terrible illusions. Suppose the Englishman in the future were to wage his war for India with economic means alone, suppose the Englishman were finally to relinquish that outlook which once gained him India, that outlook which maintained his hold on India through the many rebellions and the long and bloody wars about the middle of the last century, and then you will see: the English factories will not hold India for the English: they will stand silent, because the old spirit of England, the spirit which once created the conditions from which the factories arose, that spirit has been lost!"

"To-day we are faced with a world-condition which is for the white race in any way comprehensible only if one recognizes as unconditionally valid that marriage of the spirit of domination in political will and the same spirit of domination in economic activity—a wonderful concord which has impressed its stamp upon the whole of the last century and through the consequences of which a part of the white peoples has enjoyed a remarkable development: instead of expanding in space, instead of exporting men, they have exported goods and have built up an economic world-system which

finds its characteristic expression in the fact that—pre-supposing different standards of living on the earth—in Europe and, in most recent times, in America also gigantic world-central-factories have come into existence while the rest of the world provides enormous markets for the disposal of goods and enormous sources of raw materials. The white race, however, can in practice maintain its position only so long as the difference in the standard of living in different parts of the world continues to exist. If you to-day give to our so-called export-markets the same standard of living as we ourselves possess, you will find that it will be impossible for the white race to maintain that position of superiority which finds expression not merely in the political power of the nation but also in the economic fortune of the individual.”

“The different nations, further, have safeguarded this position of superiority in different ways—in accordance with their individual characteristics—most brilliantly of all perhaps England who has always opened up for herself new markets and immediately anchored them through political dominance, so that it is without doubt conceivable that Great Britain, always supposing that her mental outlook remains unchanged, should build up for herself an economic life of her own, more or less independent of the rest of the world. Other peoples have not attained this goal because they consumed their mental powers in internal conflicts between differing outlooks on the world and formerly in religious struggles.¹ During the great period of the partitioning of the world they doubtless inwardly developed their capacities in these intellectual disputes. Later they sought also to take their part in world-economics, but they did not

¹ German: *in inneren weltanschaulichen — früher religiösen — Kämpfen.*

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themselves create export-markets nor did they completely safeguard their control over those markets."

"When Germany, for instance, began to found colonies, then the inner conception, this quite cool, sober English conception, of the foundation of colonies had already given place to more or less romantic ideas: the transmission of German culture¹ to the world and the spread of German civilization—things which were utterly remote from the thought of the Englishman in the colonization period. Thus it was that the practical results of our efforts did not come up to our expectations, quite apart from the fact that the objects of our concern were in part unable to fulfil our high romantic hopes."

"The world-situation to-day may be briefly stated: Germany, England, and France, so far as it belongs to the white race, have gradually increased to such an extent numerically that the maintenance of such gigantic populations would appear to be guaranteed only if the economic possibilities for the export of goods in the world are secured. Thus it is in fact the case that a part of the world is absolutely dependent upon the maintenance of a state of affairs which we Germans, as democrats and League of Nations folk, have long since mentally refused to countenance. The result is clear: competition drove the European peoples to an ever increasing improvement in the methods of production, and this increasing improvement of methods of production led to a permanent economizing in the number of men employed. As long as the continuous opening up of new world-export markets kept pace with the reduction in the number of men employed, those who were withdrawn from work in agriculture and later in handicrafts could always be easily transferred to new productive activity, so that we may regard the characteristic feature

¹ It is not easy to render the word *Kultur* in English.

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of the last century as being that men no longer needed for agriculture could be transferred to handicrafts, but that later in the handicrafts themselves through rationalization in the methods of production more and more men became unnecessary, and then these could in their turn find new possibilities of earning a livelihood in a further expansion of branches of production. But this process was only conceivable so long as a constant increase in the possibility for consumption of goods was created—a capacity for consumption which had to be as great as was the increase in production.”

“The world-situation to-day can be briefly stated: Germany, England, France, and further—but not by reason of compulsion—the American Union, together with a whole series of small States, are industrial nations dependent on export. After the close of the War all these peoples were faced with a world-market comparatively emptied of commodities. Methods in industry and in factories had been improved especially on the scientific and theoretical sides with vast ingenuity on account of the War, and armed with these new methods men rushed into this great void, began to remodel their works, to invest capital and under the compulsion of this invested capital sought to raise production to the highest possible extent. This process could continue with success for two, three, four, or five years. It could be continued successfully for a further period if new possibilities for export could be created which should correspond with the rapid increase and improvements in production and its methods. This was a problem of primary importance, for the rationalization of business which began in the sphere of agriculture leads to a reduction in the number of men engaged in work, a reduction which is useful only if the men thus turned out of employment can be easily in their turn transferred into

new branches of economic activity. But we see that since the World War there was no further important extension of export-markets: on the contrary, we see that relatively those export-markets contracted, that the number of exporting nations gradually increased, and that a great many former export-markets became themselves industrialized, while finally a new wholesale exporter, the American Union—which perhaps to-day is not yet all-powerful in all spheres, but certainly in individual cases—can reckon on advantages in production which we in Europe assuredly do not and cannot possess.”

“And as the last momentous feature we regard the fact that, parallel with the gradual growth of confusion in the thought of the white race in Europe, a *Weltanschauung* has seized on part of Europe and a great part of Asia which threatens to tear this continent out of the framework of international economic relations altogether—a portent which to-day German statesmen still appear to neglect with an astonishing levity. When, for instance, I hear a speech which stresses the necessity for the German people to stand together, then I cannot but raise the question: Does one really believe that this standing together is any longer merely a question of political goodwill? Cannot people see that in our midst already a cleavage has opened up, a cleavage which is not merely a fancy born in the heads of a few persons, but whose spiritual exponent forms to-day the foundation of one of the greatest world-Powers.¹ Can they not see that Bolshevism to-day is not merely a mob storming about in some of our streets in Germany, but is a conception of the world which is in the act of subjecting to

¹ German: *Ein Riß . . . dessen geistiger Exponent heute die Grundlage einer der größten Weltmächte bildet*. This astonishing sentence defies translation into English.

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itself the entire Asiatic continent, and which to-day in the form of a State stretches almost from our eastern frontier to Vladivostok?"

"With us the situation is represented as if here it was merely a question of purely theoretical¹ problems, of views held by a few visionaries or evil-disposed individuals. No! A *Weltanschauung* has won over to itself a State, and starting from this State it will gradually shatter the whole world and bring it down in ruins. Bolshevism, if its advance is not interrupted, will transform the world as completely as in times past did Christianity. In 300 years people will no longer say that it is a question of a new idea in production. In 300 years perhaps people will already realize that it is a question almost of a new religion, though its basis is not that of Christianity. In 300 years, if this movement develops further, people will see in Lenin not merely a revolutionary of the year 1917 but the founder of a new world-doctrine, honoured perhaps as is Buddha. It is not as if this gigantic phenomenon could simply be thought away from the modern world. It is a reality and must of necessity destroy and overthrow one of the conditions for our continued existence as a white race. We see the stages of this process: first the lowering of the level of civilization and thereby the capacity to welcome civilizing influences; lowering of the whole level of human society and therewith the sundering of all relations towards other nations; then the construction of an independent system of production, with the help of crutches borrowed from capitalist economics; and then as the final stage its own production to the complete exclusion of other countries, which naturally in those districts near its frontiers will one day find in it the most serious economic rival."

¹ German: *geistige*.

"I know very well that gentlemen of the Reichs-ministry and gentlemen representing Germany industry will object: We do not believe that the Soviets will ever be able to build up an industry which can really be capable of competing with us. Gentlemen, they could never build up such an industry if they were confined to the national resources of Bolshevik Russia. But this industry will be built up by elements of value drawn from the white peoples themselves. It is nonsense to say that it is impossible to build up industry in Russia through forces supplied by other peoples—in the past it was possible through the help of Germans to equip industry in Bohemia with all that was needed. And besides that: the older Russia was already in possession of some industries."

"And if it be further stated: The methods of production will never be able to keep pace with our own—do not forget that a lower standard of living will fully compensate for any advantage which we perhaps possess in our method of production. (*Very true!*)"

"In any event—if European and American modes of thought remain in the future as they are to-day—we shall find that Bolshevism will gradually spread over Asia. Thirty or fifty years, when it is a question of *Weltanschauungen*, count for nothing. Three hundred years after the death of Christ Christianity had only begun slowly to penetrate the whole of the south of Europe and it was seven hundred years later before it mastered the north of Europe. *Weltanschauungen* of this fundamental character can still five hundred years after their rise display their absolute capacity for conquest if they are not at the outset broken by the natural instinct of self-preservation of other peoples. But if this process continues only for another thirty, forty, or

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fifty years and our outlook still remains unchanged, it will not then, gentlemen, be possible to say 'How does that concern our economic life?'"

"Gentlemen, the development is clear for all to see: the crisis is very serious. It forces us to cut down expenses in every sphere. The most natural way of economizing is always to save in human labour-power. Industries will continuously be forced to ever greater rationalization, that means increase in achievement and reduction in the number of workmen employed. But if these workmen can no longer be given a place in newly started occupations, in newly developed industries, then that means that gradually three national banking accounts must be opened: the first account is called Agriculture: from this national basic account men were formerly economized to constitute the second account. This second account was hand-work and later industrial production. Now an economy in man-power is being practised on this second account and the men saved from this account are driven over into the third account—Unemployment. With this word unemployment one is but shamefacedly seeking to put a better appearance upon hard facts: for the proper term is not 'workless' but 'existence-less' and therefore in truth 'superfluous'. It is the characteristic feature of our European nations that gradually a certain percentage of the population is proved statistically to be superfluous."

"It is now quite clear that the necessity for supporting this third account thus falls upon the other two. That increases the pressure of taxation, and the consequence of that will be an enforced further rationalization of the method of production, further economy, and a still greater increase in the third account."

"And to this must be added the fact that the fight which to-day all European nations wage for the world

export-market results naturally in a rise of prices which in its reaction compels men to practise further economies. The final result which to-day can hardly be foreseen will in any event prove decisive for the future or for the downfall of the white race, and in especial of those peoples which in their narrow living space can establish economic autarky only with very great difficulty. The further consequence will be that, for instance, England will carry through a reorganization with an eye to her internal market, and for its protection will raise tariff barriers, high to-day and to-morrow still higher, and all other peoples, so far as they are in any way able to do so, will follow suit."

"So far all those are in the right who regard the melancholy position of Germany as calling for special attention when considering our present distress, but they are wrong in seeking the cause of our distress in externals, for this position is certainly the result not merely of the external development but of our internal, I might almost say, aberration of spirit, our internal division, our internal collapse. I would not have it said that we National Socialists have no understanding of the necessity for curing those ills which face us at the present moment. One thing, however, is certain: every distress has some root or other. It is therefore not enough—it matters not, gentlemen, how many emergency regulations the Government issues—that I doctor around on the circumference of the distress and try from time to time to lance the cancerous ulcer: I must penetrate to the seat of the inflammation—to the cause. It is thus relatively unimportant whether this irritating cause is discovered or removed to-day or to-morrow, the essential thing to realize is that unless it is removed no cure is possible. It is a mistake to reject to-day a plan designed to cover some twenty or thirty years on

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the ground that we cannot wait so long—even for the consumptive it matters not if the cure recommended by the doctor takes three or more years. The essential fact is that no merely external remedy, though it may be quickly applied and give him momentary relief from pain, can remove the malady itself. We can see that exemplified in a really classical form in the effect produced by our emergency regulations. Time and time again the honest attempt—I grant the honesty—is made in some way or another to better an impossible situation and make headway against it, and you see that every such attempt has in the end precisely the opposite effect—it leads only to an increase in those symptoms which it is sought to remove. And in this I am not taking into account what, in my judgement, is at the present moment the worst evil, an evil which I would characterize as not merely economic but in the highest sense of the word a national—‘volkic’—evil—I mean unemployment. Always people see only six or seven million men who take no part in the process of production: they regard these men only from the economic standpoint and regret the decline in production which this unemployment causes. But, gentlemen, people fail to see the mental, moral, and psychological results of this fact. Do they really believe that such a percentage of the nation’s strength can be idle if it be only for ten, twenty, or thirty years without exercising any mental effect, must it not have as its consequence a complete change of spirit?—and do people believe that that can remain without significance for the future?”

“Gentlemen, we know from our own experience that, through a mental aberration whose consequences you can in practice trace on every hand, Germany lost the War. Do you believe that when seven or eight million men have found themselves for ten or twenty years

excluded from the national process of production that for these masses Bolshevism could appear as anything else than the logical theoretical (*weltanschaulich*) complement of their actual, practical, economic situation? Do you really believe that the purely spiritual (*geistige*) side of this catastrophe can be overlooked and that one day it will not transform itself into bitter reality—the evil curse following on the evil deed?”

“If the distress of Germany could be banished by emergency regulations, then all the great legislators of past millennia were but bunglers, for they in similar circumstances sought to regenerate the body-politic¹ in order that with the help of this newly created source of strength they might carry through new and salutary decisions. It is quite beside the mark to ask what the German Government intends at the present moment, just as it is beside the point to inquire what the German business world intends or wishes. The essential thing is to realize that at the present moment we find ourselves in a condition which has occurred several times before in the history of the world: already there have been times when the volume of certain products in the world exceeded the demand. To-day we are experiencing the same thing on the largest possible scale: if all the motor-factories in the world to-day were employed a hundred per cent. and worked a hundred per cent., then one could replace the world's entire stocks of motors in four and a half or five years. If all the locomotive-factories were employed a hundred per cent. they could easily renew the entire locomotive material in the world in eight years. If all the rail-factories and rolling-mills of the world were employed a hundred per cent. perhaps in ten to fifteen years one could put the whole system of railway-lines at present in existence once more round the world.

¹ German: *Volkskörper*.

And that holds good for nearly all industries. There has arisen such an increase in productive capacity that the present possible consumption market stands in no relation to this increased capacity. But if Bolshevism as a world-idea tears the Asiatic continent out of the human economic community, then the conditions for the employment of these industries which have developed on so gigantic a scale will be no longer even approximately realized. In that case in the industrial sphere we shall find ourselves somewhat at the same stage as in other spheres the world has several times found itself, for example, when the tonnage of sea-going ships was far greater than the amount of the goods to be carried as freight. Economic groups in the past have already suffered severe crises through these conditions. If you read history and study the ways by which men sought relief, then, in sum, you will always find one thing: the freight was not increased to match the tonnage but the tonnage was reduced to match the freight, and that, too, not through the voluntary economic decisions of the shippers, but through decisions enforced by political power. When a politician or economist objects: that was, it is true, the case between Rome and Carthage, between England and Holland, or between England and France, but to-day the business world (*die Wirtschaft*) decides the matter, then I can only reply: that is not the spirit which formerly opened up the world for the white race, which for us Germans, too, opened the way into the economic life of the world. For it was not German business which conquered the world and then came the development of German power, but in our case, too, it was the power-State (*Machtstaat*) which created for the business world the general conditions for its subsequent prosperity. (*Very true!*) In my view it is to put the cart before the horse when to-day people believe that by

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business methods they can, for instance, recover Germany's power-position instead of realizing that the power-position is also the condition for the improvement of the economic situation. That does not mean that one should not forthwith try to oppose the malady which has seized upon our economic life, although one cannot immediately attack the source of the malady. But it does mean that every such external solution ignores the kernel of the problem, since it fails to recognize that there is only one fundamental solution. That solution rests upon the realization that economic systems in collapse have always as their forerunner the collapse of the State and not vice versa—that there can be no flourishing economic life which has not before it and behind it the flourishing powerful State as its protection—that there was no Carthaginian economic life without the fleet of Carthage, and no Carthaginian trade without the army of Carthage—that it goes without saying that also in modern times—when blow is met by blow and the interests of peoples clash—there can be no economic life unless behind this economic life there stands the determined political will of the nation absolutely ready to strike—and to strike hard."

"And here I would enter a protest against those who would simply sweep these facts aside by asserting that the Peace Treaty of Versailles is 'according to the almost universal view' the cause of our misfortune. No, certainly not 'according to the almost universal view' but rather only according to the view of those who share in the guilt of having concluded that treaty." (*Applause.*)

"The Peace Treaty of Versailles is itself only the consequence of our own slow inner confusion and aberration of mind. We find ourselves—no one can doubt it—in a period in which the world is faced by extraordinarily difficult mental conflicts which must profoundly disturb

it. I cannot escape these conflicts by simply regretting them, by shrugging my shoulders and—without making clear to myself their causes—by saying ‘What we want is unity’. These struggles are not caused merely by the ill-will of a few men; they have in the last resort their deepest roots in the facts of race.”

“If Bolshevism is spreading to-day in Russia, this Bolshevism is for Russia fundamentally just as logical as was the Czardom formerly. It is a brutal régime over a people which cannot be held together as a State except through a brutal Government. But if this view of the world gains a hold on us, too, then we must not forget that our people also is composed racially of the most varied elements and that therefore we have to see in the watchword ‘Proletarians of all countries, unite!’ much more than a mere political battle-cry. It is in reality the expression of the will of men who in their essential character have in fact a certain kinship with analogous peoples on a low level of civilization. Our people and our State, too, were formerly built up only through the exercise of the absolute right of the lord and through the sense of lordship of the so-called Nordic men: it is the work of those sections belonging to the Aryan race which we still possess in our people. Accordingly it is only a question of the regeneration of the German body-politic in accordance with the laws of an iron logic: this must determine whether we shall find our way back to new political strength or not.”

“That inner *weltanschaulich* unity is of no account can be maintained only by a man who, as a specialist on some particular subject, has lost all insight for the true formative and living forces of the nation—a statesman, for instance, who never leaves his office and who in negotiations and sittings lasting a thousand hours busies himself at his desk with the latest effects of the distress

without discovering the great causes of those effects and consequently without discovering the great decisions which might remove the causes. It is quite clear that to-day I can easily by issuing a regulation take up an attitude towards this or that aspect of public life. But test for yourselves how far this attitude of mine can really have any possibility of achieving its effect in practical life. There is no organization in the world which does not as the condition of its existence pursue some common end. No organization is conceivable which does not regard from absolutely one and the same point of view certain questions of fundamental importance which are continuously recurring: to these questions one and the same answer must be given, whether it be Yes or No. This is true even of the smallest possible organization—the family. A man or a woman may be an excellent person, but in their mutual union if certain necessary fundamental questions are not answered in the same way by each, then, however excellent they be, that will not prevent their union from becoming a source of perpetual strife, and in the end even their life in the world without will suffer shipwreck through this inner discord. Man can fully develop the force of his activity only in one direction, and for a people as a community the principal question is: in what direction will this force be guided—outwards or inwards? It must turn inwards so soon as on certain questions there is no complete agreement; for if there is no such agreement, then the individual man is already the enemy of his neighbour, and then in practice his neighbour becomes for him the world in which he moves. For an association it is not a matter of indifference whether it possesses and acknowledges certain fundamental principles or not. No, if one is to judge any human association, the decisive factor is the strength of the relationship between its members,

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and that strength is founded on the recognition of certain guiding general principles."

"In the life of peoples the strength which can be turned outwards depends upon the strength of a nation's internal organization, and that in its turn is dependent upon the stability of views held in common on certain fundamental questions. What use is it for a Government to publish a decree with the aim of saving the people's economic life, when the nation as the living object of that purpose has itself two completely different attitudes towards economics? One section says: the pre-condition for economics is private property; the other section maintains that private property is theft: 50 per cent. declare for one principle and 50 per cent. for the other. You may raise the objection that these views represent pure theory: no! this theory is of necessity the basis for practice. Was a view only a theory when as its consequence the Revolution broke out in 1918 and ruined Germany? Was that a completely unimportant theory which in particular did not concern our economic life? No, gentlemen, I believe that such views, unless we gain a clear understanding of them, must lead to the disruption of the body-politic, for it is not true that they remain a matter of theory. The Government talks of 'Thought for the Fatherland', but what does 'Thought for the Fatherland'—patriotic thought—mean? Ask the German nation. One section professes its patriotism, the other says: Fatherland is a stupid *bourgeois* tradition, and nothing more. The Government says: The State must be saved: 50 per cent. see in the State a necessity, but another 50 per cent. wish only to smash the State in pieces: they feel themselves to be the vanguard not only of an alien attitude towards the State and of an alien conception of the State, but also the vanguard of a will which is hostile to the State. I cannot say that this is

theory only. It is no question of theory when only 50 per cent. of a people are ready, when necessary, to fight for the symbolic colours, while 50 per cent. have hoisted another flag which stands for a State which is to be found not in their nation, not in their State but only outside the bounds of their own State."

"The Government will endeavour to improve the morals of the German people.' But on what moral code, gentlemen? Morals, too, must have a root. What to you appears to be moral appears to others immoral, and what to you seems immoral is for others a new morality. The State, for instance, says: The thief must be punished. But many citizens of the nation reply: The property owner must be punished, for the ownership of property is in itself theft. The thief is glorified, not condemned. The one half of the nation says: The traitor must be punished: the other half considers treason to be a duty. The one half says: The nation must be defended with courage: the other half regards courage as idiotic. The one half says: The basis of our morality is the religious life and the other half answers with scorn: The conception of a God has no basis in reality. Religions are but opium for the people."

"I beg you not to think, when a people has once come under the sway of these conflicts of *Weltanschauungen*, that one can circumvent them by the simple method of emergency decrees or to imagine that it is unnecessary to adopt any attitude towards these conflicts because they are matters which do not concern economics, the life of the administration, or cultural life. Gentlemen, these conflicts strike at the power and strength of the nation as a whole. How is a people still to count for anything abroad when in the last resort 50 per cent. are inclined to Bolshevism and 50 per cent. are Nationalists or anti-Bolshevists. It is quite conceivable to turn Germany into

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a Bolshevik State—it would be a catastrophe, but it is conceivable. It is also conceivable to build up Germany as a national State. But it is inconceivable that one should create a strong and sound Germany if 50 per cent. of its citizens are Bolshevik and 50 per cent. nationally minded. (*Very true!*) From the solution of this problem we cannot escape! (*Loud applause.*)”

“When the present Government says, ‘We are after all industrious, we work, this last emergency regulation has cost us sessions lasting so many hundred hours’, I do not doubt it. But for all that the nation is no whit stronger or more united; the process of internal dissolution goes on just the same. And the goal to which this path must ultimately lead you can only determine by a really great effort of careful thought. Germany possessed once—as the first condition for the organization of our people on a large scale—a *weltanschaulich* basis in our religion—Christianity. When this basis was shattered we see how the strength of the nation turned from external affairs to internal conflicts, since the nature of man from an inner necessity compels him at the moment when the common *weltanschaulich* basis is lost or is attacked to seek for a new common basis. These were the great periods of the civil wars, of the wars of religion, &c., struggles and confusions during which either a nation finds a new *weltanschaulich* platform and on this can build itself up anew and then it can turn its force outwards, or else a people is split in two and falls into chaos. In Germany this process ran its course in a truly classical form. The religious struggles meant that the whole force of Germany withdrew inwards—an absorption and exhaustion of this force internally—while at the same time there ensued automatically a slowly increasing failure to react to great events of world-wide significance outside of Germany: to these events the people remains

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completely unresponsive because of its own internal tensions which press for a solution."

"It is a mistake to say that world-politics, the world-situation alone determined Germany's fate in the sixteenth century. No, our own internal condition at that time contributed to form that picture of the world which later caused us so much suffering—the partition of the world without Germany."

"And once more in an historical example on an immense scale this same experience is repeated: in place of the lost religious unity—for the two Confessions are now ice-bound and neither can overcome the other—a new platform is discovered: the new conception of the State, first in a legitimist form and later slowly passing into the age of the principle of nationality and coloured by it. On this new platform Germany once more unites her forces and bit by bit through the consolidation of a Reich which had fallen into decline in the period of the old confusions Germany automatically and permanently recovers her strength in foreign politics. This increase in strength leads to those August days of 1914, an experience which we ourselves had the proud good fortune to share. A nation which seems to have no domestic differences and therefore can turn its united strength towards the world beyond its frontier! and scarcely four and a half years later we see the process once more take its backward course. Internal differences appear, they begin slowly to grow larger and larger until gradually the people's strength is crippled in face of the enemy. The domestic struggle gains further hold, at last there comes the collapse of November 1918. That means in fact simply that the German nation once more is spending its whole strength on its internal conflicts—in its attitude towards the world without it sinks back into complete lethargy and powerlessness."

"But it would be a grave error to think that this change was effected only during the days of November 1918. No, even in the period when Bismarck through his vigorous assertion of power united Germany the *weltanschaulich* disintegration had already begun. The *bourgeoisie* and proletarians stepped into the place once held by Prussians and Bavarians, by men of Württemberg, Saxony, Baden, &c. In place of the disintegration into a number of conflicting States, a disintegration which had been mastered, there begins a division into classes which in effect leads to precisely the same result. For the remarkable feature of the earlier State-disintegration was that at times the Bavarian preferred to make common cause with a non-German rather than with a Prussian. That is to say that relations with the foreigner were regarded as more possible than relations with one's own German fellow-countryman. And precisely the same result is now produced by class-divisions. Once more a mass of people running into millions solemnly declares that it prefers to enter into relations with men and organizations of similar views and conceptions to its own although they belong to a foreign State, rather than with men of its own people who, though they are of the same blood as itself, do not share its intellectual outlook. This fact alone serves to explain how it is that you can see to-day the red flag with the sickle and the hammer—the flag of an alien State—wave over Germany, that there are millions of men to whom one cannot say: You, too, are Germans—you, too, must defend Germany! If these men were ready to do so as they were in 1914, they would have to abandon their *Weltanschauung*, for it is quite absurd to think that in 1914 Marxism would have been converted to the national cause. No! the German work-ing-man in 1914 with an intuitive recognition of this fact deserted Marxism and turning against his leaders found

his way to the nation. Marxism itself as conception and idea knows no German nation, knows no national State, but knows only the International."

"At this point I can to-day establish one fact: no matter what the legislature undertakes—especially by way of decrees and above all by way of emergency decrees—unless Germany can master this internal division in *Weltanschauungen*, no measures of the legislature can stop the decline of the German nation. (*Very true!*) I beg you not to think, gentlemen, that in periods in which people during the course of history have demonstrably fallen into ruin their Governments have not done their best to govern. During the period when the empire of Rome was slowly breaking up the Government was certainly active. I might perhaps say that the rapidity of the action of the legislative machine seems to me in itself almost a proof of the decline of a body-politic. One tries merely through the legislative rotary-machine to veil from the outside world the internal division and the extent of the disintegration which are in fact present. That is the position to-day. And further I would ask you not to believe that at any time a Government would have admitted that their work was not calculated to save the nation. It is but natural that every Government should have protested against the view that its work was not absolutely essential; every Government has been convinced that no one could be more successful than itself. You will never find in the history of the world a general who, however many battles he could enter on the debit side of the account, was not convinced that no one could have done better than he. But the essential fact will never alter: in the last resort it is not a matter of indifference whether the Duke of Brunswick is the leader of the army or Gneisenau, whether a system seeks to save a people only through administrative decrees or whether a new

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mental outlook inwardly inspires a people—whether a people instead of being the dead object on which the machinery of legislation works is by this new outlook restored to life as a vital factor. (*Loud applause.*) It is not a matter of indifference whether in future in Germany through a legislation which is tricked out more or less successfully in constitutional forms you attempt to check the most obvious individual features in our present distress or whether you lead back the nation as such to internal strength.”

“And if the system objects: there is no time for that now—it is true, gentlemen, that far too much time has been wasted in useless work, far too much time has been already lost. One might have begun the process of regeneration in 1919 and then during the past eleven years Germany’s external development would have taken a different course. For if the Peace Treaty could be presented in the form in which it was imposed upon us, that was only because Germany at the time when the Treaty was composed had ceased to be a factor which could exercise any influence whatever. (*Very true!*) And if this Peace Treaty in its application assumed the forms which we know and which we experienced, then that again is only because in all these years Germany had no definite will of her own which could make itself felt. We therefore are not the victims of the treaties, but the treaties are the consequences of our own mistakes; and if I wish in any way to better the situation, then I must first change the value of the nation: I must above all recognize that it is not the primacy of foreign politics which can determine our action in the domestic sphere, rather, the character of our action in the domestic sphere is decisive for the character of the success of our foreign policy—nay more—it must determine the success of all the aims which we set before us.”

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"I take to illustrate my contention two examples from history: firstly, Bismarck's idea of a conflict between Prussia and the House of Habsburg, the construction of a new Reich from which Austria was to be excluded. That idea could never have been realized unless, before one sought to transform the idea into action, one had created the instrument with which one could in practice realize one's political purpose. It was not the political situation which forced Prussia to undertake a reorganization of her army; but it was the reorganization of the Prussian army which Bismarck, looking into the future, carried through in the teeth of the madness of Parliament which first rendered possible the political situation which found its end at Königgratz and which at Versailles founded the Reich that, since gradually it came to stand upon changed foundations, was later in the same chamber once more broken up and partitioned."

"And conversely: if a German Government to-day, applying Bismarckian ideas, tries to tread the road which Germany trod then and perhaps as the first step towards a policy of the unification of Germany seeks to establish a new Zollverein, a Customs Union, then the essential thing is not that one should formulate this aim, what is essential is what preparations are made beforehand to render possible the execution of the project. I cannot formulate an aim which, supported by a Press campaign in one's own papers, is regarded in the whole world as a political aim of outstanding importance if I fail to secure the political means which are absolutely necessary for the execution of such a plan. And the political means—I cannot to-day put them any lower than this—lie only in the reorganization of an army. For whether Germany possesses an army of 100,000 men or of 200,000 or 300,000 is in the last resort completely beside the point: the essential thing is whether Germany possesses eight million

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reservists whom she can transfer into her army without any fear of falling into the same *weltanschaulich* catastrophe as that of 1918."

"The essential thing is the formation of the political will of the nation as a whole: that is the starting-point for political action. If this formation of will is guaranteed in the sense of a readiness to devote all a people's energies to the attainment of any national end, then a Government, supported by this common will, can also choose the ways which one day can lead to success. But if this formation of the people's will is not secured, then every Power in the world will test the prospects of such an undertaking by reference to the strength of the means which are already prepared in its support. And it will be quite definitely realized that a Government which in foreign policy is mobilizing its resources for a great national demonstration while in the domestic sphere it is compelled to rely upon the shifting forces of Marxist-democratic-Centre Party-politics is never in a position really to carry through this plan with complete consistency. (*Very true!*) Let no one say: in such a case it is simply a question of a unanimous stand adopted by all. This unanimous stand can be attained only if all are agreed in a common outlook. The maxim 'to march divided, to fight united' can be applied to an army only because in an army under a single supreme command the separate march is executed under orders in precisely the same way as is the common engagement, since both derive from one and the same root of command. I cannot allow armies to run side by side at their own sweet will and then expect that suddenly at a signal which an exalted Government is pleased to give them they should fall into harmony and begin a common action."

"That is impossible, and it is quite impossible for the further reason that in the last resort the catastrophe is

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not caused so much by the presence of different points of view as through the licence given to these different points of view by the State."

"If anyone to-day wishes to hurl against me as a National Socialist the gravest possible accusation he says: 'You want to force a decision in Germany by violence and it is against this that we are bound to protest. You want one day in Germany to annihilate your political opponents. We on the other hand take our stand on the ground of the constitution, and we are bound to guarantee to all parties the right to exist.' And to that I have only one reply: translated into practice that means: you have a company: you have to lead that company against the enemy. Within the company there is complete liberty to form a coalition. (*Laughter.*) Fifty per cent. of the company have formed a coalition on the basis of love of the Fatherland and of protection of the Fatherland: the other 50 per cent. have formed a coalition on the basis of pacifism;¹ they reject war on principle, they demand that freedom of conscience should be inviolate and declare that to be the highest, the sole good which we possess to-day. (*Laughter.*) Still it comes to a fight, and then all desire to stand firmly together. But if a man, relying on freedom of conscience, should desert to the enemy, then there would come the peculiar moment when they would have to arrest and punish him as a deserter, entirely forgetful of the fact that they really had no right to punish him. A State which—under licence from the State—permits the spread of the view that treason to the Fatherland is a duty, which allows great organizations calmly to declare: Our task in the event of war will be simply to put a stop to all military activity—with what right does such a State punish a traitor? It is but a side issue that such a State through the madness

¹ German: *auf dem Boden pazifistischer Weltanschauung.*

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of this standpoint is reduced *ad absurdum*, for the man who would otherwise be branded as a criminal now becomes for one-half of the nation a martyr. Why? Because the same State, which on the one hand declares the theory of treason to the country to be ethical and moral and protects it, on the other hand has the presumption to imprison a man who seeks to translate this view from the sphere of theory into practice."

"Gentlemen, all that is impossible, absolutely impossible, if one believes at all that a people in order to survive must turn its strength outwards. But consider the present situation: seven or eight millions employed in agriculture, seven or eight millions employed in industry, six or seven millions unemployed. Consider that, so far as man can see, in this state of affairs there will be no change, and then you must admit that Germany as a whole in the long run cannot continue to exist—unless indeed we find our way back to a quite extraordinary, newly created political force working from within which alone may enable us once more to exercise effective influence abroad."

"For it matters not which problem of our life as a people¹ we wish to attempt to solve: if we wish to support our export trade, always the day will come in this sphere, too, when the political will of the nation as a whole must speak a word of warning in order that we may not be thrust on one side by the interests of other peoples. If we want to build up a new internal market, if we want to solve the problem of our living space,² once again we shall need the collective political strength of the nation. Yes, when it is merely a question of our value as allies, always we must first make of Germany once more a political power-factor. And that can never be

¹ German: *unseres völkischen Lebens*.

² German: *Raumfrage*.

achieved by bringing before the Reichstag a proposal that—through negotiations—we should procure a few heavy batteries, eight or ten tanks, twelve aircraft or, if you will, a few squadrons—that is entirely beside the point. In the lives of peoples the technique of arms has continually changed: but what had to remain unchangeable was the formation of the will. That is the constant factor, the condition for everything else. If that fails, no weapons are of any service. On the contrary, if you were to summon the German people to a *levée en masse* and for this purpose supply it with arms, to-morrow the result would be a civil war, not an attack on the foreign foe. With the body-politic as it is to-day one cannot any longer conduct any practical foreign policy. Or do you believe that with the Germany of to-day Bismarck would have been able to fulfil his historic mission, that the German Reich could have arisen from a constitution inspired by the spirit which animates our own?"

"But in speaking thus of the present system I do not for a moment mean to maintain that when faced with individual happenings one has merely to be doomed to silence and inactivity; what I do assert is that a final solution is possible only if internal divisions arising from class-conflicts can in the future once more be overcome. And in this I am not speaking merely as a pure theoretician. When I returned from the Front in 1918 I found at home a state of affairs which, like all the others, I might simply have accepted as an accomplished fact. I am firmly convinced that a great part of the German nation in these November and December days of 1918 and even in 1919 were absolutely of the opinion that if Germany continued in her domestic politics on this path she must in foreign policy hasten to a rapid end. They held therefore the same view as I did. There was only one difference. I said to myself at that time: It is not enough to realize

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that we are ruined: it is also necessary to understand why! And even that is not enough, but it is necessary to declare war on this destructive development, and for that war to create the indispensable instrument."

"It was clear to me that the world of parties as it had existed up to that day had broken Germany in pieces: on this world of parties Germany had suffered shipwreck. I said to myself: It is foolish to believe that the factors whose existence is in history inseparably bound up with the fall of Germany can possibly now of a sudden become the factors which will secure her rise. Every organization is not only the support of a certain spirit, but in the end also the support of a certain tradition. Therefore when, for example, with associations or parties it has actually become a tradition for the last sixty years to give ground before the attacks of Marxism, I do not believe that after the most frightful disaster they are suddenly capable of breaking with a tradition which has passed into their flesh and blood, that they can turn from retreat to attack, but I believe that the retreat will continue. And more than that: one of these days these associations will go the way which organizations always take after a succession of defeats: they will come to terms with their opponent and will try to attain by agreement what they cannot win by fighting."

"In the year 1918, as I considered the position with cool and considered judgement, I was bound to confess: it is an appallingly difficult course to come before the people at such a time and to form for myself a new organization. It is naturally much easier to join one of the existing formations and thence to seek to overcome the inner division of the nation. But is that at all possible when one starts from the existing organizations? Has not every organization in the last resort the spirit, the men who can find satisfaction in its programme and in

its struggle? If an organization has continually given way before Marxism and at length one day simply capitulated like a coward, has it not during sixty years been completely filled with a spirit and with men who neither understand the other way nor wish to pursue it? On the contrary, at a period of such confusion, will not the future lie with those who are prepared once more to pass through a sieve the body-politic which has fallen into such disorder so that from out the people a new political leadership can crystallize, which knows how to take the mass of the nation in hand¹ and can avoid the mistakes which led to downfall in the past? I was naturally forced to say to myself that it would mean an appalling struggle, for I was not so fortunate as to possess an outstanding name; I was only a nameless German soldier, with a very small zinc identification number on my breast. But I came to realize that if a beginning was not made with the smallest cell, if a new body-politic was not thus formed within the nation, a body-politic which could overcome the existing 'ferments of decomposition', then the nation itself as a whole could never rise again. We have indeed in the past had a practical experience of that; it took 150 years before, from the fallen German Reich of ancient days, Prussia arose to fulfil its historic mission as the germ-cell of a new Reich. And believe me, the case is the same in the question of the internal regeneration of a people. Every idea must draw men to itself. Every idea must step out before the nation, must win from the nation the fighters whom it needs, and must tread alone the difficult way with all its necessary consequences that it may one day gain the strength to turn the course of destiny."

"Events have proved that this reasoning was right in the end. For though even to-day there are many in Ger-

¹ German: *in die Faust*.

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many who believe that we National Socialists would not be capable of constructive work—they deceive themselves! If we were not, already to-day there would be no more *bourgeoisie* alive in Germany: the question Bolshevism or not Bolshevism would long ago have been decided. Take the weight of our gigantic organization—by far the greatest organization of new Germany—out of the scale of the nationalist fortunes and you will see that without us Bolshevism would already tip the balance—a fact of which the best proof is the attitude adopted towards us by Bolshevism. Personally I regard it as a great honour when Mr. Trotski calls upon German Communism at any price to act together with the Social Democrats, since National Socialism must be regarded as the one real danger for Bolshevism. That is for me all the greater honour since we have in twelve years built up our Movement from nothing at all in the teeth of the whole public opinion of the time, in the teeth of the Press, Capital, Business, the Administration, and the State—in a word with everything against us. And to-day that Movement cannot be destroyed: it is there: people must reckon with it, whether they like it or not. (*Loud applause.*) And I am convinced that for all those who still believe in a future for Germany it is clear what their attitude must be. For here they see before them an organization which does not preach as mere theory the views which earlier in my speech I characterized as essential, but puts them into practice, an organization inspired to the highest degree by national sentiment, constructed on the conception of an absolute authority in the leadership in all spheres, at every stage—the solitary party which amongst its members has completely overcome not only the conception of internationalism but also the idea of democracy, which in its entire organization acknowledges only the principles of Responsibility, Com-

mand, and Obedience, and which besides all this for the first time has introduced into the political life of Germany a body numbering millions which is built up on the principle of achievement. Here is an organization which is filled with an indomitable aggressive spirit, an organization which when a political opponent says 'your behaviour we regard as a provocation' for the first time does not see fit immediately to retire from the scene but brutally enforces its own will and hurls against the opponent the retort, 'We fight to-day! We fight to-morrow! And if you regard our meeting to-day as a provocation we shall hold yet another next week—until you have learned that it is no provocation when *German* Germany also professes its belief!' And when you say 'You must not come into the street' we go into the street in spite of you. And when you say, 'Then we shall kill' you', however many sacrifices you force upon us, this young Germany will always continue its marches, and one day it will completely reconquer for the Germans the German street. And when people cast in our teeth our intolerance, we proudly acknowledge it—yes, we have formed the inexorable decision to destroy Marxism in Germany down to its very last root. And this decision we formed not from any love of brawling: I could easily imagine a life which in itself was fairer than to be hunted through Germany, to be persecuted by countless Government regulations, to stand constantly with one foot in gaol, and to have in the State no right which one can call one's own. I could imagine for myself a fairer destiny than that of fighting a battle which at least at the outset was regarded by all as an insane chimera. Finally I believe that I have the capacity to occupy some post or other in the Social Democratic Party: and one thing is certain: if I had turned my capacity to *this* service, I should to-day

¹ German: *schlagen*.

presumably be fit even to enter the Government. But for me it was a greater decision to choose a way on which I was guided by nothing save my own faith, my indestructible confidence in the natural forces—still assuredly present—of our people, and in its importance which with good leadership would one day necessarily reappear."

"And now behind us there lie twelve years of fighting. That fight has not been waged in theory only and in the Party alone turned into practice: we are also ready to wage that fight on the larger scale. I cast my mind back to the time when with six other unknown men I founded this association, when I spoke before 11, 12, 13, 14, 20, 30, and 50 persons; when I recall how after a year I had won 64 members for the Movement, how our small circle kept on growing I must confess that that which has to-day been created, when a stream of millions of our German fellow-countrymen is flowing into our Movement, represents something which is unique in German history. The *bourgeois* parties have had seventy years to work in; where, I ask you, is the organization which could be compared with ours? Where is the organization which can boast, as ours can, that, at need, it can summon 400,000 men into the street, men who are schooled to blind obedience and are ready to execute any order—provided that it does not violate the law? Where is the organization that in seventy years has achieved what we have achieved in barely twelve years?—and achieved with means which were of so improvised a character that one can hardly avoid a feeling of shame when one confesses to an opponent how poverty-stricken the birth and the growth of this great Movement were in the early days."

"To-day we stand at the turning-point of Germany's destiny. If the present development continues, Ger-

many will one day of necessity land in Bolshevik chaos, but if this development is broken, then our people must be taken into a school of iron discipline and gradually freed from the prejudices of both camps. A hard schooling, but one we cannot escape!"

"If one thinks that one can preserve for all time the conceptions of 'bourgeois' and 'proletarian' then one will either preserve the weakness of Germany—which means our downfall—or one ushers in the victory of Bolshevism. If one refuses to surrender those conceptions, then in my judgement a resurrection of the German nation is no longer possible. The chalk line which *Weltanschauungen* have drawn for peoples in the history of the world already more than once has proved to be the death-line. Either we shall succeed in working out a body-politic hard as iron from this conglomerate of parties, associations, unions, and conceptions of the world, from this pride of rank and madness of class, or else, lacking this internal consolidation, Germany will fall in final ruin. Even if another batch of twenty emergency decrees is rained down on our people, these will not stay the great line which leads to destruction, but if one day the road be rediscovered which leads upwards, then first of all the German people must be bent straight again. That is a process which none can escape! It is no good to say that the proletarians are alone responsible. No, believe me, our whole German people of all ranks has a full measure of responsibility for our collapse—a measure pressed down and running over—some because they willed it and have consciously sought to bring it about, the others because they looked on and were too weak to stop our downfall. In history the failure to act is weighed as strictly as is the purpose or the deed. To-day no one can escape the obligation to complete the regeneration of the German body-politic: every one must show his

personal sympathy, must take his place in the common effort."

"If I speak to you to-day it is not to ask for your votes or to induce you on my account to do this or that for the Party. No, I am here to expound a point of view, and I am convinced that the victory of this point of view would mean the only possible starting-point for a German recovery; it is indeed the last item standing to the credit of the German people. I hear it said so often by our opponents, 'You, too, will be unable to master the present crisis.' Supposing, gentlemen, that they are right, what would that mean? It would mean that we should be facing a ghastly period and that we should have to meet it with no other defences than a purely materialistic outlook on every side. And then the distress would, simply in its material aspect, be a thousandfold harder to bear, if one had failed to restore to the people any ideal whatsoever."

"People say to me so often: 'You are only the drummer of national Germany.' And supposing that I were only the drummer? It would to-day be a far more statesmanlike achievement to drum once more into this German people a new faith than gradually to squander the only faith they have. Take the case of a fortress, imagine that it is reduced to extreme privations: as long as the garrison sees a possible salvation, believes in it, hopes for it, so long they can bear the reduced ration. But take from the hearts of men their last belief in the possibility of salvation, in a better future—take that completely from them, and you will see how these men suddenly regard their reduced rations as the most important thing in life. The more you bring it home to their consciousness that they are only objects for men to bargain with, that they are only prisoners of world-politics, the more will they, like all prisoners, concentrate their thoughts on purely

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material interests. On the other hand, the more you bring back a people into the sphere of faith, of ideals, the more will it cease to regard material distress as the one and only thing which counts. And the weightiest evidence for the truth of that statement is our own German people. We would not ever forget that the German people waged wars of religion for 150 years with prodigious devotion, that hundreds of thousands of men once left their plot of land, their property, and their belongings simply for an ideal, simply for a conviction. We would never forget that during those 150 years there was no trace of even an ounce of material interests. Then you will understand how mighty is the force of an idea, of an ideal. Only so can you comprehend how it is that in our Movement to-day hundreds of thousands of young men are prepared at the risk of their lives to withstand our opponents. I know quite well, gentlemen, that when National Socialists march through the streets and suddenly in the evening there arise a tumult and commotion, then the *bourgeois* draws back the window-curtain, looks out, and says: Once more my night's rest disturbed: no more sleep for me. Why must the Nazis always be so provocative and run about the place at night? Gentlemen, if everyone thought like that, then no one's sleep at nights would be disturbed, it is true, but then the *bourgeois* to-day could not venture into the street. If everyone thought in that way, if these young folk had no ideal to move them and drive them forward, then certainly they would gladly be rid of these nocturnal fights. But remember that it means sacrifice when to-day many hundred thousands of SA. and SS. men of the National Socialist Movement every day have to mount on their lorries, protect meetings, undertake marches, sacrifice themselves night after night and then come back in the grey dawn either to workshop and factory or as

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unemployed to take the pittance of the dole: it means sacrifice when from the little which they possess they have further to buy their uniforms, their shirts, their badges, yes, and even pay their own fares. Believe me, there is already in all this the force of an ideal—a great ideal! And if the whole German nation to-day had the same faith in its vocation as these hundred thousands, if the whole nation possessed this idealism, Germany would stand in the eyes of the world otherwise than she stands now! (*Loud applause.*) For our situation in the world in its fatal effects is but the result of our own underestimate of German strength. (*Very true!*) Only when we have once more changed this fatal valuation of ourselves can Germany take advantage of the political possibilities which, if we look far enough into the future, can place German life once more upon a natural and secure basis—and that means either new living-space (*Lebensraum*) and the development of a great internal market or protection of German economic life against the world without and utilization of all the concentrated strength of Germany. The labour resources of our people, the capacities, we have them already: no one can deny that we are industrious. But we must first refashion the political pre-conditions: without that, industry and capacity, diligence and economy are in the last resort of no avail, for an oppressed nation will not be able to spend on its own welfare even the fruits of its own economy but must sacrifice them on the altar of exactions and of tribute."

"And so in contrast to our own official Government I cannot see any hope for the resurrection of Germany if we regard the foreign politics of Germany as the primary factor: the primary necessity is the restoration of a sound national German body-politic armed to strike. In order to realize this end I founded thirteen

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years ago the National Socialist Movement: that Movement I have led during the last twelve years, and I hope that one day it will accomplish this task and that, as the fairest result of its struggle, it will leave behind it a German body-politic completely renewed internally, intolerant of anyone who sins against the nation and its interests, intolerant against anyone who will not acknowledge its vital interests or who opposes them, intolerant and pitiless against anyone who shall attempt once more to destroy or disintegrate this body-politic, and yet ready for friendship and peace with anyone who has a wish for peace and friendship." (*Long and tumultuous applause.*)

For the economic plans of the Government as outlined in its proclamation to the German Nation on assuming power (30 January 1933) see p. 112.

*In his speech in the Sportpalast in Berlin on 10 February 1933 Hitler said: "We wish further to build up this people, first of all with the German peasant as its foundation. He is the essential pillar on which all political life must rest. Since I fight for the future of Germany I must fight for the German soil and the German peasant. It is he who gives us men for our cities, he has been through the millennia the eternal source of our strength, and he must continue to be supported."*¹

From the first Hitler stressed the primary importance of production and increased consumption: on 1 March 1933, in a speech to the National Socialist Works-Cell-Organization, he said: "It is not enough to give a fresh start to² production, but one must develop consumption-power. Just as for a time too much blood was pumped into

¹ *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1933), p. 10.

² German: *anzukurbeln*, "to crank up".

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German economic life from abroad so of recent years so much blood has been drawn off that the circulation has been stopped."¹

In his speech in the Reichstag on 23 March 1933 Hitler said:

"Great are the tasks of the National Government in the sphere of economic life."

"Here all action must be governed by one law: the people does not live for business and business does not exist for capital, but capital serves business and business serves the people. In principle the Government will not protect the economic interests of the German people by the circuitous method of an economic bureaucracy to be organized by the State, but by the utmost furtherance of private initiative and by the recognition of the rights of property."

"A just balance must be established between productive intention on the one hand and productive work on the other. Administration must respect, by means of economy, the results of ability, diligence, and work. The problem of our public finances is also to no small degree a problem of economical administration. The proposed reform of our fiscal system must lead to a simplification of assessment and thus to a reduction of the costs and burdens. In principle, the mill of taxation must be built beside the stream and not at the source. These measures must be accompanied by a reduction of burdens through simplification of the administration. This reform of the fiscal system to be carried out in the Reich and the federal States is, however, not a question which can be settled in a moment, but only during a period commensurate with the necessities of the situation."

"The Government will systematically avoid currency

¹ *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3 Mar. 1933.

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experiments. We are faced above all by two economic tasks of the first magnitude. The salvation of the German farmer must be achieved at all costs."

"The ruin of this class in our nation would lead to the gravest conceivable consequences. The restoration of the remunerative capacity of agriculture may be hard on the consumer. But the fate that would await the entire German nation, if the German farmer were ruined, is not to be compared with these hardships. It is only in connexion with the remunerative capacity of our agriculture, which must be attained at all costs, that the question of protection against distraint or relief from indebtedness can be solved. Should that not be achieved, then the ruin of our agriculturists would lead not only to the collapse of German business as a whole, but above all to the collapse of the German body corporate. To maintain our agriculture in a healthy state is the first condition for the prosperity and expansion of our industry, of German home trade and of German exports. But for the counterpoise of the German agricultural class, the communistic madness would already have overrun Germany, and thus finally ruined German business. What the whole of business, including the export trade, owes to the sound common-sense of the German agriculturists cannot be repaid by any sacrifice of a business nature. We must, therefore, devote our greatest solicitude in future to pursuing the back-to-the-land policy in Germany."

"Furthermore, it is perfectly clear to the National Government that the final removal of the distress both in agricultural business and in that of the towns depends on the absorption of the army of the unemployed in the process of production. This constitutes the second of the great economic tasks. It can only be solved by a general appeasement, in applying sound natural eco-

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conomic principles and all measures necessary, even if, at the time, they cannot reckon with any degree of popularity. The providing of work and the compulsory labour service are, in this connexion, only individual measures within the scope of the entire action proposed."

"The attitude of the National Government to the Middle Classes is similar to that adopted by them to the German agriculturists. Their salvation can only be achieved within the scope of the general economic policy. The National Government are determined to solve this question thoroughly. They recognize it as their historical task to support and further the millions of German workers in the struggle for their right of existence. As Chancellor and National Socialist, I feel myself allied with them as the former companions of my youth. The increase of the consuming power of these masses will be an important means of furthering economic recovery. While maintaining our social legislation, the first step must be taken for its reform. Above all, however, all working power will be utilized in the service of the nation as a whole. The waste of millions of hours of human labour is an act of madness and a crime that must lead to the impoverishment of everyone. Whatever values may be produced by the utilization of our superfluous man-power, they will represent indispensable vital necessities for millions of people who are now prostrated by misery and distress. It must and will be possible for our national talent for organization to succeed in solving this problem."

"We are aware that the geographical position of Germany, with her lack of raw materials, does not fully permit of economic self-sufficiency for the Reich. It cannot be too often emphasized that nothing is further from the thoughts of the Government of the Reich than hostility to exporting. We are fully aware that we have need of

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the connexion with the outside world, and that the marketing of German commodities in the world provides a livelihood for many millions of our fellow-countrymen."

"We also know what are the conditions necessary for a sound exchange of services between the nations of the world. For Germany has been compelled for years to perform services without receiving an equivalent, with the result that the task of maintaining Germany as an active partner in the exchange of commodities is not so much one of commercial as of financial policy. So long as we are not accorded a reasonable settlement of our foreign debts corresponding to our economic capacity, we are unfortunately compelled to maintain our foreign exchange control. The Government of the Reich is, for that reason, also compelled to maintain the restrictions on the efflux of capital across the frontiers of Germany. If the Government of the Reich are guided by these principles, we may certainly expect that increasing understanding abroad will facilitate the inclusion of the German Reich in the peaceful competition of the nations."

"The furtherance of transport until a sensible balance is reached between all transport interests will be initiated at the beginning of the coming month by a reform of the tax on motor vehicles. The maintenance of the German Railways Company and its return to the hands of the Reich as soon as possible is a task imposed upon us not only as an economic but also as a moral duty. The National Government will devote their energies to the development of aviation as a means of peaceful communication between the nations."

"In all these spheres of activity the Government require the support not only of the general forces in our nation, which they are resolved to make use of to the

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greatest extent, but also of the devoted trust and work of the professional official classes. It is only in cases where the public finances are in dire need that intervention will take place, but even then absolute justice will be the supreme law governing our action."¹

*At the reception by von Hindenburg of representatives of the workers in Berlin on 1 May Hitler said that this was perhaps the greatest day in their lives: it would serve to show them "how untrue was the assertion that the Revolution in Germany was directed against the workingman. On the contrary its innermost meaning and purpose is to give the millions of German working men their true place in the community of the people and thus really to build them into our holy German Fatherland."*²

On the creation of a fund for the victims of disasters among workmen see F.Z., 5 May 1933.

*In his speech to the representatives of German Agriculture in the Herrenhaus on 5 April 1933 Hitler said:*³

"If we are able to meet again to-day under the old black, white, and red flag and beneath the symbol of the national rebirth in Germany, the greatest credit for this historical change in our destiny is perhaps due to the German farmer. . . . As I am speaking here in the name of the National Government, I will speak of the tendency by which it is inspired. We describe ourselves now as

¹ German text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 30-2; authorized English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, pp. 20-3.

² *F.Z.*, 2 May 1933.

³ This speech, when one considers the audience to which it was addressed, is astonishingly empty of specific content; I have included the translation of a few sentences to illustrate the general tenor of the speech.

the Government of the German resurgence and of the national revolution. By this we mean that this Government regards and feels itself quite consciously as representing the interests of the German nation. It must therefore also represent the interests of German agriculture, for I cannot advocate the interests of a nation unless I recognize after all that the most important force lies in that class which actually represents the future of the nation. . . . History has taught us that a nation can exist without cities, but history would have taught us one day, if the old system had continued, that a nation cannot exist without agriculturists (*Bauern*). . . . Believe me, the resurgence which we have just lived through would not have been possible if a part of the people in the country-side had not always been in favour of our Movement. It would have been impossible in the cities alone to conquer these starting-points which have given us in our action the sanction of legality. . . . Lasting successes a Government can win only if the necessity is recognized for "the securing of a people's room to live (*Lebensraum*) and thus of its own agricultural class". . . . I believe that this Government which regards the maintenance of the German nationality as its mission—which again is dependent as regards its interests upon the maintenance of the German agricultural class—will never be mistaken in its decisions. It may make mistakes from time to time as to the means employed, but never in principle. . . . The German agriculturists have now united to form a great whole: it will in future facilitate the work of the Government to an unprecedented extent by supporting it with its enormous weight of numbers. . . . We are determined to adopt now and to carry out in the next few years those measures which we know will be recognized by later generations as fundamentally right. . . . For fifteen years we have all, without

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exception, transgressed grievously, some of us actively and consciously, and others passively and tolerantly. It is for us, united and together, to overcome that time. Let the task be ever so great, if it must be solved, then it will be solved. In this case also the eternal principle applies that where there's a will, there's a way."¹

The first great pronouncement to Labour was made by Hitler "before two million workers" on the National Labour Day, 1 May 1933.

This is mainly a rhetorical elaboration of a few phrases:

To-day we can sing once more the old German folk-song "May is here, our people have awakened once more". May Day "the symbol of class warfare, of perpetual strife and contention, has become once more the symbol of the great unification and rebirth of the nation". . . . The results of class warfare are to be seen all around us and we wish to learn a lesson from them, for we have recognized one thing as necessary for the return to health of our nation: The German people must learn to know each other again. The millions who have been split up into professions and kept apart by artificial class distinctions, who, foolishly clinging to profession and status, cannot understand each other any longer must find once more the way to each other. An enormous and stupendous task—we know it. . . . Nevertheless we must not give way to despondency and despair. What has been built up by the hands of man can also be destroyed by the hands of man; what human madness once invented, can be overcome by human wisdom. . . . *There follows an elaboration of the motto for the day: "Honour work and respect the worker."* "Not *what* he does but *how* he does

¹ German text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 218–22; official English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, pp. 27–30.

it must be the deciding factor". . . . "What is necessary is to teach each class and profession the importance of the others. For this reason we wish to go to the cities and explain to them the nature and the necessity of the German peasantry, and to go into the country and to our intellectuals and tell them how important the German labourer is. We want to go to the labourer and to the peasant and teach them that without a German intellectual class there can be no German life, that they all form together one mighty body corporate: brain, spirit, and fist; labourer, peasant, and professional man."

"This first of May is intended to bring to the realization of the German nation that diligence and labour alone do not create life, unless they are united to the strength and will of a people. Diligence and labour, strength and will, even if they work together, still need behind them the protection of the mighty fist of the nation in order that real blessings may result." *There follows a lengthy exposition of the theme* "Germans! you are a strong nation, if you yourselves wish to be strong". "Germans! you are not second rate, even if the world wishes to have it so a thousand times. You are not second-class and inferior. Awake to a realization of your own importance. . . . Forget the fourteen years of decay and think of the two thousand years of German history."

Hitler then announced the introduction of the principle of compulsory labour service as an ethical idea: "to teach the German nation once more that manual labour does not degrade or dishonour but rather does honour to everyone who performs it faithfully and conscientiously."

At the end of the speech Hitler promised that the Government "would endeavour this year to take the first step on the way to an organic economic development, working on the fundamental principle that there can be no recovery which does not begin at the root of

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national and economic life, the peasant. From him the way leads to the labourer and then to the intellectual. We shall therefore begin with the farmer and put him first of all on a sound basis". . . . "Our next task is the removal of unemployment, the providing of work. This providing of work is divided into two main groups. First the private providing of work. Under this heading we are going to undertake a great work this year which will bring the buildings and houses in Germany in order and thus give employment to hundreds of thousands." "Further it is our intention to start in a large way the public providing of work this year. We have made a programme which we do not wish to leave to our successors, the programme of road-building, a gigantic task which will demand millions." . . . "The German people have come to themselves. They will not endure people among them any more who are not for Germany. We are determined honourably to earn a recovery for our nation by our industriousness, our perseverance, and our unshakable determination. We do not pray to God: 'Lord, make us free.' We shall work, behave as brothers one to another, and strive together until the day comes when we can stand before the Lord and say that we have become different, that the German nation is no more a nation without honour, a nation covered with shame, a nation at war within itself, a nation of little faith: that the German nation is strong again in its own will, strong in perseverance, and strong to make every sacrifice. We will not let Him go until He bless our fight for our freedom and bless our German people and fatherland."¹

¹ German text, *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 143-51; official English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, pp. 31-7. The speech is singularly lacking in positive content: cf. the comment of a National Socialist, who was present on the Tempelhofer Feld on that day: "My first reaction to the speech was a feeling of shame and indignation. Though I

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In his speech delivered at the First Congress of German Workers on 10 May 1933 Hitler said:

"Great upheavals in the life of peoples cannot occur unless, I might almost say, an urgent need for them is present. No revolution which profoundly affects a people's life is possible unless a people's heart cries aloud for such a revolution, unless certain conditions positively drive men to such a revolution. It is easy to effect an external change in the form of a State. To recast the inner mould of a people's life can never be successfully achieved save when a certain process of development has more or less played itself out, when a people has itself felt that the path which it has been pursuing is wrong: such a feeling may not perhaps be quite clearly defined, it may be only subconsciously realized, but the people desires to leave that wrong path: it is only because of the dullness and inertia of the masses that it fails to find a new way until from some direction or other the impulsion comes or until a new Movement which has already dis-

had not expected much, I was not prepared for such a brazen insult to intelligence. The gap between what the Führer actually offered and what the Party had promised to the worker was too great, the paltry content of his speech as the colossal climax of the day's programme too pitifully inadequate." Kurt C. W. Ludecke, *I knew Hitler* (London, 1938), p. 563. And the epilogue to the speech followed the next day. "In the morning Labour had its grim surprise. Squads of Dr. Ley's N.S.B.O. (*Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellen-Organisation*, the Shop-Cell Organization of the Nazi Party) swooped down on the German Trade Unions, took possession of all their offices throughout the Reich without the slightest resistance, arrested their leaders, impounded their funds, and announced their dissolution . . . Labour banks were occupied, consumers' co-operatives, with their vast network of stores and factories, were seized; in brief, the chief bulwark of Marxism was wrested away and transferred into another stronghold of Nazism with the militant name 'The German Labour Front'." (Kurt C. W. Ludecke, *op. cit.*, p. 564.) For further statements by Hitler on this subject of Trade Unions, see speeches on May Day and 16 May 1934, pp. 892, 901.

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cerned the new way one day constrains the people to adopt it. At the first moment it may desire it or it may apparently not desire it, but still it will advance on that way as soon as in its heart, whether consciously or unconsciously, it has the feeling that the path which it has been following is in the last resort not the right one."

"Amidst all the crises under which we suffer and which do but present a single connected picture, perhaps that which the people feels most acutely is the economic crisis. The political crisis, the moral crisis, are only very rarely felt by the individual. The average man sees in the experiences of his day not that which affects the community as a whole but for the most part only that which strikes himself. Therefore the present has only very rarely any consciousness of political or moral collapse so long as this collapse does not extend in one way or another into economic life. For when this happens it is no longer a question of some abstract problem that can perhaps be observed or studied in its effect on others, but one day the individual himself will be caught hold of by this question, and the more intimately such a crisis begins to influence his own life, the more clearly does he come to recognize that existing conditions cannot remain as they are. Then all of a sudden people talk of economic distress, of economic misery, and then, starting from this distress, one can awaken an understanding for that other distress which otherwise is wont to remain for a long time hidden from the individual man."

"It is, however, natural that the different causes of this economic distress are, even so, not immediately recognized, that all the various factors which have co-operated so as at length to produce this distress are not at once readily seen. It is also comprehensible that in such a case everyone tends to lay the responsibility on someone else, and especially on the community in general, on corpora-

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tions and the like, while in fact he himself must bear his share of that responsibility. So that it is a great piece of good fortune if one can gradually succeed in so explaining such a distress that more and more people can see clearly its true causes; for that is essential if one is to find ways to mend the situation."

"It is not enough to say that the German economic distress is a phenomenon resulting from a world-crisis, from a general economic distress, since of course exactly in the same way every other people could plead the same excuse, could adduce the same reason. It is clear that even so this distress cannot have its roots all over the world, those roots must always be found within the life of peoples. And though only one thing is probably true—that these roots are perhaps the same in the case of many peoples—yet one cannot hope to master this distress by the mere statement that the presence of a certain distress is a feature of the age; rather it is clearly a necessity to disclose these roots in the internal life of a single people and to cure the distress there where one can really effect a cure."

"Unfortunately it is precisely the German who is only too inclined at such times, instead of looking at his own internal life, to let his gaze range into the far distance. Our people has been so long falsely taught to think in international terms that even in such a distress as the present it tends to treat this problem, too, from international points of view. And the result is that many of us simply cannot believe that perhaps it might be possible to remedy such a misfortune in some other way than by international methods. And yet that is an error. It is natural that international infirmities which afflict all peoples in one way or another must be removed by the peoples who suffer from them, but that in no way alters the fact that every people must wage this battle on its

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own behalf, and above all that no single people can be liberated from this distress by international methods if it does not for its own part take the necessary measures. These measures can of course find their place within the framework of international measures, but one's own action must not be made dependent upon the action of others."

"The crisis in German economics is not merely a crisis which is expressed by our economic statistics, but it is above all a crisis which can also be traced in the internal course of our economic life, in the character of its organization, &c. And here we can indeed speak of a crisis which has hit our people more severely than other peoples. It is the crisis which we see in the relations between capital, economics, and people. This crisis is particularly obvious in the relations between our workmen and the employers. Here the crisis has been more acute than in any other country in the world. If this crisis is not solved, then all other attempts to master our economic distress will in the end be fruitless. If we study the essential characteristics of the German Workers' Movement as it has gradually developed during the last half-century, we shall find that three causes conditioned this unique development."

"The first cause lies in the alteration in the form of business organization which determined the character of our economics. That cause may be traced throughout the world precisely as in Germany. At the beginning of the last century and increasingly during the century there takes place a transformation of our earlier—I might describe it as small-*bourgeois*—form of economic life in the direction of industrialization, and as a consequence the patriarchal relationship between employer and employed was finally destroyed. This process was hastened from the moment when share-capital took the place of

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personal property. At this point we can observe the beginning of an alienation between those working with the head and those working with the hand, for that is in the last resort the sole really decisive distinction."

"The word 'property' in itself cannot be regarded in this connexion as decisive, for we know that a great number of those who founded our industrial activity did not come originally from the propertied classes but from the working classes, that in them what was but at first the strength of the hand¹ broadened out to include intellectual genius, that they became divinely endowed inventors and organizers to whom, my comrades, we to-day owe in part our present life; for had it not been for the skill of these men it would never have been possible for us to feed and sustain sixty-five millions within the limited territory on which we dwell. Otherwise we should have remained an exporting country, an undeveloped country exporting labour and, of course, with that labour exporting its intellectual gifts which would always remain hidden: we should have been fertilizers of civilization for the rest of the world. That things did not continue thus we owe to the countless men of our people who have worked themselves up from the depths and who through their capacity, through their genius, could create and secure bread for millions of men. Thus it is not as though we could speak simply of employers and employed. Our starting-point can be only the fact that intellect, as always in human life, rises imperiously above everyday capacity. This intellect itself, however, has never with us been the prerogative of birth; we discover it in all strata of our social life, in all positions. It can truly be said that every stratum of the German people has here made its contribution."

"The gradual alienation of classes which we in Ger-

¹ German: *Faust*, "fist".

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many experienced led to the appearance on the one side of the special interests of the employers and on the other side the special interests of the employed. This was the beginning of our unhappy economic development. When one had once started on this road, of necessity the two sides became ever more widely separated. Here a law governs human affairs: when one has once chosen the wrong road this road always leads one further from reason. That for seventy years was our experience. The road in all its consequences was so far removed from natural reason that thinking men who were themselves the leaders on this road, if they had been approached individually and questioned, must at once have admitted the madness of pursuing that course. And, as individuals, they have in fact always made that admission. Only through the constraint which organizations put upon them they were unable to get back on to the road of reason."

"On the contrary, the road led necessarily to further alienation and this tendency, as I said, was favoured by the depersonalization of property. And I might almost say that this process was apparently still further encouraged and strengthened on scientific grounds. There gradually arose an ideology which believed that it could permanently support the conception of property even though those who derived any practical profit from the conception no longer represented more than a minimal percentage of the nation. And on the other hand there arose the view that, since there was now only so small a percentage of those who enjoyed property, the conception of private property as such should be abandoned. The result was a never-ending discussion and the war over the conception of private property and of 'property' as such. And as a consequence this war led to an ever wider alienation of the exponents of the two views in our

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economic life. And the further development is again in part contrary to nature. So soon as the two interests regard their task in the intellectual sphere no longer as one which they share in common, it is clear that it is only organized labour which can hold its own against the employer, it follows as a matter of course that the force which continues to be personified in the employer can be countered only by the collective force of the employees."

"When one has once started on this path, then logically the employers will in turn form their organization. And as a matter of course these two organizations will not pursue their own ends in mutual toleration, but they will maintain their apparently separate interests with those weapons which are given them: viz. lock-outs and strikes. In this warfare sometimes one and sometimes the other side will conquer. But in either case it is the whole nation which will have to pay the cost of this warfare and suffer the damage. And the final result of this development is that these organizations as they build themselves up, considering the passion of the German for bureaucratization, will continuously become more unwieldy and their personnel will grow constantly larger. And at length the organization (*Apparat*) will no longer serve the interests of its creators, but these will be subservient to the organization, so that the warfare is continued in order that the existence of the organization may be justified, even though at times Reason suddenly comes and says: 'The whole affair is madness; the gain when compared with the sacrifices is positively ludicrous. If you reckon up the sacrifices which we make for the organization they are far greater than any possible profit.' Then the organizations in their turn will have to prove how necessary they are by stirring up the parties to fight each other. And then it may even be that the two

organizations come to an understanding, when once they have realized the situation."

"That means: Organization A says: 'I am glad that organization B exists, for then I can always find ways of disagreeing with it. If organization B were not there, but if honest fanatics were fighting in its stead—that would be much worse! We know quite well the people of organization B and we know too how to deal with them. One can find a way easily. Give to Caesar that which is Caesar's and to the people that which is the people's—and to the trade union what is the trade union's. Then it is simple to find a way to a "peaceful" settlement.' The whole business becomes at times a sorry piece of theatricality: there is a lot of barking on both sides, both sides attack each other, but in the end no one is any the worse—they cannot destroy each other, for in that case neither the trade unions nor the employers' associations could survive! In the last resort all these organizations live at the cost of the community. This battle which leads to an endless waste of means, of labour force, &c., is the first reason for the catastrophe which slowly but surely approached."

"The second reason is the rise of Marxism. Marxism, as a conception of the world with disintegration for its aim, saw with keen insight that the trade-union movement offered it the possibility in the future of conducting its attack against the State and against human society with an absolutely annihilating weapon. Not with any idea of helping the worker—what is the worker of any country to these apostles of internationalism? Nothing at all! They never see him! They themselves are no workers: they are alien *littérateurs*, an alien gang! They saw clearly that by means of the trade-union movement and through a most friendly encouragement of excesses perpetrated by the other side they could most easily

procure for themselves an instrument which would both conduct the fight and on the other hand would provide them with their livelihood. For throughout these decades political Social Democracy has lived from this battle and from this fighting-organization. One had to inoculate the trade union with the idea: You are an instrument of the class-war and that war in the last resort can find its political leaders only in Marxism. What is then more comprehensible than that one should also pay one's tribute to the leadership? And the tribute was exacted in full measure. These gentlemen have not been content with a tithe: they demanded a considerably higher rate of interest."

"This class-war leads to the proclamation of the trade union as simply an instrument for the representation of the economic interests of the working classes and therewith for the purposes of the general strike. Thus the general strike appears for the first time as a means for exercising political power¹ and shows what Marxism really hoped to gain from this weapon—not a means for the salvation of the worker, but on the contrary only an instrument of war for the destruction of the State which opposed Marxism. To prove to what lengths this whole madness could go we Germans have an unprecedented example, as frightful as it is instructive, in the War."

"To-day many Social Democratic leaders, men whose views have been completely changed through the new spirit of the new age, contradict my statements: they assure me, with memories that are, I fancy, somewhat uncertain, that Social Democracy fought during the War on the field of battle. No! Marxism never fought, it was the German working-man who did the fighting. In the year 1914 the German working-man in a sudden—I might almost say a clairvoyant—inner recognition of the

¹ German: *ein politisches Machtmittel*.

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truth deserted Marxism and turned back to his people. The leaders of Marxism who saw this fate breaking in upon them could do nothing to prevent it. A few of them—very few—did indeed in this hour return to their people with heart-felt conviction. We know well that a great man who to-day we may indeed say has intervened decisively in the history of the world, Benito Mussolini, in this hour of recognition found his way back to his people. There are some, too, who did the same in Germany, but the great mass of political leaders did not follow the mighty uprising of the German working-man; they did not draw for themselves the consequences to which such an uprising pointed. They did not immediately go to the front as volunteers. Apparently at that time, in spite of all the asseverations which they make to-day, this inner transformation in the thoughts of men passed them by. Working-men fell—the leaders have carefully preserved themselves—99 per cent. of them! They have not to their credit the percentage of dead and wounded which we see in the people as a whole. They regarded their political activity as more important. Then in 1914-15 they felt that their business lay in a cautious reserve, and later in dispatching to their posts certain outsiders; they saw their task in a gradual withdrawal from the national task. At the last their hopes were realized in the Revolution."

"We can add only one remark: had the German trade unions been in our hands during the war, if they had been in my hands, and had they been trained with the same false end in view as was in fact the case, then we National Socialists would have placed the whole of this gigantic organization at the service of the Fatherland. We should have declared: we recognize of course the sacrifices entailed: we are ready ourselves to make those sacrifices: we do not wish to escape, we want to fight

with you on the same terms; we give our destiny and our life into the hand of Almighty Providence just as the others must do. That we should have done as a matter of course. For, German workmen, we should have said, you must realize: it is not the fate of the German State which is now to be decided, not of the Empire as a constitutional form, not of the monarchy: it is not a question of capitalism or militarism: it is the existence of our people which is at stake and we German workmen make up 70 per cent. of this people. It is our fate which is to be decided!"

"That is what should have been known then, and it could have been known. We should have known it. All of us would have drawn the consequences for our own lives and we should naturally have drawn the same consequences for the trade unions. We should have declared: German worker, we want to champion your rights. Certainly we should in consequence have often opposed the State—we should have protested against the abuses and the shameless conduct of the companies supplying war materials; we should have protested against this gang of profiteers, and we should have demanded that the whole pack should be brought to reason, if necessary with a halter. In the same way we should have overthrown anyone who refused to serve the Fatherland in the army or in any other way. We should have declared: in this opposition of ours we have no other end in view than the victory of our people, for that is not the victory of any constitutional form: it is the victory which maintains our life. And if we lose the war, it is not any constitutional form which we have lost: rather it will mean that millions of us will have lost their daily bread. And the first to lose that bread will be—not the capitalists and millionaires—but those who work with their hands, the unfortunate masses."

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"It was a crime that this was not done. It was not done because it would have violated the inner meaning of Marxism: for Marxism wanted only the destruction of Germany. Marxism bided its time until it was thought that the people and the Reich, worn out by superior force, would not be able to withstand the attacks from within. And then they struck. It was Germany that they struck, and first of all and hardest of all they struck the German working-man. For the sum of distress, of suffering and of misery which since that day has attacked millions of small families and small households in the German working classes the criminals of November 1918 can never answer. To-day they have no ground for complaint. We have exacted no vengeance. Had we wished to exact vengeance—we must have killed them by tens of thousands!"

"They are for ever saying that the Social Democrats also took their stand on the battle-field. The German workers took their stand on the battle-field. But even if at that time in some hazy way they had still felt themselves to be Social Democrats—in fact that was not the case; anyone who was at the front as a soldier knows that at that time no one had a thought for a party—but even if it had been the case, how mean it was of these leaders that they robbed their own people, who had borne the sacrifices of this struggle, of the fruits of their sacrifices—of the fruits of all their suffering, of all their distresses, their mortal fears, their torture, their hunger, and their sleepless nights. They can never make repayment for all that through this crime they inflicted on our people. And above all they can never make repayment for having driven the German working-man into an intellectual isolation which did but grow the more terrible as decade succeeded decade. Through this mean trick of November 1918—the work of petty irresponsible groups—they

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burdened the German working-man with an act for which he could never be made responsible—that wrong, too, they can never make good. For since the days of November 1918 millions of Germans have held the view that it was the fault of the German working-man which caused the country's collapse. He who himself had made such unspeakable sacrifices, he who had filled our regiments with the millions of their riflemen—he as a class was suddenly made collectively liable for the act of the perjured, lying, degenerate destroyers of the Fatherland. That was the worst that could have happened, for at that moment for many millions in Germany the community of the people was shattered. Millions were in despair, others stared dully out into the world and could no longer find their way back to their people. And together with the collapse of the community of the people there went—absolutely necessarily—the collapse of German economic life. For economics is not a thing apart, it is a living process, one of the functions of that body which is the people, and its action, its whole course, is determined by human beings. When human beings are destroyed in this way, then there is no ground for surprise if slowly economic life as a whole is destroyed at the same time. The madness of individual thought is summed up in the madness of the thought-world of the whole community, and at last it destroys that whose destruction in its turn inflicts the greatest damage upon the community.”

“The third cause of this fatal development lay in the State itself. There might have been something which could perhaps have opposed these millions and that something would have been the State, had it not been that this State had sunk so low that it had become the plaything of groups of interested parties. It is no mere chance that this whole development runs parallel with

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the democratization of our public life. This democratization tended to bring the State directly into the hands of certain strata of society which identified themselves with property as such, with big business (*Unternehmertum*) as such. The masses increasingly got the impression that the State itself was no objective institution standing above parties,¹ that in particular it was no longer the incorporation of any objective authority, but that it was itself the mouthpiece of the economic will and of the economic interests of certain groups within the nation, and that even the leadership of the State justified such an assumption. The victory of the political *bourgeoisie* was nothing else than the victory of a stratum of society which had arisen as the result of economic laws: that stratum of society did not possess in the smallest degree those capacities which were essential for a true political leadership; indeed it made political leadership to depend upon the constantly changing features of economic life and upon the influence exercised by this economic life in the sphere of propaganda and the moulding of public opinion. In other words: the people was justified in its feeling that in every sphere of life a natural selection took place always on the basis of capacity for work in that particular sphere: it was only in the sphere of political leadership that there was no such selection. In the sphere of political leadership there had been suddenly adopted a principle of selection which owed its existence to a completely different process."

"While it is natural that amongst soldiers he only can be a leader who has been trained for that post, it was by no means a matter of course that only he should be a political leader who had been trained in that sphere and had besides proved his capacity; gradually the view

¹ German official text *Erscheinungen*: I have translated the word in this context "parties". *F.Z.* gives *Ernennungen*.

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gained ground that membership of a certain class which had arisen as the result of economic laws carried with it the capacity to govern a people. We have come to realize the consequences of this error. The stratum of society which claimed for itself the leadership has failed us in every hour of crisis, and in the nation's hour of supreme difficulty it collapsed miserably. Every German battalion performed its task otherwise. Remember that this people of ours still had millions of its men facing the enemy, and every one knows what an effort was needed, what resolution in each individual case was required to lead a troop—perhaps of the Reserve—once more against the enemy—with death always before one's eyes to march into the zone of fire and not to hesitate. And at home political leaders yield and their opposition breaks down before a handful of miserable deserters! Men who had deserted because they were too cowardly to meet the enemy, and the home-front capitulates before these poltroons. Let no one say to me: 'No other course was possible.' It was only for these leaders that no other course was possible."

"For any other leaders the way was marked out quite clearly and it would not have been possible to plead the excuse that one was bound to capitulate before any order that came from a higher authority. At certain moments in history there can be no orders which oblige a man or a Government to capitulate before disaster or to abandon the field in face of their moral inferiors. I believe that if anyone had the right to capitulate, then assuredly in thousands upon thousands of cases it was the German soldier who had had the misfortune, thanks to an unwise German diplomacy, to be compelled for four and a half years to withstand forces which nearly always outnumbered those of his own side and who in spite of this—believing confidently that he was fighting for his people

—drew the only consequence which an honourable soldier can possibly draw—that he must either conquer or die.”

“No: what happened is due to no chance: a wrong development on the 9th of November was conclusively proved to have been a wrong development: a wrong construction¹ on this day was conclusively shown to be a wrong construction, and it was but a question of time whether this wrong construction would finally doom Germany to ruin or whether from Germany itself there would still one day arise a force which could conquer this wrong construction. I believe that we are now in a period when this construction has been finally conquered.”

“And that means that we are also in a period when the question of the rebuilding of our German economic life must not only be fundamentally reconsidered throughout but must find its fundamental solution. The problem must be regarded from no merely external point of view, not regarded merely from above: we must penetrate to the inner causes of the collapse with the resolution that these inner causes shall be removed. I believe that immediately we must begin at the point where in the last resort a beginning must to-day be made—we must begin with the State itself. A new authority must be set up, and this authority must be independent of momentary currents of contemporary opinion, especially of those currents which flow from a narrow and limited economic egoism. There must be constituted a leadership of the State which represents a real authority, an authority independent of any one stratum of society. A leadership must arise in which every citizen can have confidence, assured that its sole aim is the happiness, the welfare, of the German people, a leadership which can with

¹ German: *eine Fehlkonstruktion*: perhaps “a State built on a false foundation”.

justice say of itself that it is on every side completely independent. People have talked so much of the past Age of Absolutism, of the absolutism of Frederick the Great, and of the Age of Popular Democracy, our Parliamentary Epoch. Regarded from the standpoint of the people the earlier period was the more objective: it could really more objectively safeguard the interests of the nation, while the later period continuously descended more and more to the representation merely of the interests of individual classes (*Stände*)."

"Nothing can prove that more clearly than the mere conception of a class-war—the slogan that the rule of the *bourgeoisie* must be replaced by the rule of the proletariat. That means that the whole question becomes one of a change in a class-dictatorship,¹ while our aim is the dictatorship of the people, i.e. the dictatorship of the whole people, the community.² We do not regard position or standing in life as decisive; all such considerations fade into insignificance before Destiny, before the millennia. Such things come—and go. That which abides is the substance in itself—a substance of flesh and blood—our people. That truly exists, that remains, and only to that should one feel oneself to be responsible. Only so will the first pre-condition be created for curing our worst economic evils. Only so will it be possible for millions of men to recover a living conviction that the State does not represent the interests of a group or a class, that the Government is not the advocate of a group or a class, but that it is the advocate of the people as such. If on one or the other side there are those who think that they cannot adapt themselves to this conception, then against the one or the other side the new authority must assert itself. It must bring to the consciousness of all that

¹ German: *einen Wechsel der Diktatur von Klassen oder Ständen*.

² German: *die Diktatur der Gesamtheit, der Gemeinschaft*.

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it does not derive its authority from the goodwill of any class but from a law, and that law is: the necessity of maintaining the people's life."¹

"And further it is essential that one should sweep away all those forces² which consciously abuse human weaknesses in order with their help to carry into execution their deadly schemes. When fourteen or fifteen years ago and over and over again since then I declared before the German nation that I saw my task before the bar of German history to lie in the destruction of Marxism, that was for me no empty phrase, that was a sacred oath which I will keep so long as I draw breath. This confession of faith, the confession of faith of an individual, through my effort has become the confession of faith of a mighty organization. To-day I know that if Fate should suddenly call me away, this fight would still be waged and would never cease: and the guarantee of that is this Movement. This battle is for us no struggle that can be ended by any cowardly composition: we see before us in Marxism the enemy of our people and we will annihilate him, we will extirpate him down to the last root, without exception and without mercy!"

"We know, too, that in economic life interests seem to be opposed to one another, that the working-man feels that he is being exploited and that he is in fact often exploited, that the employer thinks that he is being oppressed and is indeed often oppressed, that that which appears to be a gain for one is regarded as the misfortune of another, and that one man's success often means another's ruin. That we know and see and we know, too, that at all times men have suffered in this way. But precisely for that very reason is it all the more dangerous when an organization has as its sole aim consciously to

¹ German: *Notwendigkeit der Erhaltung des Volkstums an sich.*

² German: *Erscheinungen.*

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use these terrible features in life in order to destroy the whole people. Because this is so, we must annihilate any organization and must extirpate any doctrine which misuses these natural failings which have their roots in human inadequacy. For we know well what is the final goal of this whole development, not of this fight between hand and head,¹ between the mass, i.e. numbers and quality: that goal is the destruction of the quality of the head. But that does not mean any blessing for numbers, or the rise of the working-man; it means misery, wretchedness, and distress; it means final collapse."

"We see the economic distress and we are no children that we should think that through wishing that things were better difficulties can be swept away overnight. We do not fail to take account of human inadequacy which will always, over and over again, play its scurvy tricks on men and so often once more simply bring to nought man's best ideas and his best intentions. But we have the fixed resolution and the indomitable purpose not to let things slide into collapse, but on the contrary to fight on without ceasing against these influences²—the whole of life is a battle—to oppose to them reason and to place in the foreground the common interest. If such an effort often fails for the moment—what is a failure to-day must surely be a success to-morrow. And if anyone replies: 'Do you really think that sufferings ever cease?' then I answer: 'If ever the time shall come when in this world there are no longer any inadequate human beings then Yes: but since I am afraid that human inadequacy will still remain, suffering, too, will remain. The work of a single generation can never set things in order for all eternity.'"

"Every people has the duty to care for itself. Every

¹ German: *Faust und Stirn*: "fist and brow".

² German: *Erscheinungen*.

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age has the task of itself removing its own abuses. Do not think that we wish to anticipate everything and leave nothing to the future. No! no! we do not wish to bring up our youth to live the life of idle parasites, as cowards to enjoy what others have created. No! what you desire to possess you must always win it for yourself afresh, always—over and over again—there must be a new struggle, a new fight. It is to this that we wish to educate men. At the outset we refuse to instil into them the false notion that this struggle is something unnatural, something unworthy of man. On the contrary, we would instil into them the conviction that this struggle is the eternal condition whereby men are selected: that without this eternal battle there would be no men at all. No! what we are doing to-day we do on our own behalf. While we master distress for to-day we are working for the future, for we are showing to our successors how they in their turn must act, just as we from the past can learn only that which we ought to do to-day. If the generation before us had thought as folk are so ready to persuade us that we ought to think, we should not have been here to-day. I cannot admit that anything is right for the future which I must pronounce to have been wrong in the past. What life gives to me and to us all must be right for the life of our successors. We, for our part, are therefore under an obligation to act on these principles."

"We must accordingly wage our battle without any compromise whatsoever against the force¹ which has eaten at the heart of our German people during the last seventeen years, which has inflicted on us such fearful injuries and which, if it had not been conquered, would have destroyed Germany. Bismarck once declared that Liberalism was the pace-maker for Social Democracy. And I do not need in this place to say that Social

¹ German: *Erscheinung*.

Democracy is the pace-maker for Communism. But Communism is the pace-maker for death—the death of a people—downfall. We have begun the fight against Communism and we shall wage it to the end. As so often in German history, it will once more be proved that the greater the distress, the greater is the power of the German people to find its way upwards and forwards. This time, too, it will find the way; indeed I am convinced that it has already found it.”

“And with that I come to the third measure: the liberation of the associations—whose existence for the moment must be assumed¹—from the influence of those who thought to find in them a place to which they could retreat at the last. Let them be under no mistake: what they built we regard as false. But here, too, we see that it was the German genius itself which within the minds of millions of individuals gradually awakened a feeling which also found its external expression in mighty organizations, although that feeling ran contrary to the will of the master-builders. Those master-builders would themselves have ruined the organizations.² These organizations we are taking from them, not in order to preserve them as a whole for the future, but in order to secure all the small savings which were deposited with them and in order to allow the German workman to co-operate as a partner with equal rights in the moulding of new con-

¹ German: *die Befreiung der nun zunächst als gegeben anzusehenden Verbände*. The meaning of these words is not clear to me; Hitler had disbanded the Social Democratic Unions on 2 May 1933; they were now no longer in existence. I take it that these words mean that for the purpose of his argument Hitler treats the unions as though they were still in existence.

² This passage (omitted from the report in *F.Z.*) I find very obscure: it apparently means that though Marxists were primarily responsible for the creation of the trade unions, yet the success of the trade unions was due not to their builders but to the genius of the German people which found its own expression through them.

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ditions, in order to give him the opportunity of coming forward with us on a footing of equality."

"No State is to be built up in opposition to the workman: no! it will be fashioned with his help. The German workman must not have the feeling that he is regarded as an outlaw, branded and proscribed. On the contrary, while we are still in this early stage of the coming into being and the formation of the new State we want to inoculate him from the first with the feeling that he is a German on a footing of equal rights, and equal right is never in my eyes anything else than the glad assumption of equal duties. One must not always be talking of rights: there are duties, too. The German workman must banish from the minds of millions belonging to the other side in politics the conviction that he is without any sympathy for the German people and its revival. Certainly there are elements who do not wish for that revival. But so there are also on the Right amongst our people. Destiny will pursue its way in spite of them all! It will find folk in Germany who with pure (*heiligem*) heart and complete honesty wish nothing else than the greatness of their people. The different strata of society must come to a mutual understanding and learn to comprehend each other. If sometimes perhaps doubt should return, if the stern realities of life should here and there play a nasty trick upon us, then we wish to serve as honest brokers. Then it will be the task of the Government to act as a completely honest and honourable broker, to rejoin the hands which seek to separate themselves from each other, and again and again to bring to the consciousness of the German people: you must not throw each other over: you must not break with each other on externals, you must not desert each other simply because the course of events through centuries has perhaps gone along ways which in detail we cannot regard as happy; but over and

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over again you must constantly remind yourselves that all of you have the duty of maintaining your national life. Then a way can be found: a way must be found! It can never be said that the way which leads to the nation's life has become impracticable because the hour perhaps presents difficulties. The hour will pass, but the nation's life must remain and will remain."

"Thus the unification of the German Workmen's Movement has a great moral significance. When we complete the reconstruction of the State which must be the result of very great concessions on both sides we want to have two parties to the contract facing each other who both are in their hearts on principle nationally minded, who both look only to their people, and who both on principle are ready to subordinate everything else in order to serve the common weal. Only if that is possible from the first can I believe in the success of our efforts. It is the spirit from which efforts spring that helps to decide the issue. There must be no conquerors and no conquered: our people must be the only conqueror—conqueror over classes and castes, and conqueror over the interests of these single groups in our people! And thereby we shall come naturally to a nobler conception of work. That, too, is an achievement which cannot be realized overnight. Just as many centuries are needed for a conception to undergo a gradual change, so with us we shall need centuries before we can restore to the people the original meaning of these ideas. But the Movement which I and my fellow-fighters represent will, nothing daunted, exalt the word 'Worker' till it becomes the great title of honour of the German nation. It is not without a purpose that we introduced this word into the name of our Party. Not that this word has ever brought us any great profit! On the contrary it has brought us on the one side hatred and enmity, and on the

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other side misunderstanding. But we have chosen this word because we wished with the victory of our Movement to raise this word, too, victoriously. We have chosen it that at last in this word a second foundation should be found alongside of the conception of the people: that second basis is the unification of Germans. For he who is possessed by a really noble purpose cannot do otherwise than proudly confess his loyalty to this word."

"Personally, I am against all honorary titles, and I do not think that anyone has much to accuse me of on this score. What is not absolutely necessary for me to do that I do not do. I should never care to have visiting cards printed with the titles which in this earthly world of ours are given with such ceremony. I do not want anything on my gravestone but my name. All the same, owing to the peculiar circumstances of my life, I am perhaps more capable than anyone else of understanding and realizing the nature and the whole life of the various German castes. Not because I have been able to look down on this life from above but because I have participated in it, because I stood in the midst of this life, because Fate, in a moment of caprice or perhaps fulfilling the designs of Providence, cast me into the great mass of the people, amongst common folk. Because I myself was a labouring man for years in the building trade and had to earn my own bread. And because for a second time I took my place once again as an ordinary soldier amongst the masses, and because then life raised me into other strata (*Schichten*) of our people so that I know these, too, better than countless others who were born in these strata. So Fate has perhaps fitted me more than any other to be the broker—I think I may say—the honest broker for both sides alike. Here I am not personally interested; I am not dependent upon the State nor on any public office; I am not dependent upon business (*Wirtschaft*) or in-

dustry or any trade union. I am an independent man, and I have set before myself no other goal than to serve, to the best of my power and ability, the German people, and above all to serve the millions who, thanks to their simple trust and ignorance and thanks to the baseness of their former leaders, have perhaps suffered more than any other class."

"I have always professed that there is nothing finer than to be the advocate of those who cannot easily defend themselves. I know the masses of my people, and there is only one thing which I should always wish to say to our intellectuals: every Reich that is founded only on the classes which represent intellect and intelligence¹ has weak foundations. I know this intellect: always so subtle, always inquiring, but also always uncertain, always hesitating, vacillating from side to side—never steadfast! He who would construct a Reich on these intellectual classes alone will find his building insecure. It is no chance that religions are more stable than constitutional forms. Generally they tend to sink their roots deeper into the soil: they would be unthinkable in the absence of the masses of the people. I know that the intellectual classes fall all too easily a victim to that arrogance which measures the people according to the standards of its knowledge and of its so-called intelligence: and yet there are things in the people which very often the intelligence of the 'intelligent' does not see because it cannot see them. The masses are certainly often dull, in many respects they are certainly backward, they are not so nimble, so witty, or intellectual (*geistig*): but they have something to their credit: they have loyalty, constancy, stability."

"I can truly say: the victory of the Revolution would never have come if my companions, the mass of our small fellow-countrymen, had not stood behind us in unex-

¹ German: *des intellektuellen Verstandes*.

amplified loyalty and with a constancy that nothing could shake. I can think of nothing better for Germany than that we should succeed in bringing into the new State these men who still stand outside the ranks of our fighters and in forming out of them a sure foundation for the new State. A poet once said: 'Germany will be at its greatest when its poorest sons are its most loyal citizens.' These poorest sons I came to know during the four and a half years of service as a rifleman in the World War. I came to know those who perhaps had nothing to gain for themselves: it was simply from the voice of the blood, from the feeling that they belonged to their people that they became heroes. No people has a greater right than our German people to raise monuments to its Unknown Soldier.¹ We must win for the State, we must capture for the coming German Reich, our Third Reich, this indomitable guard which has held its ground in countless battles, which never wavered and never yielded, which has given a thousand examples of unparalleled courage, of loyalty, of readiness for sacrifice, of discipline, and of obedience. That is perhaps the greatest treasure which we can give to our State. Because I know this people better than any other, and at the same time know the rest of the people, I am not only ready in this case to undertake the role of an honest broker but I am glad that destiny can cast me for the part. I shall never in my life have any greater reason for pride than when at the end of my days I can say: I have won the German working-man for the German Reich."²

After the assumption of power by the National Socialists men were generally removed from positions in business life to make room for members of the Party.

¹ German: *Musketier*.

² *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, i (1935), pp. 154-69.

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In a speech delivered in the Reich Chancery to the Reich Commissioners on 6 July 1933 Hitler said:

"Direction must not be changed until the right men have been found for the change. More revolutions have been successful at the outset than have, when once successful, been arrested and brought to a standstill at the right moment."

"The revolution is not a permanent state of affairs, and it must not be allowed to develop into such a state. The stream of revolution released must be guided into the safe channel of evolution. The most important point in this connexion is the education of the individual. The present state of affairs must be improved, and the men who incorporate it must be educated up to the National Socialist view of the State. We must therefore not dismiss a business-man if he is a good business-man even if he is not yet a National Socialist; and especially not if the National Socialist who is to take his place knows nothing about the business. In business, ability must be the only authoritative standard. . . ."

"History will not judge us according as to whether we have removed and imprisoned the largest number of economists but according as to whether we have succeeded in providing work. We have now absolutely the power to enforce our will everywhere. . . ."

"The ideas of the Programme oblige us not to act like fools and upset everything but to realize our trains of thought wisely and carefully. In the long run our political power will be all the more secure, the more we succeed in underpinning it economically. The Reich Commissioners must therefore see to it and are responsible that no organizations or party offices assume the functions of government, dismiss individuals and make appointments to offices, to do which the Government of the Reich alone and thus, with regard to business, the Reich

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Minister of Economics, is competent. The Party has now become the State. All power is invested in the Reich Government. We must prevent the centre of gravity of German life being once more shifted to different quarters or even organizations. There is no longer any authority emanating from any one part of the Reich but only that based on the idea of the German nation as a whole."¹

In an interview with Anne O'Hare McCormick (reported in the "New York Times" of 10 July 1933) Hitler was asked whether he intended to concentrate his energies upon the problem of unemployment: "Wholly!" he exclaimed fanatically. "I am thinking first of those in Germany who are in despair and who have been in despair for three years. Last week we reduced unemployment by 126,000. What does anything else matter?" . . .

"You ask me what we are going to do on the economic front", Herr Hitler began. "The first big step is the programme of public works. But let us first see what are our problems and why we had to have the resolution to solve them. What was the situation when I was called to assume power?"

"We had between six and seven million people without work. Our business organism was without confidence and without life. Our governmental machine was without authority. Our individual citizens were without regard for the interests of the State. Our professional and business organizations were full of egoism and isolated private aims."

"As for relief measures for such paralysis, first, business, to revive, must practice new methods, adopt new principles, and develop a new mind. Germany, for instance, is still to be motorized. The automotive industry

¹ German text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, I (1935), pp. 58-9; official English translation (as above) in *The New Germany desires Work and Peace*, pp. 65-6.

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has been and is being reorganized to make cars that can be owned by persons with small incomes."

"The reason I admire Ford is not because he pioneered in standardizing production, but because he produces for the masses. That little car of his has done more than anything else to destroy class differences. You may envy the man who owns a better machine than yours, but you don't hate him". . . .

"A second remedy", *he continued*, "is an entirely new mental attitude on the part of the Government. We are cutting red tape drastically. We are plowing through the bureaucratic hierarchy that stifled us. We have to reduce the Government's cost and its size."

"Thirdly, the nation has been put into a new relation both to business and government. The underlying idea is to do away with egoism and to lead the people into the sacred collective egoism which is the 'nation'". . . .

"Remember, I am prescribing only for Germany, not for the world, and no outside criticism will deflect me from the course I have mapped out. I admire Premier Mussolini because during many years he has carried out his plans regardless of ridicule and obstruction. I have sympathy with President Roosevelt because he marches straight towards his objective over Congress, over lobbies, over stubborn bureaucracies."

"Our turn has come for an economic overhauling, for new roads, subways, electric railways, the reclamation and decentralizing of industry and for new handicrafts."

In a speech¹ delivered in Berlin on 13 July 1933, addressed to officials of the Party, Hitler said:

"Political power we had to conquer rapidly and at one blow: in the economic sphere other laws of development

¹ The speech lasted two and a half hours: only an extremely brief summary appeared in the Press.

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must determine our action. Here advance must be made step by step, without radical destruction of that which now exists and without endangering the basis of our own life. One cannot build up the economic life of Germany with bureaucratic constructions. The full use of individual capacities has made us great, and only so can our great work of reconstruction be successful. That higher achievement should have to make way for a lesser achievement cannot be permitted. . . . In the economic as in the political sphere tasks and rights must be determined by achievement." . . .

"The tempo of our influence upon economic life, the rate at which we can occupy posts in the economic sphere thus depends upon the training up of a succession of economic leaders. . . . It is a principle of the National Socialist Party not to make a fresh appointment to any post until they have at their disposal a more capable person whose capacity had been demonstrated by his achievement." . . . *Hitler said that* what specially interested him in the sphere of economics was simply his task for the future to bring back into work the German people and to restore its full force as a consumer. Therefore he welcomed the recognition recently accorded at Geneva to the achievements of Germany in its fight against unemployment.¹

*When in July 1933 Hitler was interviewed by the editor of the Turkish paper "Milliyet" he said that the movement in modern Turkey had been for him "a shining star". Turkey had based itself upon the primitive native peasantry of Anatolia, and similarly one of Germany's greatest tasks was the building up (Aufbau) of the German peasant class.*²

In his appeal on the inauguration of the "Winter-Help

¹ *V.B.*, 14 July 1933.

² *F.Z.*, 22 July 1933.

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Fund" (13 September 1933) Hitler said that within Germany the National Socialists had for many years opposed the Marxist conception of international solidarity: in it they had seen only the enemy of any national outlook, "a phantom which did but draw men away from the only possible reasonable solidarity—the solidarity which is eternally based on community of blood. . . . We have broken the international Marxist solidarity within our people in order to give to the millions of our German working-men another and a better solidarity: it is the solidarity of our own people—a unity which none can sever, not merely in good fortune but in bad days too. . . . And if this conception of national solidarity is to be rightly conceived, it must be conceived as sacrifice. . . . True national solidarity can never find its meaning in receiving, but only in giving. . . . If the whole people has fully understood that these measures (for the raising of money for the Winter-Help Fund) must imply a sacrifice for everyone, then from these measures there will result not only an alleviation of material distress, but something much mightier than that—the conviction that the community of the people is no empty idea but that it is a living force. . . . We shall be able to overcome the difficult times ahead of us only if our people holds together like a single block of steel. . . . This great enterprise directed against hunger and cold must stand under the motto: 'The international solidarity of the proletariat we have broken: in its place we wish to build up the living national solidarity of the German people.'"¹

On 20 September 1933 in Berlin Hitler addressed the General Economic Council (Generalrat der Wirtschaft): he said:

"Economic development can never be separated from

¹ *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, I (1935), pp. 169–71.

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political development. Power has ever been the Pathfinder for economic progress.¹ In the past eight months we have created a strong pedestal on which our economic life can take its stand." . . . "Business (*Wirtschaft*) can now once more make long-term plans since with this Government there is no fear that to-morrow or the day after it will be no longer there."

A new general attack on unemployment would be begun in the spring (1934). This would need for its success a great educational effort both on the part of the Government and of those engaged in business. "It was above all essential to combat the ideology which preaches that man should free himself from wants² and should systematically restrict his requirements—that is the cult of primitivism proclaimed by Communism. This Bolshevik ideal of the gradual backward development increasingly lessening the claims made by civilization must inevitably lead to the destruction of the national economy and of the whole of life. This ideology is founded upon a jealousy of one's neighbour, upon the fear of any outstanding achievement: its basis is a mean and envious outlook. This doctrine of the backward development into primitivism leads to a cowardly, timid spirit of acquiescence and therefore represents an enormous danger for humanity. The decisive thing is not that all should restrict themselves but that all should strive to advance and to better themselves. German economic life can continue only if a quite definite level of requirement is maintained, and if the German people demand for themselves a quite definite standard of civilization."³

¹ German: *Wegbereiterin der Wirtschaft*.

² German: *die Ideologie der Bedürfnislosigkeit*.

³ *F.Z.*, 22 Sept. 1933. Hitler in this speech outlined the plans of the Government for freeing the communes from debt, for relieving the farmers and for repairing houses, but in the very brief printed summary of the speech his words are not reported.

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*On 23 September 1933 the work upon the new motor-road (Autobahn) from Frankfurt to Heidelberg was begun. Hitler in his speech said that the significance of the vast work on which they were entering would be fully appreciated only in later decades. They were creating new arteries for traffic. Six thousand four hundred kilometres of new motor-roads were planned as a first step in the fight against unemployment. This fight must be waged, for "we have promised the nation that we will remove its present distress. When that promise was made we asked for four years and we wish to use these four years for the profit and advantage of our German people and therefore primarily on behalf of the German workman. . . . The best possible way to bring the German people back into work is, as I see it, to set German economic life once more in motion through great monumental works. . . . We are determined to build on the idea of respect for work whatever its external appearance may be; . . . the people must understand that all work which is necessary ennobles the man who does it: only one thing is shameful—to contribute nothing to the community of the people, towards the maintenance of the people's life. . . . This is not merely the hour in which we begin the building of the greatest network of roads in the world: this hour is at the same time a milestone on the road towards the building up of the community of the German people."*¹

Hitler in his speech at the Harvest Thanksgiving Celebration on the Bückeberg on 7 October 1933 said that since the last harvest a revolution of historical significance had occurred: a party-State had fallen, a State of the people—a Volksstaat—had arisen. . . . "National Socialism takes as the starting-point of its views, its positions, its de-

¹ *F.Z.*, 25 Sept. 1933.

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cisions, neither the individual nor humanity. It puts consciously into the central point of its whole thinking the people. This people is for it a blood-conditioned entity¹ in which it sees a God-willed building-stone of human society. The individual is transitory, the people is permanent. If the liberal *Weltanschauung* in its deification of the single individual must lead to the destruction of the people, National Socialism, on the other hand, desires to safeguard the people as such, if necessary even at the expense of the individual. It is essential that the individual should slowly come to realize that his own ego is unimportant when compared with the existence of the whole people, and that therefore the position of this single ego is exclusively determined by the interests of the people as a whole, . . . above all he must realize that the freedom of the mind and will of a nation are to be valued more highly than the individual's freedom of mind and will, and that the higher vital interest of the community as a whole must here set limits to the interests of the individual and must lay duties upon him." Work as such must not have different values put upon it: the work of brain and of hand are of equal value if they serve the safeguarding of the community: National Socialism desires "not merely a glorification of work but also a conscious defence of those who through their work safeguard our people. . . . And the first and profoundest representative of the people is that section which nourishes men from the fertility of the soil and which maintains the continued existence of the nation through the fertility of its family." The farmer is for National Socialism "the surest support of the present, the sole guarantee for the future."

"We know that the ruin of the German farmer would

¹ German: *Dieses Volk ist für ihn eine blutmäßig bedingte Erscheinung.*

be the end of the German people. The aim of our political fight and struggle is not the winning—not to speak of the conquest—of foreign peoples, but the maintenance and safeguarding of our own people. Therefore we resolutely champion the interests of the German farming class. And here we know no compromises, no half-measures. A glance at our population statistics shows us that even to-day the future of the nation is solely dependent on the maintenance of the farmer. It is therefore the primary task of statesmanship to maintain in all circumstances and by every means this element on whose life the continuance or destruction of our people depends.”

Handworkers faced with annihilation, an impoverished middle-class, ruined industries, depopulated cities can all be regenerated, but “if the farmers as a class are destroyed they cannot be summoned back to life at will, even though thoughtless statesmanship should perhaps later recognize its earlier mistakes. The city-dweller who loses his business can always found a new one, the farmer once driven from his land is generally, as a farmer, ruined for ever.” The final decision on the success or failure of all our National Socialist effort depends on our success in saving our farmer class, in learning from the errors of the past and substituting better methods for those which have failed. *Hitler said that* many might for the moment misunderstand the steps taken by the Government, but the tide had now turned and no one could deny the Government’s goodwill and its determination to do its best for the people. He now appealed for the co-operation of the farmers: “You must be the class which does not provide merely the people’s food; you must also supply the strength of will.¹ . . . The sacrifices which town and country now make to save our needy fellow-countrymen will become a capital which one day

¹ German; *nicht nur der Nähr-, sondern . . . auch der Willensstand.*

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will benefit all alike. Thereby the unity of town and country, of farmer and workman will be declared with mightier effect than a thousand speeches could achieve. And at the last here, too, Fate will reward the undaunted and the honourable. . . . We desire consciously through the Festival of Labour [May Day] and through the Harvest Festival to show forth the spirit which inspires us and the way which we are determined to pursue. . . . And of our God at this hour we would humbly pray that in the future, too, He would give His blessing upon our labour for our daily bread."¹

In a speech delivered on the anniversary celebration (14 January 1934) of the National Socialist electoral victory in Lippe-Detmold of January 1933 Hitler spoke of the tasks which lay before the Government. He said: "I am not reckoning with the years 1934 and 1935. I am reckoning with the eternal quality of our people. If our people becomes a united people to-day, to-morrow, or the day after, in ten, twenty, or it may be fifty years, it matters not. The decisive consideration is that laws should not be passed in order to maintain a Government, but only to serve the influence, the continuance, the maintenance of a people. That is the test by which the whole of our legislation must be judged: it is not a question whether this or that law has its effect next year or a year later. . . . We have no need to struggle for popularity, for our names are already inscribed in the history of Germany. We must think in great periods and not for the moment. The greatest of thoughts must be the goal of our effort; we must once again give to our youth a great ideal. For how can we create for the future if these great aims do not stand before us? And if they are crowned with success only after decades or centuries,

¹ *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3 Oct. 1933.

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it is to the great German future that we must direct our thoughts." . . .

"Already we have two million fewer unemployed than we had a year ago. . . . I have the firm conviction that the coming year will bring this economic policy of ours to a successful conclusion. I have the sure confidence that we shall complete this programme. When on the one hand we have millions of men ready to work and on the other side the treasures of our soil and the possibility of work, when in the German people folk are crying out for goods to consume, when there is a need for the products of labour, it would be a sorry thing if an iron will failed to reach its goal."

"It is a question of organization how to bring into play these labour resources in our German people. There is at least one necessary condition: there must be a single will and a single will must lead. And when anyone says to me that I may make mistakes, then my answer is: I know that quite well, but if I make ten decisions and only one of them is mistaken then I can accept responsibility for that mistake. But as for the others—they did nothing: of ten decisions taken, not one was carried into execution.¹

In his speech in the Reichstag on 30 January 1934 Hitler said:

"The application of the principles of the National-Socialist Movement in the domain of economics was all the more difficult because in this case three pressing tasks had at first to be undertaken at once:

"1. It was necessary, in order to rescue the peasantry who were in danger of complete ruin, to adopt commercial measures of price control and to pass legislation to give the peasantry once more a powerful and indestructible support."

¹ *F.Z.*, 16 Jan. 1934.

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- "2. The constant spread of general corruption necessitated an immediate and fundamental freeing of our economic life from unscrupulous speculation and profiteering."
- "3. The task of finding work again for 6,500,000 unemployed forbade the adoption of theories whose superficial attractiveness only too easily leads one to overlook their present impracticability and uselessness. For, at the moment when the National Socialists took over the government, there was one unemployed in Germany for every two men at work. If the number of the unemployed had increased, which was not only to be feared but to be expected, the position would soon have been reversed, and we should have reached a hopeless state of affairs."

"The hunger of these 6,500,000 unemployed could not be appeased by the Marxist practice of dangling fine theories before their eyes, but only by providing actual work."

"And so in this year we have already carried out the first general attack against unemployment. In a fourth of the time I asked for before the March elections work has been found for one-third of these unemployed. The attack was carried out concentrically from all sides, which was the only way in which success was possible.

"Whilst we look back at the past year to-day, we are getting ready—armed with the experience gained—to launch a fresh attack against this distress. The interplay of the motive power of the State and private initiative and energy was, however, only possible owing to the returning confidence of the people in their Government and in the stability of an assured economic and legal system."

"Many of our opponents feel called upon to belittle our work by remarking that the whole nation participated

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in it. Good, it is our greatest pride that we really succeeded in getting the whole nation together and in helping them to work out their own salvation. For it was only in that way that we could master tasks which had defeated many previous Governments because they were bound to be defeated for lack of this confidence."

"And finally it was only in this way that it was possible to bring this gigantic practical work, which was partly undertaken on the spur of the moment, into close relationship with our ideal principles."

"The primitive formula that the people is not there for business, nor business for capital, but that capital must serve business and business serve the people was already in this year the guiding principle for all the measures adopted by the Government."

"And it is to this, above all, that we must ascribe the fact that we were able to secure the adoption of the Government's great practical and actual suggestions with understanding and readiness. Thus it was possible, by tax concessions and wisely applied Government subsidies, to stimulate production to an extent which most of our critics considered completely impossible twelve months earlier."

"Many of the measures adopted in this connexion will only be fully appreciated in the future; in particular the stimulation of the motorization of traffic in Germany in connexion with the construction of the system of special motoring roads. This has provided a solution of the old rivalry between the railways and the motor vehicle which will one day be of the greatest advantage to the whole German people."

"We were clearly aware that in order to get industry going again in this first year we must begin by providing a certain minimum of employment in order, by means of the thereby increased power of consumption of the

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broad masses, gradually to start the production of the higher classes of commodities."

"In all this an attempt was made to restore order in the completely disorganized finances of the Reich, the States and the Communes by far-reaching measures on the one hand and the most stringent economy on the other."

"The extent of our economic recovery may be judged most clearly from the great decrease in the numbers of unemployed and the no less important increase in the entire national income which is now borne out by statistics."¹

In a speech which inaugurated the second year's battle against unemployment addressed to workers on the new motor-road—Munich to the frontier—at Unterhaching on 21 March 1934 Hitler said:

"I do not believe that any Government ever took over a worse inheritance than we did on 30 January 1933."

"Since the Revolution of November 1918 our people had step by step headed towards ruin. Everything which appeared to stand in this path, which led straight to destruction, after a short time proved itself to be a deception and an illusion. Every feeble movement which gave promise of a new spring-time was hailed by the Governments of the day as a success, but yet was always only a stage in the changing fortunes of a system which, together with its economic life, was hastening towards a complete collapse."²

¹ There is a separate publication of the authorized English translation of this speech (as above). The passage here quoted is on pp. 15-16 of that translation. This passage is not included in the extract from the speech given in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, I (1935), No. 2; the full German text of the speech is printed in *V.B.*, 31 Jan. 1934.

² German: *und war doch immer wieder nur eine Station im Wechsel der Konjunktur eines dem Zusammenbruch entgegentreibenden*

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"It is essential to call to mind the position in which we found ourselves in January of last year."

"The German agricultural class¹ was doomed to ruin, the middle class in large measure already ruined."

"The pressure of taxation was intolerable. The number of bankruptcies was continually on the increase. An army of officials was actively enforcing the demands alike of the State and of private creditors. The finances of the Reich, of the German States, and of the Communes were in utter confusion; the people's consumption-capacity was sinking lower and lower. Above all, as a menacing danger, there loomed the scourge of distress—Unemployment."

"More than six million Germans were receiving no pay. And that means in effect that every two Germans who were at work were compelled to support in addition a third man who had no work."

"But beyond all this and worst of all was the absence of any belief that these conditions could be changed. Any confidence or faith in a better future was almost completely lost. In disconsolate despair the masses of our German people in their millions, pursued by economic disaster, gazed into a grey and empty future. And on every side, wherever one looked, to crown all one saw but the rancour of the political parties, unending strife and conflict, corruption, bribery, unreliability, indiscipline. The greater the distress, the more dangerous were the political parties and their leaders, who as the worst type of frauds and bunglers tried their prentice hands on the body of the German people."

"A chaos of views and conceptions, of opinions and convictions tore asunder the German people and was the cause of the hopelessness of the time."

Systems und seiner Wirtschaft. This does not lend itself readily to translation.

¹ German: *Bauernstand*, "the yeoman estate".

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"Thus it was that the very worst was threatening us when, after fourteen years of sacrifice and of struggle against the destroyers of our Reich and people, at last on 30 January of last year we obtained power."

"What was one now to do and *how* must one make a beginning? My fellow-countrymen, how many there were at that time who warned the German people of the danger of National Socialism, maintaining that, worst of all, we had in our ranks no 'heads': that our victory could mean nothing else than the complete annihilation of German economic life."

"But now when at the beginning of the second year of our attack upon the economic distress of Germany we come before the nation, despite all our critics, despite all those who knew so much better, we can point to achievements which even they themselves declared to be impossible."

"But how did that become possible?"

"The considerations which at that time determined our action, and the decisions which we then took and resolved to realize, were the following:"

"1. If in a period of such sinister general collapse, especially in the economic sphere, there was to be a revolution in the State, that revolution must in no circumstances lead to chaos. We wished to make a revolution and a revolution was in fact made. But it is only the meanest spirit which can regard the essence of a revolution as consisting merely in destruction. We, on the contrary, regarded it as consisting in a gigantic work of reconstruction."

"If to-day we dare to look with some confidence into the future, that is only because, thanks to the discipline of the National Socialist Party, of its fighters and adherents, we were able to carry through one of the greatest revolutionary changes in the history of the world in orderly fashion and according to plan."

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"It is a greater title to fame to have destroyed a world without the accompaniment of an all-devouring conflagration than it would be to lead a revolution into chaos and self-annihilation."

"The German people did not appeal to us in order that through us it might at last be thrust into the arms of Death—it asked of us that we should find a way into a new and better life."

"Thus the discipline of the National Socialist Revolution was the condition for the success of our Movement's effort to save Germany, alike in the political and economic sphere."

"2. The greatness of the distress compelled us to make really great decisions. But great decisions must be long-term decisions: their realization demands time, as indeed do all great things in this world. So it was essential to give to the new Government an unexampled stability, since only Governments which are stable, which are assured of their existence and of the permanence of that existence, are in a position to rise to the making of really fundamental and far-reaching decisions."

"3. The internal stability of a régime always becomes a source of a people's trust and confidence. When the masses in their millions see that above them there stands a Government which is sure of itself, part of this certainty is transferred to the masses. Only in this way the boldness of a Government's plans is matched by a like boldness in the readiness of the people to execute and carry into effect these plans."

"But trust and confidence are the fundamental conditions for the success of any economic revival."

"4. Further, one must make up one's mind not merely to act with judgement, but if necessary to take stern measures."

"We were prepared to do everything that man could

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do. We want to do everything which we can—with a good conscience and so far as our knowledge goes. We are therefore not prepared or willing to allow any scoundrel, any conscienceless domestic foe of our people, to continue his destructive activity."

"To be able to criticize one must oneself have learned something; but what one has learned is demonstrated through action."

"To those men who came before us Fate gave fourteen years—time enough to prove through acts their real capacity. But one who through fourteen years failed as miserably as these men have done, one who brought to such ruin a healthy people and drove it into misery and despair, he has no right suddenly in the fifteenth year to play the part of a critic of those who wish to improve things and have also in fact improved things. For fourteen years they had opportunity enough for action."

"To-day we do not intend to give them any longer the opportunity for chattering."

"5. And, further, we cannot do so, for the great work can succeed only if we all co-operate; it is a mistake to believe that any Government unaided can achieve the miracle of a restoration. It must succeed in winning over the people to serve its mission."

"The eternal pessimists and those who carp on principle have never yet saved any people, though they have destroyed many a people, many a State and Empire."

"We therefore determined not to trouble our heads about them, but rather to count on those who, undismayed, were ready to undertake with us the fight for the resurrection of Germany and to wage that fight to the end."

"6. And that resurrection could come only through fighting."

"For there can be no miracle—whether it comes from

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above or from without—which gives to man anything which he has not himself earned.”

“Heaven at all times has helped only the man who has honestly exerted himself, who has not built upon the help of others, but has set his confidence on his own strength. But all this demanded of us the courage to reckon with the time that is essential for such a work.”

“When during fourteen years a people has been destroyed it is only a fool that can suppose that all the wounds which have been inflicted on it can be successfully healed in a few weeks or months.”

“7. We were convinced that the salvation of the German people must take its start from the salvation of the agricultural class.¹ For if anyone else is compelled to leave his post or himself loses his business, he can one day find once more a new position or through industry and efficiency found a new undertaking: the farmer who has once lost his farm is generally lost for ever.”

“But woe to a people whose agricultural class is destroyed! Any other disaster can be more easily mastered, one alone can destroy a people: as soon as the bread-supply fails, all experiments and theories come to an end.” . . . It was not without a purpose that the petition for our daily bread was included in the prayer of Christendom.”

“8. The fight for the salvation of the middle class is primarily also a fight against unemployment. Unemployment is the gigantic problem which is set before us for solution: in face of that problem everything else must take second place.”

“From the very day when we assumed power we were convinced that we had to master this evil, and we were determined ruthlessly to subordinate everything else to the fight against this evil.”

¹ German: *Bauernstand*.

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"Apart from every other consideration it is a horrible thought that in a people's life tens of millions of working-hours should be uselessly squandered and wasted. Millions of men need clothing, shoes, houses, furniture, food, and millions of others wish to work and to create."

"The former cannot satisfy their needs, and the latter can find no possibility of satisfying these needs. Providence has created us as an intelligent people: we are capable of solving the greatest problems: our people is industrious and ready for every form of work. The German engineer and technician, our scientists and chemists—they belong to the world's pioneers."

"The German workman is surpassed by none, and shall it be that it is impossible for us to produce work for the one and to relieve the distress of the other? Are we really doomed to see millions of men unable to produce the goods for use or consumption of which millions of others are in need?"

"We shall solve this problem because solve it we must."

"The German people of the future shall not give to any of its citizens doles for doing nothing at all; rather it will give to everyone the possibility, through honest work, of earning his own bread and thus of contributing towards and co-operating in the raising of the standard of life of all. For no one can consume that which others have not with him first created."

"But our wish is that our people in all its various ranks should rise in its standard of living, and we must accordingly see to it that the conditions for this should be realized in our production."

"If we succeed in bringing into practical production five millions of our unemployed, that means that immediately we are increasing the German people's entire consumption-capacity by at least 400 million marks a month,

i.e., in the year, an increase of over five milliards. In reality the increase will be even greater."

"It is a vast task and until it is solved everything else must take second place."

"We realized that in individual cases incomes were pitifully small, but in the last resort the question of income is a question of subsistence, and the subsistence of a people is determined by the sum of the goods which it produces and which are therefore at its disposal."

"We are thus firmly resolved to raise the consumption-capacity of the masses within the framework of the increase in our production as a whole, and just as resolutely our present task is directed only to bringing into this work of production our last man."

"I am happy to know that, despite rates of wages which in part are positively impossible, the German workman has understood our action, but it is a melancholy fact that many employers have failed to show any comprehension of problems such as these; they would seem to believe that expression should be given to the present epoch of German economic revival through an extraordinary rise in dividends."

"Henceforth we shall oppose by all means and with the greatest determination every attempt thus to increase the rate of dividends."

"Such then were the principles which in the past year served to guide our action. They marked out for us the path which we in fact followed."

"At the outset we had done with all theories. It is very interesting when doctors amuse themselves by discussing the possible ways to cure an illness, but for the patient the immediate—the most important—thing is that he should get well again. And the theory which restores him to health is not only the most important, it is also the right theory."

"We therefore began on the one hand to free economic life from theories, and on the other to liberate it from the chaos of oppressive regulations and of restrictive measures on the merits or demerits of which it is idle to dispute, since, whether they were right or wrong, they were in any event only stifling economic life. We further sought to free production step by step from those burdens which in the shape of unreasonable taxation-decrees were strangling economic life. Here in one sphere, that of motorization, we have perhaps scored the greatest and most decisive success, although in many others the result has been hardly less remarkable."

"Again we were determined on principle not to distribute any further presents to the business world but to use all our available resources solely for the practical and positive aim of creating work."

"The intelligent, efficient, and methodical businessman will have a free field for his activity, the lazy and unintelligent—to say nothing of the disreputable and dishonest—must go to ruin. The decisive point is that the means which the State can mobilize should not be distributed as a present, but should be employed in order practically to stimulate production and thus be usefully invested."

"This to a large extent we have done with striking success. The initiative thus taken by the State had always solely as its aim and purpose to awake private economic initiative, and thus slowly to set economic life once more on its own feet."

"In order to secure the conditions for the future development of traffic on a large scale the gigantic work of the new German motor-roads was projected and begun."

"But beyond this we have endeavoured to introduce a better social order: thus amongst other measures through State aid we have made possible a vast increase in the

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number of new marriages; thereby we took countless young women out of economic production and brought them back into the family and the home."

"But all that could be achieved only through safeguarding our currency, for it was not through reckless experiments that we were enabled to carry through these measures; on the contrary, we have at the same time been successful in decisively improving and restoring to order the financial position of the Reich, of the German States, and of the communes. The result of this action can be summed up in a single sentence which will at the same time give the justification of that action:"

"In the first year's work of the National Socialist leadership of people and State over 2.7 millions of the unemployed have been brought back into work, that is into production. To-day, the 21st of March, there now begins the new battle for the German worker, whether he work with brain or hand."

"At the head of our present programme I would place once again the demand raised last year: the battle against unemployment! Create work and thereby create bread and life!"

"In the year which lies before us we must wage the campaign against unemployment with still greater fanaticism, with still greater determination than in the year which is past. With ruthless severity we must repel everyone who offends against this idea and its realization. I would have everyone in Germany understand that only through a truly socialistic view of this problem which faces the community will it be possible to find its solution."

"I would have everyone rise above his egoism and triumph over his personal interests."²

¹ German: brow or fist.

² German: *seine Ichsucht überwinden*.

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"Wages and dividends must take second place, however regrettable it may be in the case of wages, before the paramount realization that we must first create the goods which when they are created we may hope to consume."

"Above all, I would have every employer understand that the accomplishment of the economic tasks which are set us is possible only if all place themselves in the service of this task, subordinating to it their egoistic desire for personal gain. And further I would have them realize that a failure in this task would not merely produce some fresh millions of unemployed, but would mean the end and the collapse of our economic life, and thus perhaps the end of the German people."

"Only a madman can therefore be so indecent as to offend, in the pursuit of his personal advantage, against this common distress and its alleviation. But if personal advantage does not win the day, then we can with complete confidence look to the future, for the gigantic programme of this nation-wide creation of work which we planned and laid down last year must in part take many months before the project can ripen into realization."

"Conditions essential to our effort must first be created before at last we can begin the work itself, and that is a vast undertaking. We have an example of that in the new motor-roads of the Reich: for the mere planning of these one needs a whole army of surveyors and engineers, of draughtsmen and of workers. But with ever-increasing speed the construction of one stretch of road after another will be undertaken."

"Already in this year some two-thirds of a milliard of marks will be spent on the realization of this work which by coming generations will be regarded as man's 'standard work' in the development of the needs of traffic."

"During last year plans of work were prepared for the year 1934 alone the execution of which is estimated to

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cost much more than a milliard Reichsmarks and for this sum provision has been made."

"In addition to this vast sums will be employed to lower taxes which kill production; in the present year the national economy will reap the benefit of some 300 million tax-remission certificates."

"In order to make it possible for 200,000 girls to marry, some 150 million Reichsmarks have been furnished for marriage-loans, while on the other hand the number of domestic helps has been increased through equally generous measures taken by the State."

"Huge contributions running into millions of marks have helped to lower taxation and to reduce the agricultural land tax."

"The programme of the Government which is already worked out in detail will be the greatest programme for the creation of work which Germany has ever known, and it will also mean a great alleviation of the burdens which oppress our economic life."

"At the same time it will provide for the ordering of our whole financial life. For however huge the sums demanded for this programme may be, they will not be produced by printing more notes: an inflation on the model of the November Government is for us unthinkable. All current outgoings will be met from the ordinary income of the State, while permanent improvements will at the proper time be financed through loans."

"To procure these means the people's confidence and the help of the people's savings are the essential condition. We are able to state with satisfaction that in the past year the savings deposits alone in Germany have increased by about a milliard marks."

"We have further been successful in so raising the price of fixed-interest-bearing securities that the rate of interest has thereby been in effect lowered."

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"We shall continue in the future also to alleviate debt-burdens and to favour the formation of capital, and in so doing we shall not make use of any means which could in any way prejudice respect for property or for contractual rights."

"The confidence of Germans who have accumulated savings will not in the future be disappointed by any arbitrary attacks on the part of the Government or by any irresponsible action in the sphere of finance. We protect the yield of all honest work, we protect honest savings and property honestly acquired, but for the sources of the Government's great work one thing is essential—namely the common co-operation of all and the help of every individual."

"But if 40,000,000 adults acknowledge a single will and adopt a single resolution to act together, then from this boundless force there can result nothing but success. We stand to-day once more before a symbolical act, my German workmen: the Spring Battle against the distress of our unemployment has begun". . . .

"I know that words and speeches die away and that labour and anxiety remain. But nothing yet has in this world fallen into man's lap from Heaven. So and not otherwise will it be in the future. It is from cares and labours that life grows."

"If to-day our care is to create work and wages for millions of men, then to-morrow our care will be to increase their consumption-capacity and to improve their standard of living. But we shall never gain any goal unless constantly with clenched teeth we concentrate all our strength upon a single purpose, with the determination later to tackle the next task in precisely the same way."

"Would that at last the intelligence of the other peoples and their statesmen might come to realize that the wish

and the will of the German people and its Government seek nothing else than, in freedom and in peace, to co-operate in the building up of a better world."

"And so with this great achievement of the community we begin the new battle for work of the year 1934."

"Our goal is set! German workmen, carry on!"¹

*In his speech on 17 April 1934 to the organizers of the Winter-Help Campaign Hitler said that the success of this effort had produced a great effect in foreign countries, for it, more than anything else, had convinced them of the supreme social significance of the National Socialist idea in Germany. "For the moment our whole effort is concentrated unreservedly on the struggle against unemployment. Faced with a host of problems one must limit oneself to the accomplishment of a single task: one cannot do everything at once." The Winter-Help Campaign must also contribute to educate the people in socialistic thought. One must not talk of sacrifice unless what one gives is really felt as a sacrifice. To give five marks does not constitute a sacrifice for a millionaire, while fifty pfennigs for a working man with a wage of a hundred marks a month means a real sacrifice. "If we inculcate into the people this conception of sacrifice we are helping to build up the new community—we are awakening the socialistic consciousness of belonging to a community."*²

In his speech on May Day 1934 Hitler said that many employers were unwilling to understand why the National Socialists had made the 1st of May a public holiday while they were forced to pay wages for that day to their workmen. It was necessary for him to explain the situation. "The economic life of Germany has in the past been forced to pay hundreds of millions of marks every year

¹ *V.B.*, 22 Mar. 1934.

² *F.Z.*, 19 Apr. 1934.

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because of the strife and discord of organizations which had torn employers and employed apart and had transformed them into two hostile camps. The sum-total of the loss to the nation's wealth through strikes and lock-outs has been enormous. The National Socialist State has done away with these primitive and senseless methods of settling economic differences. The sums saved thereby, which thus benefit Germany's economic life, are extraordinary. It is but a very small sacrifice when in exchange for this gain employers grant to their fellow-workers a day's holiday—a day which should be a symbol of the victory over these struggles of the past and of the establishment of a true community of the people." When on 30 January 1933 the National Socialist Government came into force "it had announced in its proclamation the great Battle for Work, since it was determined to put everything else into the second place in order first of all to attack and solve two problems. These two tasks were closely connected: they were the salvation of the German peasantry through securing to the peasant his farm, and the salvation of the German working class through securing to the worker his place in industry."

"When on 2 May last year we began the destruction of the party-system in Germany by laying hands upon the trade unions, that was done not in order to rob any Germans of representative institutions serving a useful purpose, but to free the German people from those organizations the greatest abuse of which was that they were forced to encourage abuses in order to prove the necessity for their own existence. By so acting we have rescued the German people from an incalculable amount of internal strife and discord which benefited no one save those who were directly interested in maintaining that discord, but always wrought fatal mischief upon the whole people."

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"We are not blind to the other necessities of life. We know quite well all there is which remains still to do and what must be done: but one thing I do know, and that is that one will never achieve anything in this world if one loses oneself in a thousand projects and is always starting something fresh, instead of tackling a single task and struggling resolutely and fanatically to master it. I do not imagine that when we have solved the problem of unemployment there will be nothing more for us to do: I have never asserted that there are no other tasks awaiting us. But I can assure our critics that we will never rest until we have first accomplished this one task; and I can further assure them that we are not accomplishing this task in order then to lay us down to sleep. On the contrary: when that time comes, then in their turn other problems will be attacked. And here too our supreme principle will always be to concentrate all our forces on the attainment of a single goal."¹

In the same speech (May Day 1934) Hitler defended the introduction of compulsory labour service: the parties who represented the class-struggle and the division of the people had naturally opposed it, for they did not desire the end of domestic disunion. But through this compulsory labour service "we want to destroy the arrogance with which unfortunately so many intellectuals feel that they must look down upon labour, and on the other hand we wish to strengthen in them self-confidence through their consciousness that they too can perform bodily work. But beyond this we want to contribute to the mutual understanding of the different classes in order to reinforce the tie which binds together the community of the people. . . . We all know that not words and external professions will lead to the establishment of this

¹ *F.Z.*, 2 May 1934.

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community: that needs an inner unlearning, a new education of the people."¹

"The gigantic organizations of our Movement, their political bodies as well as the organizations of the SA. and SS., the building up of the Work Front just as much as the organization of the army, these are all national and social smelting-furnaces in which gradually a new German man will be formed."

"Sickle and hammer were once the symbols of the German peasant and the German workman. The arrogance and unreason of a *bourgeois* age have sacrificed and lost these symbols." Men have praised and admired artists, architects, and engineers; they have spoken of German science, German handicrafts, German business life, but the working man they have for the most part forgotten. . . . "The National Socialist State will put an end to this unhappy development. The hammer will become once more the symbol of the German worker and the sickle the sign of the German peasant, and with them the intellect (*Geist*) must conclude an alliance that nothing shall dissolve. . . . To-day, May Day, we meet to celebrate the fame of the army of those millions who, as unknown and nameless Soldiers of Work, in the sweat of their faces, in town and country, in the fields, in the factory and the workshop, co-operate to produce those goods which rightly raise our people into the ranks of the civilized nations of the world and enable it to hold that place in honour."²

In his speech at the Second Arbeitskongreß (Workers' Congress) of the Labour Front on 16 May 1934 Hitler said: "Every organization in this world can be only a means to an end. Man does not live either to organize or to be organized. All organizations, from the State down to the

¹ F.Z., 2 May 1934.

² F.Z., 3 May 1934.

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smallest cell, have no sense or purpose unless they secure the maintenance of life and give to life a higher significance and a wider scope. And this can be most easily achieved when differences are smoothed away by bringing men together. The aim of an organization is to bring folk, with all their differences, together in order that they may be able to act in common. That is to desert a level of thought which has found its clearest expression in Marxism—the level of thought of the so-called similarity of men. Directly we adopt this doctrine of Marxism that all men are alike, then any organization is unnecessary. In the case of men who are all alike, alike in their dispositions, in their mentality, in their culture and their capacity, one does not need to bring them together in any organization. For it is clear that folk who are completely alike one to the other will have the same reactions to all the influences which life may bring to bear upon them, and that from the outset they will act in the same way. But since men are not alike, if they were left in complete freedom they would never come to those like actions done in common which in all spheres of life are essential for achievements produced in common. Every organization is thus a limitation set upon the free and unchecked will of man, upon its realization and effect. An organization can find its true justification only when in return it does really profit man, when from it even the individual gains a higher profit."

"Socialism cannot exist for Socialism's sake. If someone says: Socialism is a marvellous idea, but it entails vast sacrifices and continuously imposes upon man cares and distresses, then the answer is: This Socialism is something so harmful that man must get rid of it as quickly as possible, and that whether it be the Socialism of Marx or of National Socialism. A revolutionary upheaval can be justified only if in fact in the final result

it serves to advance a people's self-preservation and the preservation of its life. That is the sole justification for Socialism."

Marxism had in theory rejected private property; "in practice it had already landed completely in the sphere of private property". That was very comprehensible, "for communism is not the final and ideal form of human society, it represents the most primitive form from which society starts. . . . The higher we see men rise, the more intelligent races become, the mightier are the inner differences between individuals", and individual achievement remains always inseparably connected with its creator: "only the creator can administer that which he has achieved, and in this fact we have the basis for private property." But there remains a qualification: "the so-called 'free play of forces' must be controlled by the principle of common profit which must come before the individual egoistic profit. The highest human achievements are, it is true, due to specially favoured intelligences, but they can be formed and created only through the fact of the existence of a community. The intellect would be completely worthless if it were not supported by force (*Kraft*)."

"On the one side one must preserve as wide and free a sphere as possible for the free play of forces and on the other one must insist that this play of forces must keep within that community which has been granted to men to serve a common purpose—the community which we call people or community of the people."

"Only in this way can we attain that which it is essential to attain—the highest increase in human achievement and at the same time in human production. But one thing must always be kept in mind: our whole economic life has not been built up on the principles which are familiar to us in the civil service of the State:

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had that been the case, there could not be any economic life. The idea that one should educate a man, then after a certain time appoint him to an office, then after the lapse of a certain time promote him to a higher post, and so continue to promote him successively to higher positions—even a State would find in the end that such an idea was hardly tolerable.”

“You must never believe that one could build up economic life on such a principle: in that sphere far more rigorous conditions of selection must be maintained, and these conditions are dictated by the actual conflict in economic life. . . . This struggle we take as a matter of course. How many projects are formed, and how few are successful! This freedom in economic life is as natural as is conflict in the world of Nature—a conflict which also is waged ruthlessly and destroys many a living creature so that only the healthy survives. If through ‘socialization’ one should destroy this principle, that would be to transfer to the construction of our entire economic life the principles which hold good in our civil service, and then as a result we should suffer a lamentable shipwreck.”

“In a completely bureaucratized economy we could never achieve any human progress at all, for progress demands enormous efforts.”

“When to-day, for example, a successful invention is made, we must not forget that for this one successful invention perhaps ten thousand undertakings have ruined themselves, ten thousand have lost their capital until finally one was successful. Where should we come to if the State with its bureaucracy were run on these lines, where would our budget be? No, believe me, on bureaucratic principles one cannot count on any human progress.”

Even Soviet Russia could not exist on the principles

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of pure Marxism. "This Soviet Russia is like a man who wanders through a bog leaning on the strong arm of another—it supports itself continuously on the arm of the capitalist States. It takes their workmen, their engineers and machines; it draws everything from the capitalist States . . . and still talks of Marxist Communism. One ought to stand it on its own feet—that would be quite possible with a country as large as Russia—and say: Now create for yourselves your own Paradise. Then one would see the results. To-day as Communists they are living on the non-Communitic institutions of this world. But a *Weltanschauung* must be able to stand completely on its own feet. That the Communist *Weltanschauung* cannot do; if it tries to do so, it ends in appalling distress."

"These facts are incontrovertible. Millions of human beings have died of starvation in a country where there are 92 peasants for every 8 town-dwellers. Such conditions in Germany would of necessity lead to the complete annihilation of the entire people. One cannot secure the highest achievements in economic production while one is putting into practice a principle which from the outset deals a mortal blow at all personal initiative."

"Our people naturally demands an increase in production, for every human being necessarily demands the realization of those capacities which lie in him and which crave to be exercised. No people will demand more than it is capable of realizing, but every people demands the good things of life which it can create."

"It is therefore a matter of course that we should endeavour to create a form of organization which brings into the most effective play the highest capacities of a people in every sphere. If I am asked, 'What do you understand by National Socialism?' I reply: Nothing else than that the highest capacities—and only the high-

est capacities—shall have free play in every place in our people's life to work with unchecked authority (*autoritär*) for the maintenance of our community. In no circumstances do I mean by that statement any bureaucratization of our whole life—that is to say under the term National Socialism I do not understand that a man should be put into a position on the ground of any principle which does not serve practical ends. I protest against the view that anyone should become the leader of an undertaking only because he has been marked out for the post: he must be marked out for the post by nature, and that is proved by his own achievement and capacity. Of that he must produce evidence—not through the recommendation of State inspectors but by success. . . . Our wish is that all the forces of the nation should be brought to the fore so that they can make their contribution to the good of all."

There must be no egoistic opposition to the raising of our people's standard of life. "I have unfortunately in my life known business-men manufacturing shoes horrified to hear that a working man possessed two pairs of shoes. Then I can only say: In Heaven's name! what stupidity! No, if we are foes of an egoism which pays no regard to others, then that is on grounds of pure reason. We are convinced that if the whole strength of the nation is built up into a truly fruitful process of production, then it stands to reason that this strength can have its full effect only if everyone shares in the result of that process not merely as creator, but also as receiver. That will be the natural course and will so work out quite naturally."

"But if that is true, then to let loose a strike is sheer madness—just as mad as to give support to the unemployed without demanding any service in return. The community of the people does not exist to burden one part of the nation in favour of the other. Work must be

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created. That is a problem of organization. If on the one hand one has the men and on the other the wealth of the soil, the task must be achieved."

"The Communists, too, abolish strikes directly they get into power. Then once for all the order goes forth: the Proletariat cannot tolerate a strike. But in fact no one can tolerate strikes. Just as a people, ordered in a community, cannot permit an individual to fight out his dispute with another with the fist, so also in the economic sphere. It is always the whole nation which suffers. Sixty millions have to foot the bill only because two cannot come to an agreement. Over both parties there must naturally stand another—a higher authority, and that is the authority of the community, the authority of the State, which must be completely impartial, completely free. . . . The State is the bailiff neither of the employer nor of the workman: it stands above both the interested parties, its task is to safeguard unity according to the laws of equity, justice, and reason which are the same for all of us. And he who refuses to observe those laws will find that above his individual profit stands the common profit of the nation whose representatives we are. Only so can this problem be solved."

"It will of course take many years before in the economic sphere one will be able slowly to eradicate from the memory of the individual the time of 'Fist-Law'. The leadership of the State must not permit either that initiative, i.e. capacity, which is always bound up with personality, should be destroyed or that the strength of the workman and the conditions necessary for his life should be cut short, unless it wishes that a so-called 'flourishing industry' should have no longer behind it a healthy people. In the end the only shield and protection for economic life will prove to be the united strength of a nation."

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This is a long task: it will need time and patience: there will be set-backs; "there are the luckless sick folk—the petty professional carpers blind and dumb to everything which goes on beyond their limited horizon—men who do not understand the march-rhythm of their day. They cannot influence either the State or the leaders of the people. Everything depends upon persistence and staying-power—that one should have the courage to see a goal and unmoved to march towards it." My great wish for the German Labour Front is that it should never lose its faith: "he who has faith in his heart has the strongest force which there is in the world. . . . The German working man will form the support of the State because he is susceptible to this feeling of faith and confidence which does not consider it necessary to test everything with the probe of its own intelligence but devotes itself to an idea and then is content to follow blindfold. If we win the German working man for the State, then we shall hold him fast as an indestructible foundation for the new Germany. I am therefore convinced that our Labour Front will one day be a pillar of the new Reich." . . .

"The Great German nation has once more firm ground beneath its feet . . . the whole nation has to-day been inspired by a new march-rhythm, and to that accompaniment it will advance to happier times."¹

In the same speech Hitler said that "in all spheres by the year 1932 Marxist theory had been contradicted by Marxist practice. And the people, too, had realized this. The great masses of the German working-classes had not remained in the trade unions because they were enthusiastic for them, but rather from the feeling that they could not sacrifice all that which had cost them so much sacri-

¹ *V.B.*, 18 May 1934.

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fice through the past years. Millions were in their hearts already convinced that the existing state of affairs was intolerable. But this change of conviction found no expression on account of man's capacity for continuing in any course which he has once adopted, on account of his incapacity to alter that course through failure of the courage necessary for taking the first step, and finally through the inability of the great mass of the people to form any clear idea of what ought to be done. . . . In their hearts men had long ago ceased to believe in the rightness of existing conditions. The great majority of the *bourgeoisie* and of the proletariat was not prepared to make sacrifices for its conviction—much less to die in its behalf.”¹

In an interview with Mr. G. Ward Price in August 1934 Hitler said:

“. . . Speaking of Germany's economic prospects, I am confident that Germany will make herself independent, as regards raw materials, of the rest of the world if obliged to do so.”

“We cannot buy more from other nations than they will buy from us. If this means that we have to cut down our imports of raw materials from abroad, we shall find substitutes for those raw materials in our own country.”

“It will not be the first time that we have been reduced to such reliance on our own resources. When Napoleon cut us off from the rest of the world by his Berlin Decrees, we invented beet-sugar to replace the West Indian product.”

“In the Great War we produced our own nitrates as substitutes for those of Chile. We perfected our aniline dyes to such an extent that foreign dyestuffs became unnecessary to our industries.”

¹ *V.B.*, 18 May 1934.

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"The world may laugh when we say that we shall make ourselves independent of imported cotton, wool, and other fundamental raw materials, but in a couple of years they will find that we have done so."

"Whether it is to the interest of the community of nations that Germany should cease to be an international buyer as well as a seller, I leave to other countries to decide."¹ . . .

At the annual harvest celebration on the Bückeberg, on 30 September 1934, after referring to the peasant class as representing the sound, healthy-minded antithesis to the intellectual population of the towns, Hitler said: "Head and hand² belong together. But woe to that people whose head is transformed into an intellectuality (*Geistigkeit*) that vacillates and eternally distrusts itself. One can hardly govern a people with that; and with that in no circumstances can one hope to lead it. We have come nearly to the dangerous point when, thanks to a one-sided over-estimation of so-called 'intellectual' work, men have not only from a material point of view severed their relations with manual labour, but have at last forgotten and ceased to be aware of its ideal value, and have even ended by despising it. Just as there can be no permanent dictatorship of the proletariat over the intelligentsia, so there can be no dictatorship of a conceited and perverted upper class of intellectuals, which has lost touch with the people, over wide masses of artisans who at last have ceased to tolerate it. Real intellect can never be conceited; it is only superficial half-knowledge which everywhere leads to presumption and arrogance. If the Government of a State has its roots exclusively in such a class, it will fail in the long run to answer its purpose,

¹ *Daily Mail*, 6 Aug. 1934.

² German: *Stirn und Faust*: "brow and fist."

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just as any human society must fail when its organization gives an excessive influence to the intellectual class. Thus the indifference of former Governments towards the peasantry has been caused by their excessive overvaluation of the intellectual city-dwellers, by a lack of instinctive feeling for the necessity of a balancing factor, which is to be found in the first place in the peasants, and secondly in the workers. We National Socialists know very well that intellect gives us our marching orders for this life. But we know, too, that intellect must ever be renewed and supplemented from those elements of a people's life which are in closest touch with the soil. A nation consisting solely of professors, officials, scholars, and so forth cannot maintain itself, precisely because in that case more and more its natural strength of decision, its force of will and of heart, tends gradually to be extinguished. Only if wisdom is united with the primitive force of self-preservation can a people in the long run successfully survive in its struggle for life. And thus it is necessary that the arrogance of individual ranks and classes should be eradicated and destroyed, especially in order to prevent any single class from imagining that it can afford to despise the work of any other as being in itself of inferior value. So long as Jewish intellectualism is poisoning our life, there is no security for the survival of the peasant and of the working classes in Germany. But if this be true, then the future of the nation, supported as it is above all by the co-operation of these two classes, seems to be in doubt. It is for this reason that we have declared war to the uttermost upon this spirit."

"My German peasants! You see here in your midst on this field thousands of men of the German Labour Service (*Arbeitsdienst*). You must realize that by this means we are doing more for the formation of a real German community of the people, and thus for the

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recovery of your own class, than all other governmental measures could ever accomplish. For while we cause each single German, with pick and shovel, to work industriously for his Fatherland, we wage war on the demon of pride who is only too ready to look down with scorn, from the eminence of his intellectual throne, upon his fellow-creatures who are working with their bodies."

"For our Labour Service is not an institution formed to give occupation to unfortunate unemployed individuals at little cost, but a measure which shall put the spade into the hand of every German—it matters not what be his descent or social class, or what will later be his profession—and thus compel him in the company of all his fellow-countrymen and in the sweat of his face to earn his daily bread". . . .

"Just as the general duty to serve in the army raised the soldier from the level of a mercenary to the honourable mission of the defence of his own people, so in time the Labour Service will redeem the labour of men's hands in its most primitive sense from the scornful valuation which society has set upon it". . . .

"The measures taken to-day for the salvation of the German agricultural class will in the future be regarded as the natural basis of all statesmanship. For it will then be recognized that the State is only the people, and that the State must cease to exist as soon as it no longer possesses a peasant whom it can call its own". . . .

"Mistakes there will be: 'when you start planing, the shavings will fly.' He who has never cultivated his field will never suffer from the failure of his crop. But then his whole life from the outset is no longer destined for success. But we wish to cultivate our German Reich, we wish to sow the seed in this people, and one day with God's gracious help we wish also to reap the harvest. And if often the hail of human stupidity and malice

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destroys this or that, it must never cause us to falter. When folk have set before them a true purpose and then pursue it unmoved with bravery and courage, when they withstand with a strong heart every trial which Heaven sends upon them, then one day at the last almighty Providence will yet grant them the fruits of their struggle and of their sacrifices. For God has never abandoned any man upon this earth unless he has first abandoned himself."¹

Speaking at the opening of the Motor Exhibition in Berlin on 14 February 1935 Hitler said that it was at first sight difficult to understand why in Germany of all countries the development of the motor industry, which must occupy a decisive key position, had been so unfavourable. The motor-car had been invented in Germany. The names of Daimler and Benz have their place amongst the great pioneers of humanity in the sphere of transport. The World War had shut Germany off from the rest of the world and had interrupted the flow of international motor-development, but it was the Treaty of Versailles which through the moral, political, and economic strangulation of Germany had created the conditions for the collapse of Germany's motor industry, while the Marxist cult of primitivism had played its part in that collapse. Hitler had recognized that for any effective recovery a psychological stimulus was necessary: to this the encouragement of motor sport, and the erection of new motor roads were contributions. The motor industry in its various branches now employed some 600,000 men and to that number must be added the 400,000 men who in one way or another were concerned in the new scheme of road-building. Thus some million men were now earning their bread through this branch of industry. And

¹ V.B., 1 Oct. 1934.

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the efforts must be multiplied many times over. When the new motor roads were completed Germany would possess by far the most modern road network in the world—a mighty evidence of peaceful progress—and to this must be added the creation of a People's Car. Such a car should cost no more than a medium-sized motor-cycle had previously cost, and should involve only a moderate consumption of fuel.

"But in our efforts to realize this great end, a further task necessarily and automatically presents itself: the securing of our fuel requirements. It is precisely here that we find ourselves in the midst of a series of revolutionary inventions. We are all aware that not only the problems of synthetic rubber, but also those of synthetic petrol, have in principle been solved. Wherever a will devotes itself earnestly to a task, a way to its practical accomplishment will always be found. It is important that the German motor industry should recognize here also that however much attention it devotes to the construction of means of transport, it should also study the possibility of attracting and utilizing German materials, so as to call into life, if possible, a new branch of German economic activity."

"Our cars and motor-bicycles are not only the fastest but we can say with pride that they are also the best in the world. . . . Our engineers and workmen may be proud to build such cars. May the German be proud enough to use them!"¹

In his speech delivered in the Reichstag on 21 May 1935 Hitler said:

"After a war which had lasted for four years and had already done untold damage to the national resources, the victor Powers imposed upon the German nation a

¹ *F.Z.*, 15 Feb. 1935.

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peace dictate devoid of all political and economic reason and which aimed at making the relation of forces that existed at the end of the War the legal basis for the life of the nations for all time. Without considering the conditions and laws that govern economic life, and even in direct contradiction to them, the victor Powers deprived Germany of every possibility of an economic revival while demanding on the other hand payments and services which lay within the realm of the fantastic. The edifice of German economics was razed to the ground under the watchword "Reparations". This incomprehensible disregard for the most elementary economic laws resulted in the following situation:

1. The nation had a surplus of workers.
2. It was in urgent need of something to replace the values pertaining to the high standard of life to which it had been accustomed and which had been destroyed by the War, the inflation, and the reparations.
3. It suffered from a lack of natural resources of food-stuffs and raw materials.
4. The international market which it needed in order to overcome all these evils was too small and was further increasingly limited in practice by various measures and by a certain inevitable trend in developments."

"It is a very poor testimony to the economic sense of those who were then our political opponents that until their action had not only completely destroyed German economy but had begun to show its ill effects in the economic life of other countries, they did not begin to see that it was impossible for us to fulfil unlimited and sometimes incomprehensible demands."

"The result of this madness was that German industry was paralysed, agriculture was destroyed, the middle

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classes were ruined, trade had shrunk to almost nothing, the whole economic life was overladen with debt, the public finances were rotten to the core, and there were six and a half millions unemployed on the register—in reality more than seven and a half millions."

"To overcome the economic catastrophe alone very difficult measures were necessary. Formerly the German nation could find room for its ever increasing population in a limited space, thanks to the adequate conditions of life which resulted from its participation in international trade. As long as this latter condition was fulfilled the 67 million inhabitants of Germany could, in spite of the comparative smallness of the country, feel not only that their livelihood was assured at home but that they were a useful factor in world economy. The course of the War, and especially the result of post-War politics, will one day serve as a classic, though terrible, disproof of the naïve idea—which unfortunately was held by some statesmen before the War—that the economic advantage of one European state can best be promoted by the economic destruction of another."

"For the German nation the economic consequences of the peace on the one hand and the disadvantages from which Germany suffered in her home and foreign trade and commerce, on the other, must inevitably have compelled any Government, whether it willed or not, to take the actual situation into account. We are all convinced that the complete carrying out of the idea of economic self-sufficiency for all States, which is threatening us to-day, is, when seen from a higher standpoint, foolish and can only result in harm for all nations. Economically regarded, it is not very reasonable to endeavour artificially to turn natural agricultural and raw-material districts into industrial districts, or on the other hand to endeavour to compel the over-populated industrial

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countries to produce raw materials or even substitutes to an adequate degree."

"For Europe this development will one day have very unpleasant and evil consequences. But to alter it is unfortunately not within Germany's power. Looked at from the broad economic angle, it is against the dictates of reason. What happens is that in so far as we are deprived of foreign markets for our exports we are forced to restrict our imports. To that extent, so that German productive labour may not stagnate, we must either employ a complicated process for the production of raw materials that we lack internally or else we must use substitutes. This task can be undertaken only by means of a planned economic system. And that is a perilous adventure; for planned economics lead to bureaucratic control and thus to the suppression of individual creative effort. In the interests of our own nation it was not desirable to risk the eventuality of having the productive efficiency of our people reduced, and the standards of living lowered rather than raised by an economic system not far removed from the Communist ideal and by the accompanying paralysis of initiative effort. This danger was accentuated by the following fact: Every planned system of production only too easily invalidates the hard laws of the economic survival of the fittest and elimination of the weak; or at least it hampers the activity of these laws inasmuch as it guarantees the preservation of the least valuable average, to the detriment of higher efficiency and greater productive power and quality, all of which work out finally to the detriment of the community."

"If, despite such knowledge, we have nevertheless taken this path it was only under the hard pressure of necessity. What we have achieved in two and a half years in the way of a planned provision of labour, a planned regula-

tion of the market, a planned control of prices and wages, was considered a few years ago to be absolutely impossible. We only succeeded because behind these apparently dead economic measures we had the living energies of the whole nation. We had, however, first to create a number of technical and psychological conditions before we could carry out this purpose. In order to guarantee the functioning of the national economy it was necessary first of all to put a stop to the everlasting oscillations of wages and prices. It was further necessary to remove the conditions giving rise to interference which did not spring from higher national economic necessities, i.e. to destroy the class organizations of both camps which lived on the politics of wages and prices. The destruction of the trade unions, both of employers and employees, which were based on the class struggle, demanded an analogous removal of the political parties which were maintained by these groups of interests, which interests in return supported them. Here arose the necessity for a new constructive and vital constitution and a new organization of the Reich and State. If this was to be more than a purely superficial reorganization, however, then the nation itself had to be educated to a new social way of thinking and living. All these were tasks of which each would require a century for its fulfilment, and in the carrying out of which many a people and State foundered in former times. To bring such a programme to realization, which either succeeds in its entirety or is bound from the very beginning to fail at every point, success depends upon two conditions:

- (a) The extent of peace and quiet at home.
- (b) The amount of time at one's disposal."

"We Germans can only regret that the rest of the world still takes so little trouble to study objectively what has been going on in Germany within the last two and a half

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years and that it does not study the ideals which are solely responsible for these achievements."¹

Of the inception of "Kraft durch Freude" Ley has said:

*"I would not leave any doubt upon the subject: it is not from me that this work had its origin: everything which Germany has comes from the Führer. It was first his idea which gave us all that. It was his direct command to me which created this work. The Führer's command was: 'See to it that the people keeps its nerve. See to it, too, that the German workman after his heavy toil and the monotony of his days can have some recreation. See to it that once in a way these men can learn to forget their daily burden.'"*²

In his speech on the Tag des Arbeitsdienstes at the Parteitag in Nuremberg (12 September 1935) Hitler repeated the arguments which he had used in former speeches: from the sight of this "Army of the Spade" the visitors to Nuremberg "could take away with them the conviction that the unification of the German people into a single body was no phantom, no fantastic talk, but a reality". This "common school of work" had as its aim to bring all Germans to learn to know one another in order that the prejudices of bourgeois life should be so completely uprooted that they would never return. "If the whole German people could have seen you assembled here, I believe that even the last doubters would have been converted." Through the organization of the Arbeitsdienst "your leader, our comrade and old National Socialist fellow-combatant Hierl, has engraved his name upon the history of Germany".

¹ Authorized English translation in pamphlet form (as above), pp. 5-9; German text *F.Z.*, 22 May 1935.

² *Der Angriff*, 8 July 1935.

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Every year 50,000 representatives of the Labour Service will come to Nuremberg: "this will be repeated year by year, decade by decade, for centuries until at last from all our common efforts, from our resolute and unbroken education of our German people, a true German community of the people has been formed which none shall tear asunder and none shall sever—one block as you stand here to-day."¹

Speaking at the annual harvest celebration on the Bückeberg on 6 October 1935 Hitler said:

"When we assumed power in Germany, the Reich was powerless abroad and delivered over to economic ruin at home. The most characteristic feature of this economic ruin was the collapse of the German peasantry. Many at that time gave up Germany for lost, amongst them many of those who to-day will not admit that the recovery of the nation was and is an historic achievement. Germany finds herself in a more difficult economic situation than that of other lands. We have not the living-space (*Lebensraum*) that these peoples possess. We have not the basis for our food-supply which has been given to these nations. We have not the raw materials that these States have. We have not their colonies, and we have not all the possibilities and international connexions which are at the disposal of these States and peoples. Yet we have tried to solve our problems, and we have solved them—better than in many States which started with more advantages than Germany. If Bolshevik Russia were able to secure her subjects their daily bread, what would that mean in a State which has eighteen times as much territory as Germany per head of the population? If in America, in England, in France there is no anxiety for the people's bread, no shortage of pro-

¹ *F.Z.*, 13 Sept. 1935.

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visions, what significance can that have in such gigantic dominions, which could place more than fifteen or twenty times as much soil at the disposal of the individual citizen? Yet if there is distress even in these countries, which should be overflowing with abundance, who will not grant that the leadership of German economic life and the leadership of the German Reich has scored a triumph if it has succeeded in mastering this distress in Germany?"

"It is clear, indeed, that we could not let things run their course. Such a miracle would not have happened of itself. If Germany is to live, she must manage and control her entire economy on the lines of a well-run farm; it must be viewed and planned as a whole. Since we are so confined, and possess so few advantages in the struggle for existence, we must cultivate and administer this Reich of ours with special care and judgement. We shall not manage without a plan. If we allowed matters to take their course, on the principle that everyone can do as he pleases, in a short time this liberty would end in nothing but terrible starvation. No, we must safeguard our business and our economic life according to plan."

"In the miniature State which is represented by the farm one will, and one alone, must distribute the work, must organize it, assign it, and thus determine it. That is our task, too, the task of those who have been singled out by destiny to lead this people. This National Socialist Government cannot be dependent on individuals each with his own interests. It cannot be dependent on town or country, on workmen or on employers. It cannot be dependent on industry, manual labour, trade, or finance. It can recognize only one single obligation. Just as you stand before me here, my German fellow-countrymen, so far more than 68 times your number stand without.

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Our people embraces 68 millions and it is these 68 millions who give us our commission! The people alone is our master, and it is this people that we serve conscientiously and to the best of our knowledge. But to fulfil this task it is essential that everyone should understand that the discipline and order which it demands from him are to his own advantage, and that the authority which asks for this order is acting in his interests. All must understand this, for it benefits all."¹

Later in the same speech Hitler said: "Where is the statesman, where is the head of a State who can walk among his people as I walk among you? That is the wonderful thing, that our people has understood this Government, has grasped the necessity for it and for its actions, and quietly goes on its way in the face of those weaklings who fail to understand. It is in the interests of all when we say that prices must be maintained, and it is in the interests of all when we say that wages must remain fixed. We are serving the country's interests by securing and guaranteeing prices not only in good, but also in bad times. I hope that everyone, in town and country alike, will understand how necessary and important it is for him to go the whole way with his Government. It would be easier and less burdensome for us to make concessions first to one side, then to the other. Perhaps we should be more popular for the moment. Millions of workers would greet the news with joy, if we were to tell them that we were raising the rate of wages. Millions of peasants, it may be, would rejoice if we informed them that we were raising the prices of agricultural produce. But after a few months both classes would join in cursing us, for both would realize that it would mean for Germany only the endless spiral all over

¹ *F.Z.*, 8 Oct. 1935.

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again. Higher wages lead to higher prices. Higher prices lead to higher wages. Both lead to devaluation of the mark, to depreciation of our savings; both lead to the destruction of our existence and our very being. If you are not mad or bent on self-destruction, you cannot do otherwise than stand as one man behind the Government in its fight for the stability of the economic life of Germany. We follow this policy, not because we may perhaps receive dividends from any quarter; no, we follow it because we wish to work for ourselves and for our people, because we wish to save our people from the most terrible disillusionments. And so in this fight I expect that every worker, every peasant, and every employer will support the Government as one man, for we are dealing with interests common to them all. More than ever is leadership necessary to-day."¹

In his speech in the Kroll Opera House, Berlin, at the opening of the Winter-Help Campaign of 1935 Hitler said: "If we look at other countries around us we see that with few exceptions they are still in the grip of the class-war, and when we study this class-war in the present-day life of the peoples then we come to the following conclusions:

"(i) The class-war in the past has been unable to master the causes of this struggle: the most that could be achieved was a temporary armistice when one class or another emerged as apparently victorious."

"(ii) Secondly, it is clear that this struggle was in no way determined by reason or indeed by justice, but all these struggles were decided by the economic possibilities which were open to the parties at the moment. At one time it was the large strike-funds of

¹ *F.Z.*, 8 Oct. 1935. See also Hitler's statement on wages and prices in the speech at the Bückeberg on 4 Oct. 1936, p. 934.

the workers which carried the day, at another it was the still larger lock-out funds of the employers. At one moment it was the skill of one side which could mobilize certain arguments for victory and a little later the skill of the other."

"(iii) We have seen during many a year that however dissimilar in detail the issue of these struggles might be it made no practical difference: to the party which won the day the victory brought no real profit; in the long run for both parties alike the result was purely negative. But at the same time this struggle cost both parties, year in year out, incalculable losses. We can realize that if these losses which every year ran into hundreds of millions of marks had been used for a common relief-fund, both sides would have profited greatly."

"So far as power may achieve it,¹ the class-war has come to an end in Germany, i.e. there is no longer anyone in a position to wage such a war. The National Socialist Movement will never allow its organizations, built up as they are on quite other levels than those of the class-war, to attempt any such thing. Perhaps one or another still allows this idea to wander about in his mind, still hopes for a better, that is a worse, time in which he might be able once more to mobilize these instincts. Let no one cherish these illusions. We have the power to stop any such thing."

"And it is our task, too, to solve in the material sphere the differences which underlie this class-war. In this respect I may fairly say that I feel myself to be the most independent of men: I am under obligations to none, subject to none, owing gratitude to none, but responsible to my conscience alone. And this conscience of mine receives its orders from one authority alone, our people—

¹ German: *machtmäÙig*.

the German people and its chosen representatives united in the Movement, in the National Socialist Party."

"And when we set to work to find the material solution for these problems—and that we can do thanks to the authority which our leadership possesses and thanks to the source from which that authority is derived—then we must admit that this class-war has another side—its ideal side. What would the world be without ideals? The great majority of men is not capable of viewing the problems of life from the standpoint of a really profound knowledge and from this standpoint solving and answering these problems. But that which they lack in comprehension is given to them through the inner voice which speaks to them, though they realize it not, and often gives them counsel and warning."

Millions fought in the World War as "true idealists" without thinking of what its effects might be for them personally. They fought "in the clearest recognition of necessities. Those who had known only the shadowy side of life, when the tremendous appeal of the nation came to them, suddenly from a knowledge and an experience which was theirs in the very depths of their being became in a moment the bravest, the most honourable¹ of soldiers."

"But what might not such an ideal accomplish if it became the experience of a nation not only in war-time, but already in time of peace? The National Socialist ideal of the community of a people is a mighty reality." Upon it depends the existence of the German people. "But do not let us deceive ourselves. Still to-day there is a danger that this unity of the German people may be destroyed. Outside our borders and about us lurk the ferments of disintegration, their only aim to be able one day to introduce afresh into our bodies the poison

¹ German: *anständigsten*.

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that we have expelled. Bolshevism is a timeless phenomenon, it is the name only which from time to time changes through the millennia."

"We are all burdened with the past and many of us Germans with the present, too. All the factors of descent, and of property, of knowledge, of culture, traditions of many kinds, they separate men, they are calculated always to break up the community of the people. It is an evil day when there is no unifying element to set against these sundering forces. But economics cannot solve everything: it is in the very nature of economic life that failure over and over again should dog the footsteps of success. In the very nature of this economic struggle is founded the law that by the process of natural and necessary selection the way leads ever, more or less, through sacrifice. It is so easy to let the fallen victims lie. How simple to say, they have fallen, they have stumbled: but what is that to us? Yet it is precisely at this point that the community of the people must play its part. These individual members of the community whom the economic life has ruined—they must be set upon their legs again!"

"But it may be objected: 'If economics cannot solve everything, why not solve the problem through the State? Raise more taxes!' We have of course weighed the possibility of leaving to the State the conduct of this great Winter-Help scheme. But we immediately gave up the idea because we believe that this proposal would allow the individual German to escape from his obligations. We want to show him a living community. What is the State? Fellow-countryman, you are the State. It is not for the State to compel you to do what is your natural duty, you yourself must give living expression to your sympathy with that community of which you are a part. You must not retreat and say that that does not please you."

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"Do not say to me, 'Yes, but all the same this collecting of money is a trying affair'. You have never come to know hunger, otherwise you would realize how trying hunger can be. You have never yourself experienced what it means to have nothing to eat, much less have you known what it means not to be able to give your dearest anything to eat."

"And if someone else further objects 'But, you know this One-Dish-Sunday: I would so gladly give something but my stomach, even as it is, is always causing me difficulty. I really don't see the use of this "One-Dish" arrangement. So I will give you now ten pfennige.' No, no, my dear friend. We have introduced all this with a purpose. It is not merely that this 'One-Dish-Sunday' has brought in some thirty million marks: you cannot calculate how many millions we were able to support with that. Perhaps you don't see the reason for it, my fellow-countryman, but we can say to you this: 'For you, just because you don't understand, it is useful to be brought back at least once to your own people.' "

"We could perhaps have done it in some other way. But No! We want to show to the whole world and to our people that we Germans do not regard the word 'Community' as an empty phrase, but that for us it does truly carry with it a sense of inner obligation. That is our war! We are engaged in the greatest campaign of conquest in the history of the world: we are set on the conquest of the German people."

"And so we appeal once more to the German. And in the execution of this work we are not narrow-minded. We shut no one out! We are fighting the Communist in our midst and, if necessary, we strike him to the ground. But if he says 'I am hungry'—Good! He must have something to eat. We do not fight him in order to kill him, but to protect our people from a mad theory.

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But if he comes to reason and returns to his people, then we are ready to welcome him warmly."

"And if someone says, 'But still here and there in Germany there is hunger'. Very good, my fellow-countryman. It is quite right that you should call our attention to the fact. We invite you first of all to make a somewhat greater sacrifice. For your statement will feed no one: the only cure is that we should do more."

The speech closed with a general appeal to rich and poor to contribute to the Winter-Help Fund: "Men come and men die. But this community, from which the nation again and again renews its strength, it shall last for ever. And for this undying community you must do your part: to this community you must give your care."¹

In a speech delivered in Berlin on 29 November 1935 at the opening of the Deutschland Halle, the great indoor sports stadium, Hitler said:

"Distress will not conquer Germany; the National Socialist Movement will conquer distress." They would solve the raw-material difficulty, but it would be easier if the rest of the world were not mad.²

At the centenary celebration of the German railways Hitler spoke on 8 December 1935. He said that from the first the railway in Germany had been the railway of the German Reich and therefore practically a unifying factor. Whatever new possibilities in transport modern inventors might create, the significance of the railway for mass-transport must remain unchallenged. "The motor-car is a means of transport for persons, the aeroplane is a means of more rapid transport, but the abso-

¹ *F.Z.*, 11 Oct. 1935 (speech of 8 Oct. 1935).

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lutely secure means of mass-transport is and must remain for the future, as it has been in the past, the railway. We can easily picture modern life without the aeroplane or without the motor-car: we cannot picture it without the railway. From considerations of the general interests of society as a whole our task will be to assure that each means of transport shall play its proper part.

As against the representation of purely capitalistic individual interests the railway-system, as it has developed in Germany, is the first socialistic undertaking to be organized on a really large scale. "The whole network of the railway is in its very nature a socialistic conception: the characteristic feature of this undertaking is that it is not the question of profit, but the satisfaction of the need for communications which is the primary consideration. This undertaking more than any other from the first moment when it began to serve the interests of a greater political community has stood for the principle not to build lines where it was absolutely certain that they could pay their way but rather to build lines wherever the need for better communications existed: the loss on unprofitable lines had to be met from those which were profitable and thus a balance established."

"It would be a step backward with incalculable consequences if we to-day conceived the idea of giving up those lines which cannot show any certainty of profit. That would represent a return to the worst of purely capitalistic points of view. It is therefore our task in the future to secure that the German Reichsbahn (Railway of the Reich) is not sacrificed to other traffic organizations which have not yet adopted and cannot adopt this larger principle of a socialistic service to the community; rather we must see to it that in the future there shall be

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discovered a synthesis between this socialist undertaking and the new progressive individualistic forces which are seeking to satisfy our present need for transport facilities". . . .

"The socialistic character of the Reichsbahn is further a warning against the exclusive claims of the theory of private capital. The railway is the living proof that one can satisfactorily carry on an undertaking in the interest of the community without any private-capitalistic tendency and without private-capitalistic leadership. For it must never be forgotten that the German Reichsbahn is the greatest economic undertaking in the whole world, that it commissions more work than any other institution. The German Reichsbahn has had and still has no fear of a comparison with railway systems built up on the foundation of private capital. Anyone who in peace time had, for instance, the opportunity to compare the Prussian State Railway with the private undertakings of other countries must have convinced himself that this business conducted by the community—and in the highest sense of the word on 'socialistic' lines—could not only stand that comparison but was the best conducted, best organized, and even from a trader's point of view the most profitable undertaking of them all. This business thus represented the great achievement of a community". . . .

It was very important to keep this in view at a time when men ran all too easily to extremes and when on the one side it was thought that the only economy which could serve the interests of the community was a socialistic economy or on the other hand that the only possible economy was one which served particular capitalist interests. "We see the unending series of successes attained by the capitalist economic development of the nineteenth century, but at the same time in the Reichs-

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bahn we have a striking proof that it is just as possible to build up an undertaking on another basis so that it can stand as a model and an example and through that fact it possesses for us incalculable value." . . .

Thirdly, the Reichsbahn is essentially socialistic in the whole character of its internal organization. It proves that one can carry on a great social institution without giving immense rewards by way of profits to individuals. And that is important. "That which we see on one side in our army, we see here in the sphere of economics—a gigantic undertaking built up essentially on the basis of a consciousness of duty and of joy in service. You will, I am sure, admit that—whatever place an individual occupies in the organization of the Reichsbahn—he does not in fact receive for the service which he renders anything like the equivalent of what he would get in a private capitalist firm, but that this whole giant undertaking, even when regarded from an economic standpoint, is built up on the same conceptions and principles as those with which we are familiar in our administration, in our bureaucracy, and in the army. The Reichsbahn is an organization where every member is extraordinarily loyal in fulfilling his duties, beginning from the workman on the permanent way or the signalman up to the highest officials in the executive of the undertaking." It is important to know this at a time when under the influence of the general economic development it is all too easy to hold the view that to conduct a great economic undertaking on lines other than those adopted by private capital is altogether unthinkable. And yet at the same time this undertaking conducted and organized on high ethical and moral ideas is the most progressive traffic-organization that there is anywhere.

"That we National Socialists should welcome in particular this side of the Reichsbahn's organization is but

natural. We fight for a State that must be founded on the thought that the common good should come before the good of the individual and in this we are moved by a vast measure of idealism. Not a few say that we are victims of an unjustifiable fantasy—an ideology. But we possess weighty examples and well founded supports for our view in history, in the essential character of the State, in the administration, in the body of our officials, in the army, and here in an economic undertaking—the German Reichsbahn—and they all go to show that our view can certainly be realized. I know that nothing in this world is achieved at one blow, that everything needs time for its development, but I am convinced that such an evolution is conceivable and that it is our duty to strive after such a development in every sphere. But not in order to serve any theory. We are fully aware that nowhere must we block the free initiative of personality. We do not want to do any such thing. But it is essential that the thought which governs our action should ever again and again be set before us as our great final aim: the achievements of the individual have in the first place to serve the community and the profit which accrues to the community will then be converted into that part of the profit which is the share of the individual. That is an ideal which in some spheres is already realized, in other spheres it is in process of development, in other spheres again it is not even ripe for development. But we want to guard ourselves against any doctrinaire theories, whatever be their nature."

*Hitler closed his speech with an expression of thanks to all those who in any capacity were working on the railway. "In working together", he said, "on such a task in the interest of the community you are helping along with others to create the foundation for a State of the future."*¹

¹ F.Z., 9 Dec. 1935.

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In his Proclamation at the opening of the Parteitag of 1936 in Nuremberg Hitler explained the programme of the Second Four Years Plan. Its object was in the first place the exploitation of possibilities provided by Germany herself; participation in the economic life of the world beyond Germany's frontiers could occupy only a secondary place.

"Since the National Socialist State is in no circumstances prepared to undertake a limitation of the numbers of its people, but on the contrary is determined to increase this national fertility of the nation, we are compelled to consider and to weigh the consequences of this development in the future. Any considerable increase in the productivity of the soil is impossible, any considerable increase in our exports in the near future is hardly possible. It is therefore the duty of National Socialist leaders in the State and in German economic life to inquire most carefully what necessary raw materials, fuel, &c., can be produced within Germany itself."

"The foreign currency thereby saved ought in the future to serve as an additional security for our food-supply and also for the purchase of those materials which in no circumstances can be produced within our country. And this I therefore proclaim to-day as the New Four Years Programme":

"In four years Germany must be completely independent of foreign countries so far as concerns those materials which by any means through German skill, through our chemical and machine industry or through our mining industry we can ourselves produce. Further, the new development of this great German raw-material industry will, within the national economy, usefully employ the supplies of labour which will be set free on the completion of our rearmament. We hope in this way to be able once more to increase the national production in many spheres—and that, too, in the internal

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course of our economic life—so that the income derived from our exports may be reserved in the first instance for the supply of foodstuffs or for the supply of those raw materials which we still shall not be able to produce ourselves.”

“I have already issued the necessary instructions for the execution of this vast German economic plan, which will be carried through with National Socialist energy and vigour. But, independently of this, Germany cannot give up the satisfaction of her colonial demands. The right to live of the German people is just as great as the rights of the other nations.”

“I know, my National Socialist fellow-countrymen, that this new Programme represents a colossal task, but in the scientific sphere in many branches the problem is already solved; methods of production are now being tested and are already in part determined and settled. Therefore the complete realization of this programme is only a question of our own energy and resolution. As National Socialists we have never recognized the word ‘impossible’, and we therefore refuse in future to admit it as an enrichment of our vocabulary. In four years’ time we shall once more render account to the nation on this gigantic work for securing its food and thereby of securing its life and its independence.”

“Perhaps from the mouth of western democrats we may soon hear once more the complaint that we do not allow to economic life the liberty to act as it may choose, but that we put it into the strait-jacket of our State planning. But, my fellow-countrymen, you will understand that in this case it is not a question of democracy or liberty, it is a question of existence or non-existence. It is not the liberty or the profit of some industrialists which is in question; the life and the liberty of the German nation are at stake. Whoever believes that he

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cannot remain within the circle of interests of this freedom and this life, he has no right to exist in our community."¹

In his address to the Labour Front at the Nuremberg Parteitag on 12 September 1936 Hitler said:

"It is not the income which plays the principal part in a worker's life, it is his subsistence which is of the first importance. But in order to increase even by 10 per cent. the subsistence of the German worker ten thousand factories and undertakings would have to produce more. It is a thankless task to be bound to care for the subsistence of a people of 68 millions which is compressed within an impossibly narrow area. In certain spheres our land cannot by any means increase its production: it is therefore dependent upon imports and must in consequence in other spheres achieve miracles in order to make this importation possible."

The essential point in the task set before National Socialist leadership is so to raise the whole volume of our production that to each individual a somewhat enlarged share in consumption results; for the wage of a people has meaning only when it arises from production. Production alone is the real payment for labour, not what one earns in money. Every increase in production benefits the whole people and not only the wealthy few. If the production of coal in Germany could be raised by 30 or 40 million tons then not only could some few persons consume these 30 or 40 million tons, but the great mass of the people. Every increase in production benefits the whole people and thus also raises the people's standard of living. . . . The aim of the National Socialist Revolution had been to fashion anew and thus improve German life. . . . The Bolshevist Soviet State

¹ *V.B.*, 10 Sept. 1936.

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was a prime example of the failure of Marxism, for the standard of life of the worker there was two-thirds lower than that of the German worker. "If we had at our disposal the incalculable wealth and stores of raw material of the Ural mountains and the unending fertile plains of the Ukraine to be exploited under National Socialist leadership, then we would produce and our German people swim in plenty."¹ . . . In Russia the population of these wide areas was starving because a Jewish-Bolshevist leadership was incapable of organizing production and thus incapable of giving practical help to the worker. . . . He who would lead production must show capacity: not the question of the number of years a man had served an undertaking could determine his fitness for a leading position in economic life: what was decisive was his achievement, his intelligence, his initiative, and his energy. . . .² "Improvement in our economic life depends on two factors: it depends in the first place on the determination to guide all a people's forces towards a mighty common effort directed to such improvement, and in the second place on a better education." On this education National Socialism was engaged. The German Labour Front was perhaps the mightiest monument of this work of national education, the most living expression of this new community. "Over and over again into every individual must be hammered the conviction: 'You are here only to serve your people. Alone you are nothing: only as part of the life of the whole you are everything, only in a Front are you Power.' " . . .

"When I say to-day that in four years we shall have

¹ From the report of the speech in *The Times*, 15 Sept. 1936. The censored German text reads: "If the Ural . . . Siberia . . . and the Ukraine . . . were in Germany. . . ."

² What precedes is a translation of the report in *V.B.*, 14 Sept. 1936. From that report it is not clear how far Hitler's precise wording is reproduced.

solved this or that problem, all that seems to me to be easy compared with my task when years ago as a lonely wanderer I set out upon the way which was to lead me from nothing to the headship of the German nation. Therefore let no one object 'But this is impossible'. That no one can—no one must—say to me. I am not one of the men who allow themselves to say, 'It is impossible'. It must be possible, for Germany must live."

"I grant you that we can solve the problems only if we form one Front. If everyone goes in whatever direction he chooses, one one way, and one another, when everyone thinks that he can find salvation after his own fashion,¹ then naturally it is impossible. At the time when every German thought that he could go his own way then Germany, and with Germany all Germans, were in a sorry state.² And that is true, too, for the future. I am sweeping together all the forces of our people. From 68 million individual Germans there must arise a single concentrated opinion, a single concentrated will, one conviction and one resolution. Then the great tasks before us will at once become ludicrously small. If I imagined that I had to go forward alone and that behind me everyone was running wherever he chose then I, too, could only despair, but if I know that I lead the way while behind me there marches a whole people, then I have no cares, be the tasks as hard as they may."

"Someone may say to me, 'We have a shortage of cotton.' In four years, my comrades, every factory will be working at full speed. We shall have our own German materials. Another may say, 'We could not buy enough rubber.' Mark my words: factories will spring

¹ German: *nach seiner Fassung selig werden*—a reference to the well-known dictum of Frederick the Great.

² On the danger of this "vulgar egoism" cf. the Harvest Festival speech of 4 Oct. 1936. *V.B.*, 5 Oct. 1936, p. 934 *infra*.

up from the ground, and one of these days our motors will have our own German rubber. It may be objected: 'But where are you going to get your petrol from, if you keep on raising the number of motors in Germany?' We shall get our petrol from our own soil: we shall get it from our coal."

"I shall never say, 'That is impossible, and therefore the wheels must stand still, therefore the German people must go hungry.' No, the German people shall work, it will solve the problems because they are there, and because we are determined that they shall be solved. When I see you before me as the Front of German Labour then I would ask you to consider the meaning of the word 'Front'—'Front' means one will, it means one resolution, 'Front' means a goal and it means also action."

. . . The most terrible fate for a people is when its unfortunates lose hope. "If I set great tasks before the German people, by so doing, it is certainly true that I am making more work and more burdens for many people and they will say: 'We are given no rest, there are perpetually new aims proposed.' But you who are hit by these plans of ours, never forget that what you complain of is at the same time for many millions a new ray of hope, that these millions who live under life's shadow can now venture to believe once more that after all we are making progress: 'The Führer has worked out a new plan: we believe that things will be set right again, we shall all get our jobs.' Do not forget that one man's burden is for countless others an uplift: that it may produce a great new confident assurance that we shall come through. Further, we shall see to it that no one from outside interferes with Germany, so as to make this solution impossible and to create chaos. In my life I have had so many fights, so much opposition, I have

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conquered so often, the opposition has been broken down so many times, that I can never feel myself to be anything but a fighter. I know, too, that in the life of peoples that nation only endures which is ready to meet every opposition, to withstand every danger. Therefore it is my care that we should not be a defenceless State in those threatening days which perhaps lie before us, but that here, too, we can look to the German future with confidence, with hope and faith. . . . I shall demand every sacrifice that is necessary to protect and to secure our people, for I believe that the most unfortunate man on the face of the earth is he who cannot master his misfortune because his own strength fails him." . . . If Germany builds up her economic Front which is a part of the great Front of our national self-preservation, then "Germany will be indestructible, then will Reich and nation be secure, then will they endure into the centuries yet to come and our children will be spared what we had to suffer for eighteen years".¹

In his speech at the annual harvest celebration on the Bückeberg on 4 October 1936 Hitler said:

"If at any time in Germany the harvest sinks only by 20 per cent., then that is for our people a catastrophe. Twenty per cent. less grain would for our German food-supply have terrible, hardly imaginable, consequences. What men can do to avoid such a catastrophe that we do in Germany. But we feel all the more deeply our duty every year to render thanks to the Power on which depends in the last resort this final 20 per cent. of our harvest. We know that Eternal Providence must first give its gracious consent to all that human industry and human work can achieve. And it is for this reason that we unite here on this day to render thanks to the

¹ *V.B.*, 14 Sept. 1936.

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Almighty that He has not allowed the work of a whole year to be spent in vain, but that from the work of this year once more our people's daily bread is secured for the coming year."¹

In the same speech Hitler said, speaking of the Second Four Years Plan:

"You have a few weeks ago heard of a great programme, a programme which aims at strengthening still further the independence of Germany and thereby the security for the maintenance of our people. It is a programme which can be carried through only with a people and in a people which like the German people of to-day can be guided towards a single goal and whose powers of work are all concentrated in a single direction. And while you, my farmers, are now on your fields and undertake the preparations for the coming year, and when in spring you continue this work, then rest assured that many hundreds of thousands of German men are already elsewhere at work on the realization of this new programme. On every side creative work will be going on. Everywhere in Germany it has been realized that life is not a problem of financial speculations but always only a problem of work. You, my farmers, you will understand that. No farmer ever made a success of things who thought that he could speculate. One must take the hoe in one's hand and the plough, one must work to win success. That is what we are doing in the towns and in the country, and before this great work which lies in front of us we have only one single wish, one single request that we would make of Providence: that Providence in the coming year as in the past will not withhold its blessing. Then if we stand together, in a year's time we shall have once more made further

¹ V.B., 5 Oct. 1936.

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progress. Many vast raw-material factories will then supply us with what perhaps we lack at present.”¹

In the same speech he said:

“If anyone should say: I regard my own occupation from the standpoint of my personal interests or I measure the value of my work by the standard of my personal profit, then my answer must be: My friend, you are a low-minded egoist! If other fellow-countrymen of yours were to act in precisely the same way, where should we in Germany be? You have no more rights than your neighbour.”

“I do not regard it as a happy thing either for the individual or for the people as a whole that we should allow our economic life to develop into an affair of financial speculation; rather I believe that there can be only effective and productive work, and that such work is the foundation of the existence of all our fellow-countrymen.”

“When therefore someone says: it is I who determine the rate of my wage, and the other says I determine the price for my goods, if we were to permit things to go on in this way then in a short time we should be in the same state as other peoples. Then all order would break down and similarly every condition needed for internal stability and thus for the existence of all.”

“You are to see in me, my fellow-countrymen, the man who with ruthless resolution will defend against the madness and the egoism of individuals those higher common interests of the nation which are based upon reason and the realities of our situation. I will not suffer anyone to come and say: the price for my goods or the wage for my work I determine for myself. My friend, when this madness threatens you yourself, will

¹ *V.B.*, 5 Oct. 1936.

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you be able to protect yourself? That will be the time when you too will come to recognize the necessity for a strong authority to stand over you which can take you too under its protection."

"Look to-day at Spain, look at other countries—from these examples don't you yourself think that it is better that we should so build up our economic life that there is established a stable relation between wages and prices, rather than that we should let wages and prices simply go their own way and then at last should seek to restore the former state of affairs through devaluation? That is not our wish. I believe that in our State Reason must reign and that the German people has enough judgement and enough discipline to understand the necessity for this Reason. And in that case we shall recognize in the first place that we can survive only if we have social peace, that is if each individual cannot do as he likes. The individual must subordinate himself to the community as a whole, to a higher common interest. . . . All in common must have regard for each other. And in the second place we shall recognize that our wage and price policy must remain stable and constant. And if anyone thinks that he can offend against this policy, believe me that so long as I live and stand at the head of the Reich I will successfully defend the reason of general national self-preservation against all such individuals in their madness."¹

In his speech in the Reichstag on 30 January 1937 Hitler said:

"National Socialism vigorously combats the opinion which holds that the economic structure exists for the benefit of capital and that the people are to be looked upon as subject to the economic system. We were

¹ *V.B.*, 5 Oct. 1936.

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therefore determined from the very beginning to exterminate the false notion that the economic system could exist and operate entirely freely and entirely outside of any control or supervision on the part of the State. To-day there can no longer be such a thing as an independent economic system. That is to say, the economic system can no longer be left to itself exclusively. And this is so, not only because it is unallowable from the political point of view, but also because, in the purely economic sphere itself, the consequences would be disastrous."

"It is out of the question that millions of individuals should be allowed to work just as they like and merely to meet their own needs; but it is just as impossible to allow the entire system of economics to function according to the notions held exclusively in economic circles and thus made to serve egotistic interests. Then there is the further consideration that these economic circles are not in a position to bear the responsibility for their own failures. In its modern phase of development the economic system concentrates enormous masses of workers in certain special branches and in definite local areas. New inventions or a slump in the market may destroy whole branches of industry at one blow."

"The industrialist may close his factory gates. He may even try to find a new field for his personal activities. In most cases he will not be ruined so easily. Moreover, the industrialists who have to suffer in such contingencies are only a small number of individuals. But on the other side there are hundreds of thousands of workers, with their wives and children. Who is to defend their interests and care for them? The whole community of the people? Indeed, it is its duty to do so. Therefore the whole community cannot be made to bear the burden of economic disasters without according it the right of

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influencing and controlling economic life and thus avoiding catastrophes."

"In the years 1932-3, when the German economic system seemed definitely ruined, I recognized even more clearly than ever before that the salvation of our people was not a financial problem. It was exclusively a problem of how industrial labour could best be employed on the one side and, on the other, how our agricultural resources could be utilized."

"This is first and foremost a problem of organization. Phrases, such as the freedom of the economic system, for example, are no help. What we have to do is to use all available means at hand to make production possible and open up fields of activity for our working energies. If this can be successfully done by the economic leaders themselves, that is to say by the industrialists, then we are content."

"But if they fail, the folk-community, which in this case means the State, is obliged to step in for the purpose of seeing that the working energies of the nation are employed in such a way that what they produce will be of use to the nation, and the State will have to devise the necessary measures to assure this. In this respect the State may do everything; but one thing it cannot do—and this was the actual state of affairs we had to face—is to allow 12,000 million working hours to be lost year after year."

"For the folk-community does not exist on the fictitious value of money but on the results of productive labour, which is what gives money its value."

"This production, and not a bank or gold reserve, is the first cover for a currency. And if I increase production I increase the real income of my fellow-citizens. And if I reduce production I reduce that income, no matter what wages are paid out." . . .

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"Seeing that we insist on the national importance of the function which our economic system fulfils, it naturally follows that the former disunion between employer and employee can no longer exist. But the new State will not and does not wish to assume the role of entrepreneur. It will regulate the working strength of the nation only in so far as such regulation is necessary for the common good. And it will supervise conditions and methods of working only in so far as this is in the interests of all those engaged in work. Under no circumstances will the State attempt to bureaucratize economic life. The economic effects that follow from every real and practical initiative benefit the people as a whole. At the present moment an inventor or an economic organizer is of inestimable value to the folk-community. For the future the first task of National Socialist education will be to make clear to all our fellow-citizens how their reciprocal worth must be appreciated. We must point out to the one side how there can be no substitute for the German worker and we must teach the German worker how indispensable are the inventor and the genuine business leader. It is quite clear that, under the aegis of such an outlook on economic life, strikes and lock-outs can no longer be tolerated. The National Socialist State repudiates the right of economic coercion. Above all contracting parties stand the economic interests of the nation, which are the interests of the people."

"The practical results of this economic policy of ours are already known to you. Throughout the whole nation there is a tremendous urge towards productive activity. Enormous works are arising everywhere for the expansion of industry and traffic. While in other countries strikes or lock-outs shatter the stability of national production, our millions of productive workers obey the

highest of all laws that we have in this world, namely the law of common sense."¹

In a speech at a meeting of the Reich Chamber of Labour on 30 April 1937 Hitler said:

"The economic life may remain free only so long as it is able to solve the problems of the nation. If it cannot do it, then it must cease to be free."²

In his speech addressed to the German people on 1 May 1937 Hitler said: "This is a Festival of the State because on this day we celebrate the regained community of the people, or rather that community of the German people which has now for the first time been achieved. For to form a people is a mightier achievement than to erect a State. States come and States pass, but peoples are created for eternities. It was reserved for our day to put the crown upon the formation of the State of the German Reich. The German nation has become a people."

"If on this day we celebrate the festival of the community of the German people, then the question arises: What is it which is common to this people? Our blood? Certainly, but that community of blood has never prevented this people from shedding its best blood in civil warfare. Language? Certainly, but community of language has never prevented men who spoke one common language from failing, often for centuries, to understand one another. Is it our common economic interests? But it was precisely over economic differences that conflicts raged most fiercely. Or is it our history? That

¹ Authorized English translation in pamphlet form: as above, pp. 21-3, 24-5. Text in *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, v (1938), pp. 36-7, 38-9. With this speech cf. Proclamation at *Parteitag* of 1937, *V.B.*, 8 Sept. 1937.

² Cited from the *Manchester Guardian*, 1 May 1937.

history we know: it is a tragic chronicle of perpetual wars, of disagreements between brothers. Is it a common religion? No! here too we have fought and striven with each other: for thirty years in our people's life bloodshed ever followed bloodshed and all in the name of religion. And it was not either common custom or common usage. No, it is something other than all these which guides, nay rather forces us to this community. It is, my fellow-countrymen, our common destiny, this compelling common destiny from which none can escape, our life's destiny in this world."

"And it is no easy thing, it is a hard destiny, for the problems which life sets for us are harder than those of other peoples. There are peoples perhaps who can allow themselves the luxury of domestic warfare, they may indulge in quarrels, may smash each other's heads with impunity. Where Nature gives everything to man in superfluity there perhaps folk need not value so highly the necessity for unity of action and of will. But we Germans have been treated by Nature in our life on this earth in a more than stepmotherly fashion. A great people, a people of endless capacity, an industrious people, a people that has the will to live, which has the courage to make demands on life, yet lives in a space which even with the greatest industry is far too small and limited to give it from its own territory the essentials for its existence. When we often hear foreign politicians say, 'For what purpose do you need other wider possibilities of life?' we could turn the question back on them and ask, 'Why do you then set such value on them?' Precisely because this life-struggle with us is much harder than anywhere else we are forced to draw from this fact, which is our fate, conclusions which are peculiar to our own case. We cannot live from phrases, from platitudes and theories, but only from the results

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of our work, our capacity, and our intelligence. This hard life-struggle of ours is not made any easier by each going his own way, if each man says 'I do what I will and what seems good to me'. No, we must live one with another. No one can shut himself off from this community, because no one can escape from this common destiny. And from this hard and sober recognition of facts there arises the compelling necessity for our German community of the people. That community is the condition for the practical conduct of our life-struggle."¹

In a speech at Regensburg on 6 June 1937 Hitler said:

"We have stripped money of its ghostly character (*phantomhaften Charakters*). We have given it the part which it ought to play: not money and not reserves of foreign currency but work alone is the basis of money. There can be no increase in wages which does not go hand in hand with an increase in production."²

In a speech at Würzburg on 27 June 1937 Hitler referred to the changes which the last five years had brought to the life of Germany.

"During these years the National Socialist economic theory has been converted into fact. For this theory the decisive factor is not how much paper money a nation prints and puts into circulation, but what value, in terms of work, stands behind that money. Only an increase of production can benefit the whole people. We have therefore decided, in conformity with our National Socialist conviction, to let the whole people, in an ever-increasing degree, share in the results of this huge speeding-up of our industry. This is also the purpose of the Four Years Plan. Its aim is in many

¹ F.Z., 3 May 1937.

² V.B., 8 June 1937.

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fields to make ourselves independent of the world outside—but not to withdraw ourselves from it. The Four Years Plan is intended only to protect Germany from the possibility of pressure at the will of any third party. With its help we wish to secure some foundations for our national economy, and no power in the world, and certainly not the speeches of foreign statesmen, can move us even one centimetre from our course."

*Referring to the "senseless" charges that Germany was seeking to withdraw herself from world trade, Hitler said that any such withdrawal was out of the question. "On the contrary, we wish to increase our trade with the outer world, to do still more business with it than before. To this our balance of trade bears witness. Germany's exports and imports are steadily rising, and, God willing, will continue to rise. National Socialist Germany, indeed, has only one wish: on condition that her own rights are preserved, to live at peace and to work together in friendship with all her neighbours."*¹

In his Proclamation read at the opening of the Parteitag in Nuremberg on 7 September 1937 Hitler spoke of the economic position in Europe: "A few years ago", he said, "everybody was talking of a crisis in 'world economics' and looked for salvation in a common collective effort. At that time", he continued, "for years I warned people of the danger of the belief that an international crisis in world economics could be cured² by way of an international approach to the problem. I have always contended that the national economic systems must be brought into order."

"It was further a fundamental view of National

¹ *F.Z.*, 28 June 1937.

² *V.B.*, 8 Sept. 1937 prints *Behebung*; read with *F.Z.* of the same date *Behebung*.

Socialism that it is completely contradictory to talk continuously of the necessity for relieving the crisis in world economics and at the same time oneself to undertake the most doubtful currency manipulations which were peculiarly likely to convulse world economics. . . . Ought we to have gone on waiting for this international miracle to happen, or were we not in the right when we applied the principle that the first aid must come from one's own strength? As National Socialists we were convinced that in the sphere of politics freedom would not one day be granted us as a gift, but that we could win it only through our own efforts: so in economic life we were persuaded that the same principle applied. But in our attempts to relieve the German economic crisis we have always acted only upon a single dogma, namely that economics is one of the many functions of the people's life;¹ it can therefore be organized and conducted only on considerations of expediency and can never be treated on a basis of dogma. As dogma there is neither a socialized economy, nor a free economy, but only a national economy which is subject to obligations,² i.e. an economy which as a whole acknowledges the duty of creating the highest and best conditions for the life of the people. In so far as it fulfils this task without intervention from above by means of the free play of economic forces that is well, and above all it is very convenient for a Government. So far as a free economy is unable to perform its proper task in any sphere, the leadership of the community of the people has the duty to give to economics such directions as are necessary for the maintenance of the whole society. But if an economy in one or other sphere is completely unable

¹ *V.B.* prints *des volkklichen Lebens*; *F.Z.* prints *des völkischen Lebens*.

² German: *eine verpflichtete Wirtschaft*.

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with its own resources to fulfil the great tasks which are set before it, then in that case the leadership of the community of the people must seek other means and methods in order to satisfy the needs of the whole population. But one thing is certain: here, as everywhere else, if the will is present, it must be possible to find a way."¹

*The Parteitag of 1937 had for its watchword "Work". In his address to political leaders (10 September 1937) Hitler said: "Since in four years we have liberated Germany, we have now the right to enjoy the fruit of our work."*²

Addressing the workers of the Labour Service (Arbeitsdienst) at the Nuremberg Parteitag on 8 September 1937 Hitler said:

"It is not enough to dream of a community of the people or to talk of it. This community must be fought for and worked for. As elsewhere, here, too, deeds are of more value than words. A community will not come to birth by merely wishing for it: the wish must transform itself into will, and will must be transmuted into deed. And one of the proudest deeds performed by National Socialism in its endeavour to re-establish the future German community of the people was the foundation of the Labour Service of the Reich (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*). . . . The true representation of any nation is always to be found in its most valuable forces. He who would know Germany must see this force assembled here, and then he will gain the right impression of our new community and hence of our people". . . .

"If Germany shows to the outside world the might

¹ *V.B.*, 8 Sept. 1937; *F.Z.*, 8 Sept. 1937.

² *V.B.*, 12 Sept. 1937.

of its self-protection, at home at the same time it displays the force of its work. And in both we see embodied the security of the life of the people to whom we are proud to belong."¹

In his speech to the German Labour Front, delivered at Nuremberg on 11 September 1937 Hitler declared that the most dangerous opposition which they had to face was the influence of traditional habits and outlook.

"Yet customs can be changed, and if it was once the custom to be a proletarian or a *bourgeois*, one day it will be the custom to be only a German. The men of Germany must draw near to each other again, and must learn how to sit round the same table. All this will not come at haphazard; it must be taught. Before, we had many castes in this country, which bred the consciousness of caste. Now, we have only one caste—the German Labour Front, whose task it is to bring home to the German people the consciousness of belonging to the caste of German working men. That is indeed a wonderful task and if many doubt its success, I can only say 'We shall reach our goal!'"

"Man is the result of an education which has lasted for hundreds and thousands of years. To-day he must be formed anew. We are still educating ourselves continuously. If every generation attacks the tasks which are set before it with a seriousness equal to our own, then success must be achieved—and it shall be achieved!"

"That is the inner meaning of this great Labour Organization. The class-struggle must be rooted out from the German people; the way must be cleared so that men may realize that it is but reasonable that mind and fist, brow and hand, intelligence and strength should

¹ *V.B.*, 9 Sept. 1937.

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once for all belong together, since eternally they complete and must complete each other. And in this we shall succeed because we must succeed, and because I believe in the reasonableness of the German people. I should assuredly not stand before you now, had I not once, as a soldier, won absolute faith in the worth of our people and especially in that of the German workers. . . . From my experience in those days of the community in the World War I gained the conviction that all the reproaches with which the German workman has so often been assailed are quite unjust."

"This great experience of a life in common we must now carry over into our great community of daily life; we must give to each individual the conviction that within the framework of the community of the people he is irreplaceable, and that every individual profits by his activity. That is the final meaning of the German Labour Front."¹

*In a speech to the Old Guard delivered in Augsburg on 21 November 1937 at the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the Ortsgruppe in that city Hitler said: "The National Socialist Party is the greatest organization ever built by men. Never before in Germany has so vast a number of men of political capacity been actively employed. To millions of German comrades whose occupation imposed on them hard and uncongenial work the Party has given a fresh task and a fresh purpose in life. How happy these countless comrades are to-day when after their work in the factories their real joyful life begins when as block-stewards or as heads of local groups they work for the community of the people."*²

¹ *V.B.*, 12 Sept. 1937.

² This extract is translated from a summary of the speech printed in *V.B.*, 23 Nov. 1937. I am not sure that it reproduces precisely the words used by Hitler.

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Of Hitler's speech when addressing 2,000 workers to celebrate the completion of the first 2,000 kilometres of motor-roads in December 1937 there is apparently no report in the German Press. The motor-car, he said, had become a big factor in German foreign trade. "Subsidies" had been granted to the factories to improve the quality of the German motor-car. There had been many set-backs, but it was now established that there was no car of better appearance, more reliable, and of better wearing qualities than the German car. The engines for the German aeroplanes came from the motor factories and these were second to none. The final objective was that in Germany, as in the United States, there should be a car to every five inhabitants.

As for motor-roads, he said that the 7,000 kilometres originally planned had proved to be insufficient and they now contemplated a final total of 10,000 to 12,000 kilometres. Magnificent roads were better evidence of the civilization of a people than the so-called freedom of the Press to complain and lie daily. This network of motor roads would prove a means of binding together the new "People's State"; it would help to increase the production of motor-cars which led directly and indirectly to a large amount of employment. The iron and steel required would be produced at home, as would the light metals, the petrol, and the rubber.

Every year a thousand kilometres of motor-roads would be opened until the greatest work undertaken in the history of mankind had found its completion.¹

When opening the Motor Exhibition in Berlin on 18 February 1938 Hitler said that in 1933 there seemed no hope for the industry. The National Socialists had realized that the crisis of that time could not be solved

¹ Cited from *The Times*, 20 Dec. 1937.

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by merely economic means, nor could problems be treated individually. There must be a general restoration of the nation's forces and moral, political, psychological, and economic measures must supplement each other. The success of the efforts of National Socialism could be seen in the immense progress already made in the "motorization" of Germany.

In 1933 there was probably no industry in Germany which was so backward as the motor industry: it had been beaten by the United States and by many other European and non-European Powers. Then in 1933 it was a fight against unemployment, now it was a fight for adequate resources in labour: the German people had reached such a degree of intensive production that there was a deficiency in skilled labour—a sign of the immense development in German economic life. The German mark, despite an increase of some 50 per cent. in the national income, had maintained its purchasing power "because for every mark paid out German production created a corresponding value in articles for purchase: this was achieved by the incorporation of some seven million additional workmen into the process of national production and by an extraordinary increase in the productive capacity of the individual workman. And this was the more necessary as the immense process of rearmament withdrew a part of the nation's labour-strength from direct production and thus could only indirectly benefit the people's welfare. If to-day we wish to raise our people's standard of living, that in our view can only come through a continuous increase in production. . . . Since at the moment we have at our disposal very little surplus labour-power, we must of necessity enter upon a second epoch in the development of our national economy. The task of the first epoch was the building of all Germans into the national

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process of production. That is now completed. The task of the second—the coming—epoch is to make the most of the capacities of those engaged in the national process of production, which means continual improvement in our methods of production in order thereby to save those labour-resources which we need for new additional activities in production. That is in itself no new process; it has in the past been the cause of all human progress." The improvement in existing methods of production while the same level of production was maintained rendered possible in some spheres the liberation of labour-resources which could then be used in order to introduce new processes in production which would thus lead to the creation of additional commodities and goods.

Hitler then went on to speak of the necessity for the new cheap people's car which would represent a vast additional increase in the "motorization" of Germany, and inasmuch as every owner of a car tends to wish for a better car there would be a gain to makers of more expensive cars. Above all it was essential that as incomes rose, the increased spending power should be directed to objects which could be produced within Germany. If the increased income were spent on food, Germany with her inadequate provision of agricultural land could not guarantee to meet the new needs. For motors on the other hand all the fundamental materials needed could be produced within Germany.

"Thus with the new People's Car the motor-car will cease to be the distinguishing mark of a stratum of society possessing higher incomes, it will more and more become the general means of transport of the whole German people." Then the propaganda for motors, the building of the new roads, the achievements in motor-sport will not have been in vain. *Hitler then*

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*announced the introduction of a Motorsport-Badge which should be given annually and would act as a spur to the motor-minded youth of Germany.*¹

In his speech in the Reichstag on 20 February 1938 Hitler said:

"Germany's economic salvation is due solely to the nation's own efforts under its own leadership. Foreign countries contributed absolutely nothing. Except for hateful rejection or limited priggishness we know of nothing that could even be counted as a positive interest in Germany, to say nothing of assistance."

"Nor did I ever expect anything else. For us National Socialists it is a cardinal principle of our political and economic faith not to look for salvation in the form of any kind of aid from outside, whether of a political, economic, or financial nature, but to seek such aid solely in the orbit of our own wisdom and energy."

"In the centre of our policy has been a realization that the standard of living of the nation can only be the result of the total production of vital goods, i.e. that every wage and every salary paid out in Germany possesses only the real value represented by actual work done in the form of goods produced. A very unpopular doctrine at a time which echoes with the cry of 'higher wages and shorter hours'!"

"When I took over the leadership of the Reich the number of unemployed had risen to well over 6,000,000 and the number of members of families thus concerned to more than 15,500,000. Thus the solution of this problem meant not only paying out the money for these fifteen million people to live, but, above all, to produce the goods to be bought with this money. Hence the

¹ *F.Z.*, 19 Feb. 1938, and see the report in *The Times* of the same date.

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National Socialist economic programme is not a programme of money, but essentially one of production. The greater the volume of production, the greater will be the share which the individual enjoys. Money itself is only an auxiliary in the service of distributing the goods of production. But in order to give the nation the position in the world which it needed for the unhampered carrying out of its vital tasks, it was necessary also to carry out an additional production of national armaments which do not benefit our people directly but only indirectly. But it was obviously out of the question to identify German salvation with fraudulent currency manipulations, i.e. to defraud our fellow-citizens by such things as sliding scales of wages, and therefore also of prices. Rather, it was necessary to increase production in order to ensure a constant purchasing power for the increasing income of the nation."

"Let me give a brief extract from our economic life in the form of sober figures to indicate whether and to what extent National Socialism has solved these problems."

"In 1932, that is before the National Socialist assumption of power, the German national income amounted to 45.2 milliard Reichsmark. It increased to 46.6 milliard Reichsmark in 1933, and in 1937 reached the round figure of 68 milliard Reichsmark."

"In contrast to this increase in income, the general cost of living index remained practically unchanged, being 120.6 in 1932 and 125.1 in 1937."

"That is to say, while the national income increased by nearly 50 per cent., the increase in the general cost of living index was only 4 per cent."

"The reasons for this are to be found in the growth of our total production."

"The value of industrial production rose as follows:

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1932	37.8 milliard Reichsmark
1933	39.9 " "
1937	.	.	.	more than	75	" "

"Corresponding to these in detail are also the turnover figures, for example in trades, which were as follows:

1932	.	.	.	.	.	9.5 milliard Reichsmark
1933	.	.	.	.	.	10.1 " "
1937	.	.	.	.	.	22 " "

"For purpose of comparison I should like to note here also the turnover figures for retail trade:

1933	.	.	.	.	.	21.8 milliard Reichsmark
1937	.	.	.	.	.	31 " "

"But agricultural production, in spite of an intensive cultivation of the soil, also shows increasing results. The production figures are:

1932	.	.	.	.	.	8.7 milliard Reichsmark
1937	.	.	.	.	over 12	" "

"That we are concerned here not merely with the problem of price-fixing, but with one of increased production, is proved by the fact that it was possible, in spite of the increased buying power of the German nation and the consequent increased demands especially on the food market, to raise the amount of supplies from home production, which in 1932 amounted to 75 per cent., to 81 per cent. in 1936."

"If the value of industrial products thus increased from 37.8 milliard to over 75 milliard, this can be illustrated in particular by separate examples. In the five years of National Socialist guidance in economic affairs

paper manufacture has increased by	.	.	50 per cent.
the manufacture of Diesel oil has increased by	.	66	"
the production of coal has increased by	.	68	"
the production of oil fuel has increased by	.	80	"
the production of mineral oil has increased by	.	90	"
the production of artificial silk has increased by	.	100	"

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the production of kerosene has increased by .	110	per cent.
the production of steel has increased by .	167	"
the production of lubricating oil has increased by	190	"
the production of petrol and other fuels has increased by	470	"
the production of aluminium has increased by .	570	"
the production of <i>Zellwolle</i> ¹ has increased by .	2,500	"
	&c.	

"This vast increase in national production formed those values which assured the German Mark its buying power and its stability, although in the same period—corresponding to this increased production—the number of unemployed decreased from over 6·5 million at the time of the National Socialist assumption of power to 470,000 at the beginning of October 1937."

"But the number of those newly included in the process of production amounts to some 2 million."

"This tremendous economic activity is also expressed in foreign trade figures. Without taking part in world conferences, without having at our command the gigantic economic possibilities of other world Powers, we have succeeded in increasing our foreign trade in imports

from 4·2 to 5·5 milliard Reichsmark

and in exports

from 4·9 milliard in 1933

to 5·9 milliard in 1937.

"The confidence of the German nation in its economic policy is also in accordance with these facts, and finds its expression in the increase in savings deposits. In the public savings banks the deposits increased as follows:

1932	11·4	milliard Reichsmark
1933	12·1	" "
1936	14·6	" "
1937	16·1	" "

¹ Synthetic wool.

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"An accompanying factor of this national economic planning was the organic reduction of interest, which for short-term credits decreased

from 6.23 per cent. in 1932
to 2.93 per cent. in 1937,

and also for long-term credits sank

from 8.8 per cent. in 1932
to 4.5 per cent. in 1937.

The State revenues were as follows:

1932	.	.	.	.	.	6.6 milliard Reichsmark
1933	.	.	.	.	.	6.8 " "
1934	.	.	.	.	.	8.2 " "
1935	.	.	.	.	.	9.6 " "
1936	.	.	.	.	.	11.5 " "
1937	.	.	.	.	.	14.0 " "

"In 1938 they will amount to more than 17 milliard."

"From the abundance of evidence of this tremendous increase in German production and of the economic revival I shall select only some extracts with a few figures."

"One of the most important foundations of our national economic system is our wealth in coal."

"The production figures were as follows:

1932	.	.	.	.	.	.	104.7 million tons
1933	.	.	.	.	.	.	109.7 " "
1934	.	.	.	.	.	.	124.9 " "
1935	.	.	.	.	.	.	143.0 " "
1936	.	.	.	.	.	.	158.0 " "
1937	.	.	.	.	.	.	184.5 " "

"The figures for lignite present a similar picture:

1932	122.65 million tons
1933	126.79 " "
1934	137.27 " "
1935	147.00 " "
1936	161.37 " "
1937	184.70 " "

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"Gentlemen, this annual increase of some 80 million tons of coal and 62 million tons of lignite represents a value of a different kind than is indicated when in the much-extolled democracies the money in circulation is increased by so many milliards without any corresponding value. No less impressive is the picture afforded by a review of steel and cast-iron production and of iron-ore production:

Steel

1933	.	.	.	.	.	.	9.660 million tons
1934	.	.	.	.	.	.	13.555 " "
1935	.	.	.	.	.	.	16.010 " "
1936	.	.	.	.	.	.	18.614 " "
1937	.	.	.	.	.	.	19.207 " "

while in 1938 it will amount to some 21 million tons."

"In the same period the production of cast iron increased from 1.4 million tons to 3.7 million tons."

"These are the results of a process of production, the external signs of which are the tens of thousands of factory chimneys which are once more smoking, the thousands and thousands of factories and workshops in which those millions of Germans whom National Socialism has delivered from unemployment find work and a livelihood once more."

"After the U.S.A., Germany is to-day once more the leading steel country in the world."

"German iron-ore production was as follows:

1932	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.3 million tons
1933	.	.	.	.	.	.	2.6 " "
1934	.	.	.	.	.	.	4.3 " "
1935	.	.	.	.	.	.	6.0 " "
1936	.	.	.	.	.	.	7.5 " "
1937	.	.	.	.	.	.	9.6 " "

"By means of the measures introduced earlier the production of iron ore will be increased by 1940 to 20

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million tons; in addition there is the supplementary production initiated by Field-Marshal Goering in execution of the Four Years Plan; in this connexion the Hermann Goering Works will in 1940 represent a contribution of over 21 million tons. German iron-ore production will thus amount in 1940 to at least 41·5 million tons, as compared with 1·3 million tons in 1932."

"From this the German nation may see that its distress is being relieved not by idle talk, but by unique measures on a vast scale."

"There is a similar increase in German production in a number of other fields."

"For example, the production of bauxite increased from 1,360 tons in 1932 to 73,280 tons in 1937."

"The extraction of magnesite rose from nil to 21,000 tons. The production

of fluorite from 36,000 to 127,000 tons,
of barium sulphate from 110,000 to 423,000 tons,
of graphite from 21,000 to 24,000 tons,
of asphaltic lime from 33,000 to 109,000 tons,
of arsenic ore from 2,800 to 26,400 tons,
of pyrite from 165,000 to 420,000 tons,
of nickel ore from nil to some 87,000 tons,
of lead and zinc ore from 1·18 to 2·4 million tons."

"The extraction of crude potash increased from 6·415 million tons in 1932 to 14·460 million tons."

"The production of mineral oil increased from 238,600 tons in 1933 to 453,000 tons in 1937."

"The production of volatile fuels, i.e. petrol, &c., increased from 386,000 tons in 1933 to 1,480,000 tons in 1937 and this year will amount to more than 1,700,000 tons, although the large plant set up in connexion with the Four Years Plan will not yet contribute to the total."

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"The production of Diesel oil increased from 60,000 to 120,000 tons;

of lubricating oil from 45,000 to 140,000 tons,
of oil fuel from 167,000 to 320,000 tons,
of kerosene from 19,000 to 40,000 tons."

"The production of wool increased from 4,700 tons to 7,500 tons in 1937;

of flax from 3,100 to 24,000 tons,
of hemp from 210 to 6,000 tons,
of *Zellwolle* from 4,000 to over 100,000 tons,
of artificial silk from 28,000 to over 57,000 tons."

"I might illustrate this series by many more examples. They are all documentary evidence of work such as has never before been accomplished in our nation."

"In a few years, however, the vast additional results of the Four Years Plan will supplement these successes. What, in view of a world achievement of this scope, is the purpose of the absurd comments of critics at home and abroad, of the scribbling of half-witted or ill-intentioned journalists or parliamentary incapables? Is it not finally a joke of history when in those very countries which are themselves suffering from depressions, people consider it necessary to criticize us and to give us good advice?"

"Without advice and above all without help from others we have attempted to overcome a state of distress in the face of which many another country is still helpless."

"I should now like to present to the German people the results in some other fields of our work."

"In 1932 German engineering industries had a turnover

of	37.1	million Reichsmark
1933 of	42.1	" "
1934	55.8	" "
1935	73.3	" "
1936	88.7	" "
1937 (first nine months)	111.0	" "

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"The following numbers of motor vehicles were licensed:

1932	56,400	motor-cycles
1937	.	.	.	.	234,000	" "
1932	.	.	.	.	41,100	passenger vehicles
1937	.	.	.	.	216,000	" "
1932	.	.	.	.	7,000	commercial vehicles
1937	.	.	.	.	59,600	" "

"Altogether $5\frac{1}{2}$ years ago Germany had $1\frac{1}{2}$ million motor vehicles, as compared with 3 million to-day."

"The 'People's Car' will, however, supply very different figures in a few years' time."

"Whereas in 1937 roughly five times as many motor vehicles were licensed as in 1932, the export of motor-cars has increased almost eightfold as compared with the same year."

"This increase in motor transport is accompanied by an increase in general transport."

"German inland shipping conveyed

in 1932	.	.	.	.	.	73.5	million tons,
in 1937	.	.	.	.	.	130	million tons of goods."

"The great new river regulation schemes and construction of canals will supplement the already vast system of our inland waterways and lead to further increases in transport."

"German ocean shipping conveyed

in 1932	.	.	.	.	.	.	36	million tons
in 1937	.	.	.	.	.	.	61	" "

"The idle tonnage to be seen in 1932 along the Elbe and Weser and in all other German coastal districts has disappeared."

"New ships are also being built in our shipyards. In 1932 our shipyards had orders for 22,000 tons, and these only from Germany herself, foreign orders being

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practically non-existent. At the end of 1937 we have 370,000 tons of home orders and 350,000 tons of foreign orders. A further 400,000 tons await laying down, thus making a total of 1,120,000 tons."

"The new constructions for the Navy are not included in these figures. In other words, the German shipyards, which in 1932 had orders amounting to 22,000 tons, are at present working on orders for 1,120,000 tons for merchant shipping alone."

"In the German Railways the average week-day car-loading figures for goods transport were in 1937 47 per cent. higher than in 1932. The receipts from goods transport have increased accordingly. In 1937 there was an increase in receipts of 70 per cent. as compared with 1932, an increase of 78 per cent. in tons hauled, and an increase of 83 per cent. in ton-miles."

"The number of motor-lorries owned by the German State Railways increased from 217 in 1932 to 3,137 in 1937, the number of road transport routes from 53 to 1,131, and the mileage from 800 to 29,200. Long-distance buses increased to the same extent."

"The total number of persons carried by the railway buses has increased from 480,000 in 1932 to 2½ million to-day."

"The State Railways' returns also show an increase in effective ton-mileage, which rose from 178 milliard to 274 milliard, that is an increase of 54 per cent. A similar increase is to be observed in all other fields of railway traffic; the receipts may give the final illustration. In 1932 they amounted to 2·234 milliard, by 1937 they had increased to 4·480 milliard Reichsmark."

"The increase in the postal services confirms this great general revival in German economic life."

"The number of letters handled increased from 5·6 milliard in 1932 to 6·4 milliard in 1937."

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"The number of parcels from 227 million to 296 million."

"The number of postal cheque accounts from 1,021,819 to 1,119,372. The credit balances on a yearly average from 461 million to 729 million Reichsmark. The postal cheque transactions from 703 million to 904 million. The turnover in postal cheque business from 103 milliard to 161 milliard. The number of telephones from 2,960,000 to 3,578,000. The amount of air-mail postings from 135,000 kg. to 3,600,000 kg."

"The total returns from 1,658 million to 1,940 million Reichsmark."

"The Post Office motor-coaches conveyed in 1933 60 million people, and in 1937 over 80 million."

"The distance covered in air-mail delivery increased from 19,375 miles to 39,750 miles. The distance covered annually from 5½ million miles to 11 million miles. The number of air passengers from 100,000 to 326,000. The number of air-ports has increased by more than 100 since 1933, with an additional 62 landing-grounds for passenger and industrial purposes."

"Since 1933 the membership of the German Air Sports Association has risen to 600,000, in 1937 the National Socialist Flying Corps had 3 million members, including 50,000 active members, with 6 flying schools and 22 permanent gliding camps, 400 aeroplanes and 4,600 gliders."

"The development of German road construction is enormous. For the maintenance and development of German roads, including the *Autobahnen* the following sums have been spent:

1932	440 millions
1933	708 "
1935	1,325 "
1937	1,450 "

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1,500 miles are under construction. The system of *Autobahnen* is the largest building undertaking in the world and already, with a displacement of 240 million cubic metres of earth, by far exceeds the building achievement of the Panama Canal."

"Between 1934 and 1937 approximately 6,000 miles of highways were widened, giving them a 6-metre carriage-way and an overall width of 8 to 10 metres. On 4,600 miles heavy or medium surface was laid. 344 bridges were repaired or newly built, hundreds of level crossings done away with and by-passes constructed."

"In the same period 3,750 miles of first- and second-class roads were widened, 3,000 miles equipped with heavy or medium surface, 600 bridges for these roads were repaired or newly built, and here, too, numerous level crossings done away with and by-passes constructed."

"The following large bridges were built:

6 bridges over the Rhine,		
4	"	Elbe,
2	"	Oder,
3	"	Danube,
1 bridge	"	Weser,
1	"	Pregel.

Approximately 3,400 additional bridges were built in connexion with the *Autobahnen*."

"The tremendous increase in achievement in these and other fields is paralleled by the increase in our housing activity. In 1937 340,000 dwellings were constructed, this being more than double the figure for 1932."

"Altogether since the National Socialist assumption of power over 1,400,000 dwellings have been made available on the housing market."

"I should like to supplement the foregoing with some details concerning our great organizations and our social welfare work."

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"The total membership of the German Labour Front for 1937 is 17,973,000. Including the corporative members the number exceeds 20 million. This does not include the members of the Reich Chamber of Culture or of the Reich Food Estate."

"The following are the achievements for the welfare of the working population."

"The wage arrangements before the advent of the National Socialist regime may be summed up as follows: 13,000 wage schedules, bargaining between groups out for their own interests, hard-and-fast agreements, leveling of working conditions, wages under the standard log, struggles for power, strikes and lock-outs, general dissatisfaction."

"After five years of National Socialist constructive work: 7,000 wage schedules, clearly defined legal relations, no hard-and-fast agreements, but minimum basic rates, wage scales according to performance, no class-war with strikes and lock-outs, no wages under log standard, effective protection of all social interests, social settlement through the German Labour Front, social peace all round."

"Holidays before the National Socialist regime:

"Holidays mostly at the worker's own expense, no legal claim, long period of waiting before the first holiday granted, insufficient holiday period, at the most 5 days."

"After five years of National Socialist constructive work: Each working individual has a claim to holiday with pay, minimum and not maximum holiday fixed, grading of holidays according to length of service in firm, age, number of years employed and difficulty of work: a short period of waiting, as a rule only 6 months, before the first holiday is granted, increased holiday period up to 18 days for young persons, holidays also

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for seasonal workers, healthy recreation by means of cheap '*Kraft durch Freude*' tours."

"Wage-policy before the National Socialist regime:

"Wage equals price for article 'work', schematic maximum wages, wages influenced by unemployment, wages below log standard, piece-work under pressure, no stability of income, loss of earnings on public holidays."

"After five years of National Socialist constructive work: Assurance of the right to work, assurance of minimum income, increase of wages with the increase of production, relation of wages to performance, stability of income, sound and honest piece-work conditions, preferential treatment for large families, payment for public holidays."

"Public health:

"In recognition of the fact that the maintenance of the health of the working individual is of the greatest importance for nation and Reich, the German Labour Front has devoted special attention to this question, as is shown by the following figures:

"1937: Factory investigations and visits, approximately 17,000. Medical examination of employees, treatment being started in cases of illness, approximately 620,000. Some 36,000 factory inspections were carried out. Improvements of a social nature undertaken by the works since 1933 exceed the sum of 600 million Reichsmark. All this was formerly wasted through strikes and lock-outs."

"The following improvements or new constructions were carried out:

- 23,000 working premises,
- 6,000 factory grounds,
- 17,000 dining and rest-rooms,
- 13,000 wash-rooms and changing rooms,
- 800 club houses,
- 1,200 sports grounds.

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"Improvements were also carried out in the crew's quarters on 3,600 ships: 5,000 villages have already taken part in the village improvement campaign."

"By means of the German Popular Education Organization German workers were able to take part in some 62,000 fixtures, including lectures, courses of lectures, popular educational activities in works, towns, and villages, study-circles, conducted tours, study-tours, exhibitions, &c."

"In 1936 over 10 million people took part in these fixtures. There were approximately 22·1 million visitors to 48,000 theatrical performances, and in addition over 18·6 million visitors to approximately 47,000 film performances, 5·6 million visitors to approximately 11,000 concert performances, some 3·3 million visitors to approximately 1,300 factory exhibitions, and about 121,000 other cultural events with altogether more than 50 million participants. In addition some 600 workmen's community camps (Reich Motor Road camps, Alpine Road camps, military construction camps, &c.), with over 180,000 members, were provided for. Recreation was provided for 190,000 members of the Armed Forces and of the Reich Labour Service in over 300 special programmes. 74,000 men took part in land and sea trips, &c. Over 30 joint functions were held for the armed Forces and the Reich Labour Service, 225,000 taking part. About 500,000 people attended 480 works concerts given by army and Labour Service bands. Altogether over 2 million people were given the possibility of a recreational use of leisure."

"In the field of sport since 1934 approximately 21 million people have taken part in over 1 million classes. At the sea-side resorts about 350,000 people were afforded an opportunity for sport. Over 4,500 sports instructors are in charge of sports activities. When has more ever been done for the worker?"

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"Travel, hiking, and the organization of holidays have developed considerably. Cruises have been made to Norway, Madeira, the Azores, and Italy; the following figures give a survey:

"Since 1934 altogether 384 cruises with 490,000 participants, over 60,000 land trips with over 19 million participants, and 113,000 walking tours with some 3 million participants have been carried out. The German Labour Front has nine large ocean steamers at its disposal, four of which it owns. Expenditure up to date for the '*Kraft durch Freude*' fleet alone amounts to over 21 million Reichsmark. The total expenditure since 1934 for '*Kraft durch Freude*', without investments and shipbuilding, amounts to approximately 77 million Reichsmark. Since the founding of '*Kraft durch Freude*' in 1934 a total of 155 million participants in the programmes has been counted.

"The Labour Service represents an entirely new and purely National Socialist departure. In 1933 there were in the voluntary Labour Service about a dozen large and 100 small Labour Service associations. After a period of transition of 1½ years the structure of the new Labour Service was in the main assured. At present it accommodates some 400,000 men per annum in two six-month periods. The female Labour Service comprises 25,000 girls. Since 1933 1,850,000 young men and 120,000 girls have been through the training of the Labour Service."

"The picture of German youth organization is equally impressive. Before the National Socialist assumption of power German youth was split up into numerous organizations. To-day throughout the entire Reich there is only one youth organization, the Hitler Youth and League of German Girls, comprising in 1937 over 7 million members,

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59 regional and higher regional leaders,
1,365 district and girl leaders,
9,000 sub-district girl leaders.

550,500 subordinate leaders of both sexes serve this greatest of modern youth movements."

"The number of participants in the Reich Apprentices Competition was:

1934	.	.	.	.	.	500,000 boys and girls
1935	.	.	.	.	.	750,000 "
1936	.	.	.	.	.	1,036,000 "
1937	.	.	.	.	.	1,800,000 "

"A similar picture is presented by the Reich Sport Competition:

1932	.	.	.	.	.	1.6 million participants
1934	.	.	.	.	.	2.5 " "
1935	.	.	.	.	.	3.7 " "
1936	.	.	.	.	.	5.8 " "
1937	.	.	.	.	.	6.1 " "

"The Naval Hitler Youth comprises 45,000 boys, the Motor Hitler Youth 60,000 boys. As part of the campaign for the encouragement of aviation, 55,000 members of the *Jungvolk* were trained in gliding for group activities. 74,000 boys of the Hitler Youth are organized in its flying units. 15,000 boys passed their gliding test in the year 1937 alone."

"To-day 1,200,000 boys of the Hitler Youth receive regular instruction in small-bore rifle shooting from 7,000 instructors."

"At present for the Hitler Youth alone 1,400 homes and a large number of schools are under construction."

"The Youth Hostels Organization has 2,000 youth hostels at its disposal; in 1937 some 8 million spent a night in the hostels, this figure being over eight times as large as that for all the other youth hostels in the world together."

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"In the interests of the health of these boys and girls 4,000 doctors are engaged in the Hitler Youth, 800 dentists and some 500 chemists, who are assisted by 40,000 ambulance boys and 35,000 first-aid girls. Over 30,000 doctors nominated by the Public Health Department look after the health of the individual boys and girls. The whole German youth is medically examined once a year, i.e. over a million individuals being examined."

"The German Winter-Help Organization is at the head of the great social institutions. It produced:

1933	.	.	.	.	350 million Reichsmark		
1934-5	.	.	.	.	360	"	"
1935-6	.	.	.	.	371	"	"
1936-7	.	.	.	.	408	"	"

making a total of approximately 1,490,000,000 since 1934."

"This is over 300 million more in voluntary contributions than the famous Defence Contribution of 1912-13 produced. This vast social assistance organization is supplemented by the endowment 'For Disabled Workers' with donations of over 10 million Reichsmark."

"The Actors and Musicians' Relief Fund amounts to 3½ million Reichsmark, and the Goebbels Foundation to over 1 million Reichsmark."

"Before the National Socialist assumption of power there existed nothing which could even compare with these tremendous achievements."

"The extent to which the whole nation shares in this general recovery may be seen in the constantly increasing number of visitors to theatres and cinemas, and in the immense increase in the number of listeners-in."

"In 1937 alone 15 political exhibitions were held and were visited by more than 18 million people. The number of wireless licences increased from 4.2 million

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in 1932 to 9,087,000 in 1937. The returns increased from 93 million to 204 million Reichsmark."

"The production of wireless receiving sets was as follows:

1932	.	.	.	1,011,000
1937	.	.	.	1,681,000 plus 475,000 People's Sets.

Altogether since the beginning of the National Socialist regime over 10½ million receiving sets have been produced."

"The number of German theatres giving performances was 199 in 1932 and 263 in 1937."

"The number of those employed in the theatrical business increased from 22,000 to 30,730."

"I mention this in order to refute those assertions of some ill-intentioned foreign journalists to the effect that since our assumption of power cultural life in Germany has declined."

"A complete picture of German cultural development may best be obtained from the esteem in which it is held by the rest of the world. Many important prizes, certificates of honour and gold medals seek to give expression to this esteem."

"The total circulation of illustrated papers increased from 9.5 million to 15 million in 1937. Even the number of foreign journalists visiting Germany increased from 872 in 1932 to 2,973 in 1937 alone."

"Tourist traffic recorded in 1932 14,305,000 registrations and 49 million nights' lodgings. This had increased by 1937 to 27 million registrations and 103 million nights' lodgings."

"The number of foreign visitors increased from 1,114,000 in 1932 to 2,400,000 registrations in 1937, and the number of nights' lodgings from 2,673,000 to over 7 million."

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"Cinema receipts amounted in 1932 to 176 million Reichsmark and in 1937 to 290 million Reichsmark."

"If I now end this review of German recovery, which I wish to summarize only by a few illustrations and facts selected from a vast number, I can find no better conclusion than that provided by the increase in our birth rate."

"In 1932 970,000 children were born in Germany. This number increased each year, in 1937 amounting to 1,270,000."

"Altogether since the National Socialist assumption of power the German nation has been blessed with 1,160,000 more children."

"These children not only give us cause to be proud of our German women, but also cause to be grateful to Providence."

"In five years 1,160,000 children were born to the nation, who will later be able to help it in its peaceful work."

"Gentlemen, I have endeavoured here, by means of a brief presentation of a few facts and figures, to offer you documentary proof of a work of reconstruction which is unique in its extent and effects."

"I and all my collaborators, together with the entire German people, can be proud of the last five years, in which such gigantic achievements have been made in all spheres of our economic life."¹

In the same speech Hitler said:

"The worst illusion is to imagine that one can enjoy anything which has not first been created and produced

¹ Authorized English translation in pamphlet form (as above), pp. 15-33; German text: *Dokumente der deutschen Politik*, vi (1939), pp. 15 sqq.

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by labour; in other words, in future too it will be our duty to make it clear to every single German, in town and country, that the value of his labour must always be equivalent to his wage. That is, the farmer can only get for his agricultural products what the townsman has previously earned, and the townsman can only get what the farmer has won from the soil, and taken all together, they can all only exchange what they produce, and money only plays the part of intermediary. It has no utility value of its own. Every mark more paid in Germany presupposes that a mark's worth more labour has been performed. Apart from that this mark is a mere piece of paper without purchasing power. But we want our German Reichsmark to remain an honest note, an honest token for the product of labour just as honestly performed by another."

"This is the true cover for a currency, the only real backing. In this way we have made it possible, without gold and without foreign exchange, to maintain the value of the German mark, and have thus secured the value of our savings at a time when the countries which are overflowing with gold and foreign exchange have been compelled to devalue their currencies."¹

In his speech in the Hanseatenhalle at Hamburg on 29 March 1938 Hitler said that he had been convinced that Germany could be saved by her industry, but first the people must be politically united. The National Socialists had set the whole people to work to produce. Consumption was the decisive factor. "We have no gold cover for our currency, no foreign exchange, but behind the German mark stands the German capacity for work, while some foreign countries are suffocated by gold,

¹ Authorized English translation in pamphlet form (as above), p. 43; German text: *Dokumente &c. ibid.*, pp. 36-7.

because it is believed there that man can live on gold instead of bread—a serious self-deception.”¹

In his speech on May Day 1938 Hitler said:

“To-day the world around us suffers from the threatening anxiety which the unemployment of millions brings with it; we begin to be anxious because we have not enough workmen. In other lands it is the unemployed who forms the characteristic feature of public life; in Germany it is work which gives to life its stamp.” *There followed the familiar theme of the rich resources of other lands when compared with the poverty of Germany.* “We have solved our problem . . . but that was possible only because from the very first moment we abandoned all theories which had no relation to actual life and built up our existence on the recognition of the simple fact that a man can consume only that which he himself creates, that a people can eat only that which it itself plants and harvests. This production is not effected through theories, phrases, or programmes, but only through work, through organized, systematic, deliberate work. . . . The German wishes to live decently: he does not like to go to ruin in idleness. He wishes to create and then in return for that creative work to improve his living conditions. When we to-day survey the standard of our German life, then we must all admit that this strength and joy in creative work have resulted in a vast increase in our national production and through this in a rise in the welfare of our German people as a whole.”

“Our German economic policy, which used formerly to be a subject for the mockery of our enemies, begins slowly to win the respect of the world. This policy of a

¹ For this I have no German text: it is not included in the summary of the speech published in *F.Z.*, 31 Mar. 1938. I quote from *The Times* 30 Mar. 1938.

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continuous increase in production is at the same time the surest cover for our currency and has given it its stability. The German Reichsmark note maintains its face value not because behind it stands gold or any foreign exchange, but because behind it there stands a great nation which is industrious and hardworking. . . . This German economic policy is founded upon the general principle of self-help recognized throughout by National Socialists. That principle has determined our economic policy, and in politics precisely the same is true: 'Help thyself, and then thou wilt obtain also the help of the Almighty.'"

"But to secure our ends an organization of labour was also necessary—an organization which compels every individual to set above his own interests the interests of the whole community. Here the National Socialist State has intervened quite ruthlessly. Only so was it possible for us to establish a single leadership in our economic life, and that single leadership is the source of those vast achievements from which the whole people has profited. But in itself this organization of our economic life would not suffice: the first condition for the salvation of the German nation was the establishment of domestic order within our people, its internal peace. To-day after five years we may regard this battle as already won. . . . For us a new valuation of men has become the basis of the community of the German people—a valuation which starts from the contribution made by the individual to this community of his people. Our national unity (*Geschlossenheit*) is the result of the work of the National Socialist Movement, the Party and its organizations. They have gathered the nation together and educated it. If anyone to-day still declares that he is all for the community of the people, but he is out of sympathy with the Party, then that is much the

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same as if some one should declare: 'I am all for freedom and for the fight for freedom, but I have no use for the army.' No! this State has gained its internal unity solely through the National Socialist confession of faith which was preached and supported by the organizations of our Movement: in the future, too, that confession of faith will be handed on by means of the Party."

"Formerly there were men who were always declaring: 'Down with fighting! Never again war!' and at the same time they suffered continuous warfare to go on in the domestic sphere. I know well this watchword 'Never again war!': it is my watchword, too. It was for that end that I made Germany strong and secure and set it on its own feet! But in order to be so strong and secure that no threat to peace from outside can ever menace our people it is essential to stamp out for ever that conflict which would prevent us at any time from making our strength felt abroad. The watchword must not be merely 'Never again war', but rather 'Never again civil war! Never again class conflict! Never again internal strife and discord.' It was because I realized this that I have acted as I have done, and the results of that action, my fellow-countrymen, you can see for yourselves! In a few years we have solved nearly all the questions which once seemed hardly capable of solution." . . . "And thus on this first of May I would beg you not to seek after that which might perhaps still divide us, but rather rejoice in that which we have already attained. I would have you cling to that which is already common to us all. No people is born in five years: in five years the building of no State is completed. But we have laid the foundation stone and this laying of the foundation stone we celebrate on this first of May. Ours was the faith, ours is the will!"¹

¹ *F.Z.*, 2 May 1938.

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In his speech at Fallersleben on 26 May 1938, at the foundation ceremony of the People's Motor-car Factory, Hitler said that in 1933 the German production of motor-cars was ludicrously small in comparison not only with the United States, but also with other European countries—a paltry 46,000 motor-cars per annum. "The first step towards making Germany motor-minded was to free people from the earlier conception that the motor-vehicle was an article of luxury. That is natural enough, if in a country there are only two, three, or four hundred thousand motor-vehicles on the roads. But in the case of the German people there is a demand not for two to three hundred thousand, but for six or seven million motor-cars! Here the only decisive factor is that the cost of the production and maintenance of this most modern means of transport shall be brought into conformity with the people's income. 'That is impossible!' was the objection raised in 1933. To this I could give only one answer: 'What is possible in other countries shall be possible in Germany as well!' I hate the word 'impossible'; it has always been the mask of the faint-hearted, of men who did not dare to carry out great resolves."

"The motor-car, then, must become the people's means of transport! Since this goal could not be reached with car prices as they were then, I had already determined, before I came into power, that immediately the government fell into our hands I would begin the preliminary work for the production of a car whose price would enable it to become a real means of transport for the great mass of the people. By this means the motor-car would at last cease to be an instrument of class division."

"And there was a further reason which induced me to give special attention to this policy of motorization.

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If the people of Germany decided to spend wholly on foodstuffs all the money which it received as wages for its work—foodstuffs which we, with our 140 people to the square kilometre, could not produce in unlimited quantities—this was bound to lead to a catastrophe. So it is necessary for us to guide the purchasing power of the German people into other directions. These, to be sure, are problems about which our former national economists did not worry themselves. But we have to grasp these conditions and to solve the problems which arise from them. And among many other such measures which serve to secure for the purchasing power of the German people an equivalent object for it to spend its money on, the People's Car will also take its place. Here every year hundreds of millions of marks will find investment; and these demands can be satisfactorily met by our own industry and from our own raw materials—our metals, our coal, and so forth."

"The significance of this factory in its wider effects is still to-day recognized by very few. The People's Car will not be a rival to other automobile manufacturers. For he who purchases this car and not a Mercedes does not do so because he is an enemy of the Daimler factory but merely because he cannot buy a Mercedes. It is very simple, sober considerations which compel folk to turn to the cheaper makes. He who can afford to buy the dearer car will do so in any event, but the great mass of people cannot do so. It is for the great mass of people that this car has been designed. Its purpose is to answer their needs in transport and it is intended to give them joy." It shall therefore be named after the National Socialist organization "Strength through Joy" the "*KdF*-Car" ("*Kraft durch Freude*"). And together with the building of the factory there will be constructed a "model German workingmen's town

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which shall be a school for the art of town-planning and of social settlement. We want through the construction of this town to show how National Socialism views these problems, how it attacks them and how it solves them." This factory shall be "a symbol of the National Socialist German Community of the People".¹

In an interview with M. Alphonse de Chateaubriant in September 1938 Hitler said, with reference to his work for improving the conditions of the German worker: "Nous nous sommes efforcés de relever son standard de vie, tout en le préservant de toute illusion; il fallait pour cela que la valeur de son travail fût toujours égale à son salaire, c'est-à-dire que tout salaire et tout traitement payé en Allemagne ne possédât que la valeur intrinsèque dont le travail fourni présente l'équivalent sous forme d'articles produits. L'argent ne joue plus ici qu'un rôle d'intermédiaire. . . . Les nations européennes sont faites pour coopérer à l'œuvre de leur commune prospérité. . . . Économiquement, comme dans tous les domaines, les peuples ne devraient songer qu'à poursuivre une œuvre de collaboration féconde. . . . On accuse l'Allemagne de vouloir couper ses relations avec l'extérieur et de s'enfermer dans le vase clos de sa vie économique. On ne réfléchit pas que l'Allemagne s'est trouvée plus atteinte par le bouleversement de l'économie mondiale qu'un autre pays, en raison de son espace économique relativement restreint et à la fois surpeuplé. Ce n'est d'ailleurs qu'après qu'il fût devenu entièrement évident que l'on ne pourrait obtenir de vastes accords commerciaux avec l'étranger, qu'en effet nous nous sommes résolus à rendre l'organisme économique indépendant de l'étranger. Il a donc fallu chercher des voies nouvelles. Aussi, par le plan de quatre ans nous travaillons à ce

¹ *V.B.*, 27 May 1938.

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que l'Allemagne puisse se suffire à elle-même, et ce n'est pas dans le but de l'isoler. N'oubliez pas qu'on l'a mise dans une situation qui l'oblige à réagir en ce sens et à s'efforcer à devenir indépendante économiquement. Elle s'est soumise à ce régime et à cette discipline, en prévision d'un isolement forcé possible, ainsi que pourrait le lui faire redouter, à quelque moment donné, les conséquences d'une pénétration bolchévique venant à s'étendre autour d'elle."¹

In his Proclamation read at the opening of the Nuremberg Parteitag on 6 September 1938 Hitler said:

"At this moment we are suffering from only two real economic anxieties: (i) our shortage of labour, especially skilled labour, for industry, and (ii) our shortage of labour for agriculture. If folk in other States wish to see in this labour shortage the longed-for sign that the Third Reich is even now still suffering from economic weakness, we can readily tolerate this weakness and leave to the democracies the strength which unemployment can give them. If, as I see it, our only economic difficulty in Germany is our lack in labour-resources, then we owe that to two facts:

"1. By the favour of the Almighty we have at last this year been granted an abundant harvest. Through the energetic measures of our comrade Goering, despite the bad harvests in recent years, we were able to enter on the new year with a large reserve. With these stocks and with the rich blessing of this year's harvest we shall be free for some years from any anxieties about our food-supply. Still we are determined to be economical, and our intention is to accumulate a reserve of bread-corn which will in all circumstances save us from any want."

"2. The effects of the Four Years Plan are gradually

¹ *Le Journal*, 2 Sept. 1938.

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becoming more and more evident. What I expected has come true. After we had explained to German businessmen and in particular to German inventors the indispensable aims of our national economy, the skill and the genius of our chemists, our scientists, our engineers and technicians, our factory-leaders and organizers have attained undreamt of, I may even say astonishing, successes."

"Whereas at the beginning of our fight in 1933 it was necessary to find work of whatever kind for as many Germans as possible, the need to-day is, so far as possible, to replace primitive methods of work by the introduction of machinery. Thus gradually our workman who stands so high in the scale of quality will be withdrawn from simpler forms of activity to take his place in some higher form of work for which he is better suited. If we economize in our labour-resources that, in conjunction with other measures, will also help to relieve the scarcity of workers on the land. Finally, we shall in this way secure a further increase in our general production, and that, as I cannot say too often, is the decisive factor."

"If in the German Reich including the Ostmark (i.e. Austria) more than seven and a half million men could be incorporated into the labour-process, then, to correspond with the additional wage of these seven and a half millions, there had to be guaranteed a substantial additional production. For the problem of the ending of unemployment is not a problem of paying out wages but a direction to secure the production of a corresponding volume of saleable goods. The German people has no gold currency: that is to say that, thanks to the action of our enemies, it has been saved, although through a painful experience, from the madness of a so-called gold-currency and at the same time from a gold-cover. All the more important is it therefore to give to the

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German currency that only true cover which as the condition of its stability guarantees a purchasing power which never varies—that is an increasing production. For every additional mark which is paid out in Germany an additional mark's worth of goods must be produced. Otherwise this mark which has been paid out remains worthless paper, because, failing a corresponding effort in production, nothing can be purchased with it. This primitive National Socialist economic and currency policy has enabled us, during a period of widespread currency-swindling, to maintain the stability of the value, i.e. the purchasing power, of the German mark. That is in the interest of every single German, whether he be a townsman or a farmer, since for the townsman wages and salaries have meaning only when with them he can buy the food-supplies produced by the farmer and for the farmer only if he can buy with the proceeds of the sale of his foodstuffs the products of industry and handicraft."

"National Socialism has thus come to realize that in economic life an increase in production is the only form of an increase in wages. That is to say, you can then transfer commodities, you do not merely hand over worthless scraps of paper. And it is perhaps, further, the highest service of the National Socialist Movement that it has increasingly made these principles—which are as simple as they are natural, though very often unfortunately unpopular—the common property of the whole people. At a time when in the democracies wages and prices are chasing each other upwards in wild haste while the sum of their production is continuously sinking, National Socialist economic leadership can present the picture of a steadily rising production and also the picture of a constant rise in consumption and of a stable currency."

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"Certainly, we cannot do more than work, but when in so large a people as ours the whole nation is engaged in production, then a vast stream of goods for consumption flows back to the entire people. And consumed these goods must be, for in the long run, though one can hoard money or store gold, one cannot put manufactured goods into store whether these be foodstuffs or wares. These cry aloud for a consumer. Therefore since we are summoning the German people to a continuously increasing production, it needs no argument to show that these goods intended for consumption must necessarily circulate and find their way back again to the people. The aim of National Socialist economic policy cannot for a moment be to train a people to idleness and to a lower standard of life: it can be only to produce an industrious people with the highest possible standard of living. And that means that by our industry we are going to produce so much in goods that every individual German will be able to have, and shall have, an ever increasing share in them. This process, however, presupposes much political good sense. It can succeed only if a whole people in its entirety, in close fellowship, keeps before its eyes the interests of all in order once again to serve the good of all. If the National Socialist State were to allow German economic life to run the same course as it did in the past, then we, too, at the present time should have to face constant conflicts, strikes, and lock-outs. That would mean lasting damage to production and though an apparent increase in wages might ensue as a compensation, the result would be a devaluation of the currency, while a lowering of the standard of living would of necessity follow. It is therefore only a sign of the intelligence and good judgement of our people that it understands this National Socialist economic leadership and gladly puts itself at the service

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of this knowledge. Further, I would ask you, my fellow-countrymen, to consider the following point: No matter what the future has in store, one thing is certain: no man can foretell what may be the relations of the Powers one towards another in the sphere of world economics. For if other peoples should take it into their heads to destroy their production instead of increasing it, then this so-called 'world trade' must sooner or later be ruined for lack of commodities to exchange. All the more important is it, therefore, to keep one's own economic life in good order and thus to make the best contribution towards a possible improvement in world economics. For world economics will not be restored by the apparently instructive but actually meaningless platitudes of democratic statesmen: at the best there might be some improvement if the democracies would bring into order their own slowly dying national economies."

"So long as these statesmen, however, prefer to carry on controversy with the authoritarian States in empty phrases of instruction or blame instead of concerning themselves with their own production and bringing their own national economies into good order not only are they accomplishing nothing towards the restoration of so-called 'world economy' and in particular of world trade, but they are doing it positive harm. Germany for her own part can at least say that thanks to her continually increasing domestic production she is not only selling more of her own goods but she has also increasingly become a purchaser of foreign products. There is, however, one qualification. In general, the German national economy has been so constructed that at any time she can stand on her own feet in complete independence of other countries. This has been successfully achieved. Already to-day the thought of a blockade of

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Germany can be buried as a completely ineffective weapon. The National Socialist State with its accustomed energy has learnt the lesson to be drawn from the experiences of the World War. Now, as ever, we shall hold fast to the principle that we prefer, if necessary, to limit ourselves in one or another sphere rather than to let ourselves sink into dependence on the outer world. Above all, our action in economic affairs will always be controlled by the determination that national security comes before everything else. The economic existence of the nation, so far as its material interests are concerned, is therefore to be served in its fullest extent on the basis of our own life and on our own living-space (*Lebensraum*). Only so, too, will Germany's armed forces be in a position at any time to take under their strong protection the freedom and the interests of the Reich."¹

In his speech to the men of the Labour Service (Arbeitsdienst) on 7 September 1938 at the Nuremberg Parteitag Hitler said:

"You fight within Germany for the building up of this community, for the deepening of its spirit. But you fight, too, for the protection of the Reich and its independence, for every spade creates new soil and secures some ancient territory of the Reich. So your spade stands to-day in the heart of Germany, in North and East, in South and West in the service of the security and maintenance of the Reich."

"You are helping, too, to educate a new generation that stands firm on the soil of the homeland in health and power and strength. You yourselves are the expression in flesh and blood of this German manhood as we would have it in the future. Burned brown and hard as

¹ *V.B.*, 7 Sept. 1938.

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steel—that is the youth of the German people to-day. . . . In you is represented the most lofty saying that we know: 'Man, help thyself and then thy God will help thee.'"¹

In a speech delivered at the opening of the Motor Exhibition in Berlin on 17 February 1939 Hitler said:

"By the creation of this Reich of Greater Germany² we have not merely succeeded in raising to a most extraordinary extent the consciousness of power in the German people and thus of its strength, thereby filling it with the spirit which is the necessary condition for a fresh attack on great tasks, no, the purely material foundation for a further successful development in production has also been enlarged. We Germans have now united in our Reich some 80 million of our fellow-countrymen, and within this unified economic area this represents so mighty a consumption-force that an extraordinary improvement in the technical and commercial conditions of production is rendered possible. This applies principally to the manufacture of products where the determination of prices depends upon the extent of possible sales when all the conditions are taken into account. Thus, for example, the purchasing basis for wireless sets in the Reich of to-day is now so great that, thanks to the guaranteed domestic mass consumption, we are able to lower materially the costs of production. The same is true of the manufacture of German films and of other branches of industry. But the motor-car cannot hope to compete in price with the world output unless it is assured of the possibility of a great mass production. But this presupposes an adequate economic area as a necessary condition. Through the creation in 1938 of Greater Germany a decisive step has been taken in this direction. The German people possesses to-day for its

¹ *F.Z.*, 8 Sept. 1938. ² German: *des großdeutschen Reiches*.

motor production a huge domestic market of its own. To develop this market to its fullest extent will moreover be our first task during the coming years."¹

In the same speech Hitler dealt with the conditions necessary for the progress of the German motor industry: In the first place the motor must no longer be regarded as a luxury: there must be a psychological change in the outlook of the German people. The German Government has proved itself to be well disposed towards the motor industry and will do its best to promote this change in outlook. Secondly: the price of cars must be adapted to the lower incomes of the mass of the people. Thirdly: the German people must gain confidence in its own cars and the prejudice, still general in certain classes, in favour of foreign makes must be overcome. The use of German cars in motor-sports and international motor competitions will greatly contribute to this result. The German people was to-day once more immensely proud of its own motor production. Fourthly: the new German motor-roads had been constructed with a view to future traffic developments. The achievements of the Reich in road-building had surpassed anything to which either the past or the present could point. Before another year had passed 4,000 kilometres of motor-roads would be open for traffic, while 10,000 kilometres of other roads had been improved. These motor-roads were in the truest sense roads built for the great future of Germany. Fifthly: within the scope of the Four Years Plan the scheme for creating "a raw-material basis which should be independent of foreign countries" was making great progress. New inventions were transforming the whole economic situation.

In order to secure reduction of price and the satis-

¹ *F.Z.*, 18 Feb. 1939.

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faction of the purchaser manufacturers must agree upon a limited number of types in cars which would then facilitate mass production. It was further essential to reduce the weight of cars and thus effect an economy in the use of steel. The industry, he had realized, was not capable of effecting the necessary co-ordination unaided; he had therefore appointed Colonel von Schell, who within the framework of the Four Years Plan would issue regulations binding on the whole industry. In this Exhibition people could see for the first time the new People's Car, the manufacture of which was being pressed forward energetically.

Hitler closed his speech with an appeal to users of motor-cars to drive with caution and consideration for others. Not fast, but sure should be the motorist's motto.¹

In his speech at Wilhelmshaven on 1 April 1939 Hitler said: "Germany has no intention of attacking other peoples. What we refuse to abandon, however, is the extension of our economic relations. That is our right, and I refuse to accept instructions on this point from any European statesman or from any statesman outside of Europe!"

"The German Reich is not only a great producer, but also an enormous consumer. As consumers we are an irreplaceable trade partner, and as producers we are in a position to give good and honest value for what we consume. We have no intention of making war on other peoples—provided always that they leave us in peace. But the German Reich is in any event not prepared for ever to put up with intimidation or, indeed, with a policy of encirclement."

In the same speech he said: "We have founded a new economic system and its basis is that Capital is work-

¹ *F.Z.*, 18 Feb. 1939.

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power (*Arbeitskraft*) and the cover for our money lies in our production. We have founded a system that rests upon the noblest principle possible, viz. Fashion thyself thine own life! Work out thine own existence! Help thyself and then God, too, will help thee."¹

In his speech to the Reichstag on 28 April 1939 Hitler said: "One fundamental principle I should wish to make clear. The significance of economic agreements with Germany lies not only in the fact that Germany as exporter is able to meet practically all industrial requirements, but also in the fact that, at the same time, as a consumer on an enormous scale she is prepared to purchase a large number of products which would enable other countries for the first time to play their part in the commerce of the world. We have thus an interest not only in keeping these economic markets, but in cultivating them as well. On this to a large extent the existence of our people depends. It is a sign of greatness among so-called democratic statesmen to be willing to regard it as a brilliant political triumph when they have, by a boycott of its export trade, for example, shut off a people from its markets so as to bring them, I presume, to starvation. I need not assure you that I am convinced that such peoples would not starve, but would in these circumstances invariably prefer to fight! As far as Germany is concerned, at all events, she is determined that no terrorizing interference or threats from outside shall rob her of markets essential to her life. This is not only in our own interest, but just as much in that of our trading partners. For here, as in any business, it is a case not of one-sided but of mutual dependence."

"How often have we had the pleasure of reading in the amateur discussions on economics of the democratic

¹ *V.B.*, 3 Apr. 1939.

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Press of our day that because Germany maintains close economic relations with a country she is bringing that country into dependence on herself. That is absolutely outrageous Jewish nonsense. For if to-day the German Reich delivers machinery to an agricultural State, and receives foodstuffs in exchange, then the Reich as consumer of the foodstuffs produced by that agricultural State is at least as dependent—if not actually more so—as the agricultural State, which receives from us in payment our industrial products.”¹

*In his May-Day speech in the Lustgarten in 1939 Hitler once more explained that the Spring Festival of their ancestors had doubtless been celebrated for thousands of years until an invading parasite through a doctrine of hate and domestic conflict turned the celebration into a Festival of Class-War. That former Governments were powerless to prevent; it was only National Socialism which had restored the original meaning of the day and had turned it back again to the Festival of a true German Spring, a festival of all creative workers and thus a festival of the community of the German people. “We experience not merely a beginning of spring in the world of nature, but also the beginning of spring in our people. Things with us are fairer, brighter, lighter. And when some have still no share in this light or perhaps wish for no such share, yet they will not be able to dim this rising sun. Above hatred and above discord rises the new community of the German people. . . . We have set the spade alongside of the weapon and have conferred upon it the same nobility. Here an education has begun which if it lasts only some 50 or 100 years will have rooted out from our people the last vestiges of prejudice. This, too, is a revolution.”*²

¹ *V.B.*, 29 Apr. 1939.

² *V.B.*, 2 May 1939.





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